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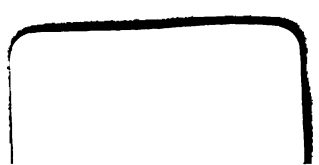
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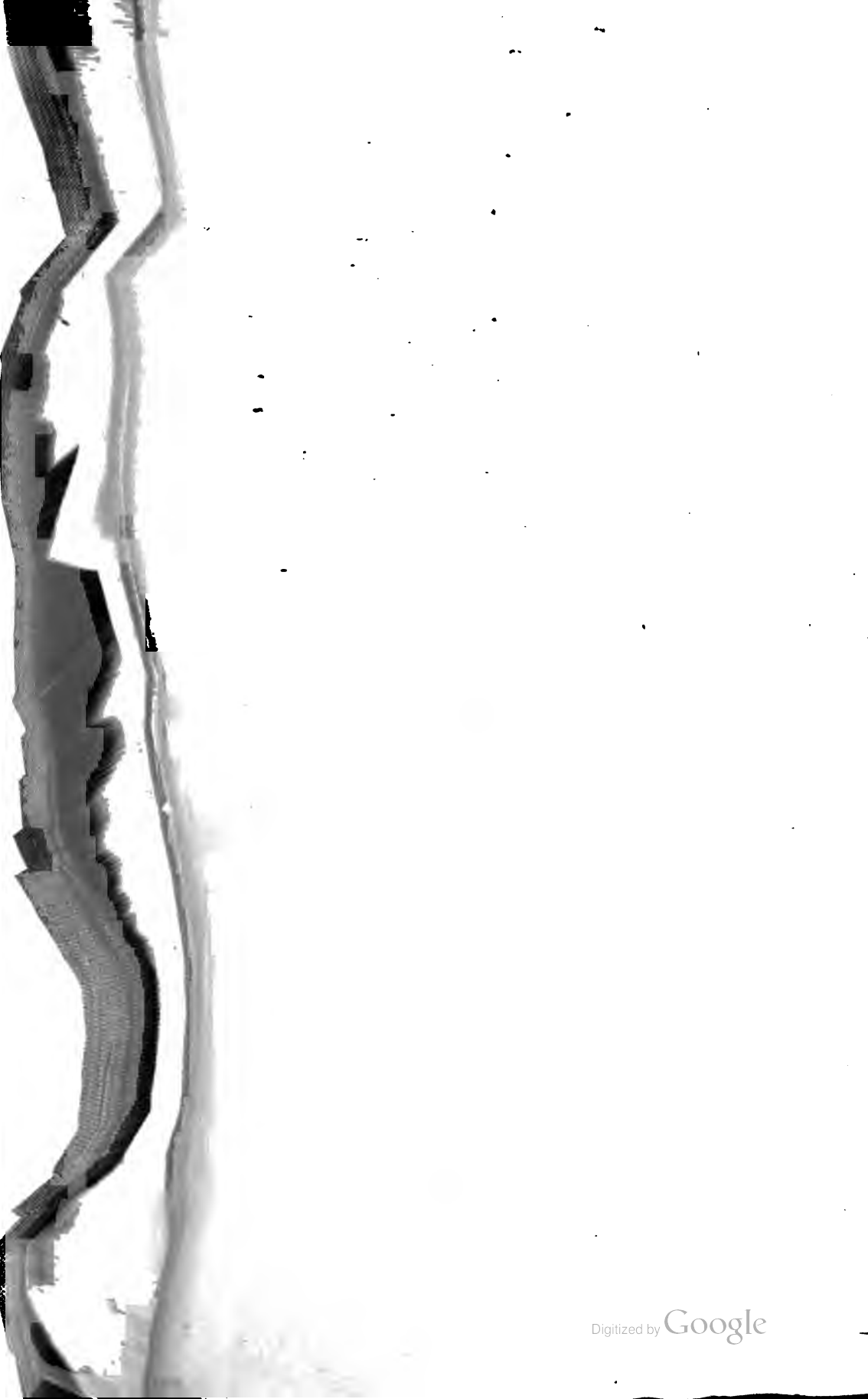


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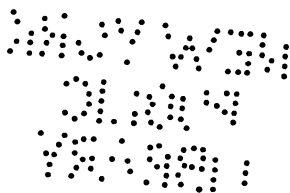
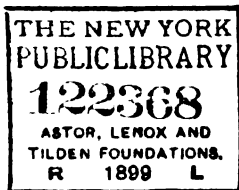
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THE SURVEY OF THOUGHT.

THE TERM ASIARCH (Acts xix. 31).—All scholars are aware that there has long been division of opinion as to the exact significance of the term ἀσιάρχης, some supposing it to describe any member of a body of ten, others restricting it to one person, the president of that body or committee. The advocates of the latter view have lately had their ranks strengthened by the accession of Prof. Schürer, who adopted in 1874 the other interpretation. His article on the subject in Riehm's well-known *Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Alterthums* has been, to a large extent, re-written for the new edition of that valuable work which is now coming out under the editorship of Prof. Baethgen. Prof. Schürer now regards the ἀσιάρχης as identical with the ἀρχιερεύς Ἀσίας, the chief priest of the temple dedicated to the worship of the Cæsar, although he admits that in other provinces the offices were separated. There can, therefore, have been only one ἀσιάρχης. The use of the plural in Acts and elsewhere admits, it is thought, of two explanations. It may refer to the fact that there were several cities in the province of Asia, each of which possessed a temple to Cæsar, the chief priest in which might be called ἀσιάρχης. That, however, would not account for the existence of more than one ἀσιάρχης in the same city. Or—and this is the view endorsed by Prof. Schürer—it may be supposed that the term as popularly used described not only the person in office at the time, but also all those who had previously filled this position. This view, which is by no means novel, for it was mentioned and rejected by Conybeare and Howson, will probably receive more attention now that it is supported by the weighty authority of one who has studied the subject with wider resources at his command. Whatever be thought of the explanation, its full and clear statement by a writer who once opposed it is an instructive example of the readiness to learn which is usually associated with the highest scholarship. Prof. Schürer, like the late Prof. Delitzsch, is evidently humble enough to retract assertions which seem to him to have been proved doubtful or erroneous.

THE HISTORIC VALUE OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL IN THE LIGHT OF THE MOST RECENT CRITICISM.—The present estimate of the historic value of the Book of Daniel by the more advanced exponents of the higher criticism is clearly and compendiously stated in an address by Professor Kamphausen, of Bonn, which was originally delivered as the first in a course of lectures to clergymen, and has just been published with copious notes. The Professor is an uncompromising opponent of the traditional belief that the narratives in the Book of Daniel are reliable history. They are not pure fiction, for it was not the custom of the ancients to draw their materials entirely out of their

imaginations, but they contain so many "historic impossibilities" as to be "utterly unusable as a source of history." The unhistorical character of the Book of Daniel is said to be completely demonstrated in the present stage of historical research (p. 40). As a history the book cannot be placed higher than Judith and Tobit (p. 16). The main facts, or supposed facts, alleged in support of these sweeping statements are the following five:—(1) The incorrect date at the commencement (i. 1). (2) The representation of Aramaic as the native tongue of the Chaldeans (ii. 4). The author seems to have been entirely unacquainted with the language revealed by the cuneiform inscriptions, and usually known as Assyrian or Babylonian. (3) The insertion of a Median rule between the death of Belshazzar and the accession of Cyrus. This is wholly unhistorical. There was no such person as Darius the Mede. (4) The mention of only two kings of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar, and "his son" Belshazzar, whereas there were five during the period with which the book deals. (5) The woful ignorance of Persian history implied in the assertion (xi. 2) that there were only four kings of Persia after Cyrus. It is admitted, on the other hand, that the reference to the buildings of Nebuchadnezzar (iv. 27) is quite historical (p. 10), that the existence of Belshazzar has been clearly demonstrated by the cuneiform inscriptions (p. 24), and that the cuneiform character was in use as late as 270 B.C., that is, only about a century before the time at which the Book of Daniel is said to have been composed (pp. 30 and 37). Professor Kamphausen is amazingly positive. Again and again he propounds as certainties opinions which are still *sub judice*. "It is now an established fact" that Darius the Mede belongs to unhistorical tradition or legend (p. 28). "It is beyond doubt" that Daniel represents the Magi as speaking in Aramaic (p. 14). "It is exegetically quite certain" that the little horn is Antiochus Epiphanes (p. 12). "There can be no doubt that" in his mad Nebuchadnezzar the author alludes to his contemporary, the mad Antiochus (p. 38). This unbounded assurance is not unnaturally accompanied by intolerance towards opponents. We read of "the unhistorical standpoint of orthodoxy" (p. 7), of "the magical idea of revelation" (p. 7), and of "a huge mass of foolish hypotheses" (p. 32). And yet Professor Kamphausen complains of "orthodoxy which deems itself infallible"! (p. 40). There must be many among his readers who will regret the *ex parte* attitude assumed throughout, and who will find it difficult, if not impossible, to believe that the writer who sketched so accurate a portrait of Nebuchadnezzar, who reproduced with approximate correctness several Babylonian names, and knew of a Babylonian prince unmentioned, so far as our information goes, by all but native authorities, can have been the blundering ignoramus depicted in this pamphlet.

FETICHISM.—In his introduction to his *Distinctive Messages of the Old Religions* (Blackwood & Sons), a very characteristic book with a characteristic title, Dr. Matheson endeavours to explain the origin of Fetichism, the worship of the lowest things. We doubt, however, whether his explanation is in

accordance with facts. He says, "It is not denied that the primitive man seeks his first object of adoration not in the stars of heaven, but in the fragments of wood and stone which he picks up from the earth. It is popularly said that he reverences the lower in preference to the higher objects because as yet his own nature is too lowly to be aspiring. He is supposed to be seeking things on a level with himself. To my mind, on the other hand, it is exactly the reverse. Instead of being attracted to the stone by its levelness with his own nature, he is drawn to it by its appearance of superiority to his own nature. He sees in it something which presents the aspect of a being above his own. He finds in his individual life the evidence of fluctuation and change; he finds in this inert piece of matter the evidence of steadfastness and immutability. Its very inertness marks it out to his mind, not only from the world within, but from the higher portion of the world without. For the higher objects of nature, sun, moon, and stars, exhibit to the eye the appearance of continual change. He has been taught to reverence above all things the attribute of longevity, eternity, everlastingness. He has been taught to reverence that attribute just because he has found it wanting in himself. He flies for refuge to the things which seem free from change, and not subject to fluctuation. He finds them not in the highest but in the lowliest forms, and he makes these forms his gods." It may seem to many, as we confess it does to us, that this explanation of matters is too far-fetched, and too fine-spun. Fetichism belongs to the stage of savage life with which actual observation would lead us to associate invariably selfishness and violence, cruelty and slavishness. It undoubtedly implies a recognition of there being a Higher Power or Higher Powers than man, but does not so much express reverence of those powers as a desire to control them. Fetichism is closely allied with *sorcery*, or an endeavour to command the power of nature. The savage recognizes his dependence upon nature—he needs the beneficial influences of the weather for the preservation and comfort of his own life, and he desires the aid of supernatural forces for his own protection, and for the destruction of his enemies, and he finds in magical forms and ceremonies and incantations what he believes is the method of commanding the elements. The very word Fetich is derived from *feitizo*, magic (Hegel, *Philosophy of History*). The way in which the Fetich is treated proves that its worshipper, or rather its possessor, believes that the supernatural power it represents is in some way in bondage to him, and can be compelled to serve his will. If any mischance occurs which it has not averted, if rain is suspended, if there is a failure in the crops, he binds or beats or destroys the Fetich, and so gets rid of it, making another immediately, and thus holds it in his own power. It is merely a creation that expresses the arbitrary choice of its maker, and which always remains in his hands. This state of mind in a savage is perfectly intelligible; but we have some difficulty in associating him with a sentimental dissatisfaction with what is mutable and transitory, and a profound reverence for that which is unchangeable and eternal.

INDIAN AND CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM.—In the *Message of India* Dr. Matheson describes with great wealth of poetical language the main ideas that lie at the root of Brahmanism, and points out what he thinks are correspondences between them and certain aspects of Christian teaching. Thus, with regard to the worship of Siva, the destroyer, he says: "The worship of a destroyer seems a startling thing, and appears to be something anomalous in the history of religion. It is not really so, it is the second stage in the message of life. Nearly every man experiences at one time what the Brahman has experienced and photographed. What is that destroyer whom the Brahman worships? It is the destroyer of shams, of illusions, of dreams. The destruction he craves is the destruction of things which to him have no existence except in imagination; in other words, it is the destroying of vain fancies. He wants to get his mind emancipated from illusions. This is what every life experiences in its second stage—the stage in which its primitive hope has faded into despair. The moment we find that life has failed to fulfil its early promises, we seek refuge in the belief that the things we desired were only shadows. Our greatest comfort lies in contemplating their unsubstantiality, and in looking to a state of things where they shall have no existence even in thought. At these times we all worship the destroyer; our view of eternity is itself that of a destroyer, of something that shall rend in tatters our webs of sophistry. Let no one imagine that this aspiration of the Brahman has nothing in common with Christianity. It presents, on the contrary, one of the main links by which a Christian missionary might connect the religion of the Cross with the religious life of India. When we sing in our churches every Sunday those words of Keble—

"Till, in the ocean of Thy love,
We lose ourselves in heaven above,"

are we breathing any other aspiration than that which, in somewhat fantastic form, is expressed in the creed of Brahmanism?" Dr. Matheson would have strengthened his position greatly if the words in which Christian aspiration is here expressed had been from Holy Scripture, or if he had shown that they contain an idea which is to be found anywhere in the Word of God. It is on the lips of prophets and apostles, and of our Lord, that we expect to find authoritative statements of the aspirations characteristic of the religion we hold. The fact that a Brahman could use these words of Keble to express his religious aspiration does not of necessity prove that Brahmanism and Christianity are somewhat spiritually akin to each other. Some might conclude from it that the Christian poet had accidentally fallen upon a somewhat heathenish idea and sentiment. By a Brahman, we suppose, the words would be taken as a literal and matter-of-fact statement of desire: a Christian would be bound to acknowledge that they contain a strong and somewhat overstrained sentiment, clothed in a figure of speech which is not to be interpreted literally.

THE APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES AND GEOLOGY.—In the *United Presbyterian Magazine* the Rev. J. E. H. Thomson, B.D., points out a very interesting connection between a passage in the apocryphal *Acta Petri et Pauli*, and the geological changes indicated on the columns of the temple of Jupiter Serapis, at Pozzuoli (Puteoli). In the beginning of the *Acta* we have an account of the terror of the Jews when they heard that Paul had appealed to Cæsar. They agree finally to petition Nero, “the king,” to hinder Paul by any means from reaching Rome. Nero, nothing loth, orders all the harbours of Italy to be watched, in order that Paul should be seized on landing, and forthwith executed. In the midst of these consultations the Apostle lands at Puteoli, or as the writer invariably calls it, Pontiole, accompanied by Dioscoros, the master of the ship that had brought him from Malta to Syracuse. Paul had healed his son of a mortal sickness, and moved by this, Dioscoros had become a zealous Christian, and had accompanied his benefactor from Syracuse. On arriving at Puteoli the new convert began to speak boldly in the name of Christ. The magistrates of the town concluded that this must be Paul, beheaded him, and sent his head to Nero. The emperor then assembled all the Jews, and called upon them to rejoice because their enemy was slain. Meantime, when Paul heard what had been done to his friend Dioscoros, having gathered all the Christian inhabitants of Puteoli, he led them out of the city as far as Baiæ, a few miles farther round the Bay of Naples: then looking back upon the city he had left, he prayed to God to avenge His saint on the ungodly inhabitants, and the whole city “sank a fathom into the shore of the sea.” In the frontispiece of Sir Charles Lyell’s *Elements of Geology* a representation is given of the ruins of the temple of Jupiter Serapis at Puteoli, with perforations in the second drum of each column, indicating that the building had at one time been submerged to a certain depth in the sea—the perforations having been made by a mollusc called the *lithodomus*, which can only live under water. A careful examination of the temple revealed the fact that the floor of the building must have been above sea level in A.D. 230. An inscription recording gifts presented by Alexander Severus, who reigned from A.D. 222 to 235, was discovered in the temple, showing that the building was then in use. But soon after this time the process of sinking must have begun. The extent to which this proceeded is indicated by the perforations on the columns to which we have alluded. After a thousand years another change set in, and the building gradually rose from the waters. At the beginning of the present century the ruin, down to the foot of the pedestals of the columns, was above sea level; but since then the process of sinking has gone on, at the rate of about one inch in four years, and the depth of water is now almost two feet. We can, therefore, understand the origin of the passage in the *Acta*. The writer, landing, it may be from Syria or Egypt, at the half-ruined harbour of Puteoli, sees there stately columns rising out of the water, and round it are other buildings likewise ruined and partly submerged. He finds no one who can tell him of the

disaster which caused this. The last historical incident he knows of Puteoli is Paul's landing there. If Alaric had by this time sacked Puteoli, that transaction most likely referred to the paltry city on the cliff; and what was the cause of this disaster which had thus sunk in the water the statelier older city? The city had dropped from knowledge from the time of Paul's visit. Paul must have been the cause of this disappearance. Paul must have cursed it, and so it sank. The historian, or rather novelist, thus supplies the geologist with the information that in the fifth century the city was submerged some six feet. Mr. Thomson concludes by remarking that the fact that the connection between the two things—the passage in the *Acta Petri et Pauli* and the peculiar marks on the pillars of the temple at Puteoli—has never been noticed before, proves how little geologists study patristic literature, and how little students of patristic literature study geology.

MINUTE PREDICTION.—It has been said that miracles which were originally designed to assist in the establishing of Christianity are to-day a great obstacle to faith. The same is being said by many concerning the prophecies. By a general consent of many critics the principle has been laid down that prophetic imagery should not be too literally interpreted, and that we should rather look for a fulfilment of the main conception of a prophecy than of its circumstantial details. Within certain limits there can be no doubt that the principle is a reasonable one. There can be no doubt that in the New Testament, as the evangelists are careful to note, we find many circumstantial details in the predictions concerning Christ literally fulfilled; yet, at the same time, a stand needs to be made against the gratuitous multiplication of such supposed cases of minute prediction. Travellers in the East have a good deal to answer for in this matter: it seems impossible for them to notice wild beasts prowling about among ruins without drawing our attention to a prophecy that those particular places will be given over to that particular kind of wild beast. Yet surely the prophecy finds its fulfilment rather in the desolation of the place than in the presence of the lion or jackal, as the case may be. The Rev. A. W. Archibald, D.D., writing in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, asserts that the prediction of minute circumstances is of the very essence of prophecy—that it constitutes the only difference between sagacious foresight and divinely-given actual foreknowledge. "Any one," he says, "can make a vague prediction and run a fair chance of having it verified. It is the wonderful minutiae which test the matter of a real inspiration." He is unfortunate in the proofs he draws from Isa. liii. in support of his assertion. "When we read," he says, "of the Person of whom the prophet speaks, that 'He opened not His mouth,' we are reminded of the patient silence of Christ which was so inexplicable to Pilate; and when we read again, 'His grave with the wicked, and with the rich in His death,' we are struck with the correspondence to subsequent facts, when the Lord was 'with the wicked' in being crucified between two thieves, and

was 'with the rich in His death' in that He was buried in the private garden of the wealthy Joseph, while the rich Nicodemus brought a hundred pounds of fragrant 'myrrh and aloes.' The evangelists do not speak of these incidents in the Passion as being fulfilments of prophecy, and it is highly doubtful whether we have any right to describe them as such. Christ did not maintain silence all through His trial: time after time He spoke to His judges, and in one instance He spoke to a bystander. The general idea of the prophecy *did* find fulfilment in His unresisting submission to injury. The popular opinion that the fact of a rich man's providing a tomb for the body of the Saviour is a fulfilment of the words, "With the rich in His death," is equally unfounded. The general idea of the passage in Isaiah is that, "even after His death, the people pursued their Benefactor with insults: He was buried, not with His family, but with the open deniers of God." "The rich" are synonymous with "the wicked," unfamiliar as such a collocation may be to us. There are, indeed, in the Psalms many examples of "the humble" or "the poor" standing for "the righteous," and this of itself implies that "the rich" might stand for "the wicked." We have something like a parallel to it in Luke vi. 24 and Matt. xix. 23. The passage in Mark xv. 28, which Dr. Archibald might have quoted in support of the other instance, he quotes of minute prediction, has now disappeared from the Revised text. It is almost certainly an uninspired comment (based on Luke xxii. 37) which came to be accidentally embodied in the text. Christ's being counted a transgressor and treated as one would have been an adequate fulfilment of Isa. liii. 12, even if no others had been crucified with Him on Calvary.

RELIGION: ITS FUTURE.—According to an article in the *Fortnightly Review* by Dr. Momerie, "the religions of the world ultimately resolve themselves into two kinds. The priests, as a rule, and the great majority of mankind, have embraced the one; the prophets, and a very small minority, the other. The one is interested, the other disinterested. The one is the art of getting good things, the other the art of becoming good. The one ignores morality or relegates it to a secondary place, the other makes morality supreme. The one is the religion of savages, and of a low state of evolution; we may, therefore, call it the religion of the past. The other is the religion of the noblest of our race; it belongs to the highest stage of evolution, and we may, therefore, call it the religion of the future." We are further told that this "religion of conduct" will not require from its adherents an explicit recognition of a God, and that it will probably cheer men with the hope of immortality. One could wish that the latter doctrine were to be based on some firmer foundation than that our author assigns to it, viz., the strong probability that all things will not end in fiasco and collapse. He says that the religion of the future will be called Christianity—not "the Christianity of Christendom, but the Christianity of Christ." So far these vaticinations are very comforting. It is consoling and encouraging to learn, on what we

hope is good authority, that we have got out of the lower stage of evolution, and that the time is at hand when more attention will be paid to conduct. As Christians, too, we have every reason to believe that no movement characterized by greater faithfulness to the teaching and example of Christ can go wrong or end in failure. Unfortunately, however, Dr. Momerie quenches all the hopes he would fain inspire by telling us that it is virtually impossible to arrive at any true knowledge concerning Christ. "The New Testament," he says, "more often than not, perhaps, misrepresents Him. Even the first three Gospels, as we have them, are quite untrustworthy. Nor do the MSS. help us much; for sometimes they support what we feel sure He did not say, and fail to support what we feel sure He did say. There is but little authority for the story of His conversation with the woman taken in adultery, and yet we know instinctively that it is true. There is strong authority for the cursing of the barren fig-tree, yet we know instinctively that it is false. Further, it is now established, beyond the possibility of reasonable doubt, that the Gospel miracles—except possibly those of healing—were altogether imaginary." This last statement is a curious one. The writer probably meant to say that actual cures were wrought, but that they had a naturalistic and not a supernatural explanation; yet his words, on the face of them, imply that the cures *were* miraculous in the ordinary sense of the word. If the Gospels are untrustworthy, and men have to rely upon what their instinctive feelings prompt them to select as true from the ancient documents, Christendom will soon be in a much more demoralized condition than even, according to Dr. Momerie, it now is. We warmly approve the zeal with which he demolishes the caricature of Christian teaching which he has drawn. He has, however, misnamed it: it is not the Christianity of Christendom, but the "Christianity" of Dr. Momerie. Something more than miscellaneous and slatternly information is needed for criticizing, not to speak of overthrowing, even the Christianity of the schools. It has, no doubt, its weaknesses and its defects, but it must be known accurately before an opinion concerning it that is worth having can be formed. It is to be hoped that the religion of the future, whatever its name is to be, will not be characterized by the spirit of the above article, for that is flippant and rancorous to the last degree.

CHRISTIAN THOUGHT.

THE RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

BY REV. PROF. W. GARDEN BLAIKIE, D.D., LL.D.

So much has lately been said and written on this subject that it would be strange indeed if no settled positions had been reached by this time of day that might be said to be beyond the sphere of discussion. In complying with an editorial request to make a contribution on the subject to this journal, it

may be useful for me to divide it into two parts ; noting first, some points on which there may be said to be general agreement, and then adverting to the more misty region in which doubt or debate still prevails.

1. All seem to be agreed that to promote social improvement is not the *primary* object of the Church. Some may indeed lean to the position that the Christian Church cannot do much good in any other way than as a civilizing agency, which, through the gentle agencies in her hands,

“ Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros ” :

but no one would seriously set this down as the chief end of the Church. Her direct and primary business is with the soul ; she is charged with God's blessed message of love and grace in Christ, and enjoys the great privilege of inviting men back to His favour and friendship. Her message is based on the fact that sin has brought its curse into the world, separating man from God, and dooming him to punishment ; over against which fact she has to set the blessed truth that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners from sin in every sense, and restore them to their lost inheritance, as the children of God, both in this life and in that which is to come. Whatever else the Church may do, she must ever deal with this as her chief business ; and experience has shown, and continues to show, that if the ministers of the Gospel discharge this duty in a hearty, lively, sympathetic, and consistent manner, their labour is appreciated by many in all classes, high and low. Instead of the working classes giving them the cold shoulder, they will be drawn as by a charm to listen to their voice, and in the message that makes them feel that the grace of God and the love of Christ, the forgiveness of sin and eternal glory are not shams or shadows, but realities, they will find something fitted to refresh and satisfy them more than higher earnings or shorter hours. The Church is not in the position of a tradesman whose old business has gone to pieces through new fashions, and who must follow the new fashion if he is to live. Whatever minor adaptations the minister of the Gospel may find desirable, his principal work will ever remain the same. But then it is a work that has never prospered hitherto when gone about in a sleepy, formal way, as it never has failed when discharged with life and sympathy ; and the same conditions, both of failure and success, are applicable to the present day.

2. Another point is hardly less generally accepted—that nevertheless the Church has *something* to do with social problems—with the regeneration of society, and the reform of social wrongs. Sin being the great disturbing force which has given rise to the existence of the Church, she is called to contend with sin in every form, and try to destroy it wherever it has found a footing in our world. Selfishness, greed, pride, ambition, and others such sins have from time immemorial created infinite suffering and inflicted infinite wrong on great masses of men ; it is surely the duty of the Church to lift up her voice against the practice of such sins, and use her influence for their destruction wherever her voice can be heard. Let it be allowed that the direct

function of the Church is to turn individual men from sin to God ; yet she can neither look on calmly while social wrong is perpetrated, nor content herself with merely exhorting those who suffer wrong to be patient and amiable. Besides, the Church will always find that certain social conditions are favourable, perhaps indispensable, to the right discharge of Christian duty, so that if she so much as wishes men and women to be good Christians, she will strive to extricate them from all unfavourable social conditions, such as poverty, hunger, disease, and dirt, and surround them with conditions more favourable to a Christian life.

3. Further, there are certain *forms of social improvement* with which it is very natural and suitable for the Church to concern herself. Such are—the better housing of the poor, temperance reform, the improvement of workshops, especially where the work is sedentary, and where foul air is particularly noxious ; shortening of hours, especially for women and children ; protecting the day of rest, encouragement of education, and likewise of wholesome recreation ; reclaiming the erring and the outcast, especially the drunkard and the prostitute ; nursing the sick, comforting the afflicted, cheering, helping, and encouraging the downcast. All these are acknowledged to be suitable labours of love for the Christian Church, and it cannot be said with truth that at the present day the Church is careless of them. On the contrary, we find all active and living Churches greatly disposed towards one or more forms of such labour. The care of the poor, and especially the sick poor, might be added to the list, if public provision were not made for that purpose. Even as it is, there are forms of beneficence bearing on certain classes of the poor in which the Church may engage with great benefit to them and moral advantage to herself ; such as rescue-homes, cripple-homes, crèches, inebriate-homes, and institutions for the imbecile, and for the aged and helpless. Besides these, there is the great field which General Booth has so manfully and valiantly occupied. Rome was not built in a day, and Churches can hardly be expected to take up a new idea of vast compass, and grapple with it the moment it is tabled. But the support which Christian men have so generally given to Mr. Booth's scheme, the favour with which it has been received on every side, shows how the tide is flowing in our Churches, and how much there is of readiness to promote measures of social amelioration when feasible plans are started under competent men.

But now we come to the dividing line where the views of the Churches and the views of working men are liable to diverge. Some of the measures which we have now specified are liable to be treated somewhat contemptuously, if they be represented as proofs that the Church is trying to do her duty to the children of labour. Many of these objects belong to the category of charity, and what working men demand is not charity but justice. They maintain that they are not getting their own. They are not getting that proportion of profit which rightly belongs to those whose labour has mainly created the profit. All, or nearly all, that the Churches do is a mere bagatelle, must be a mere bagatelle, so long as they decline to

back the claim of the working classes to a very different place from that which they hold now in the economy of industry. Three questions in particular occupy the attention of working men around us ; hours of labour, or an Eight Hours Bill ; rates of wages and the policy of strikes ; and re-arrangement of the land and capital of the country. The question now becomes a very serious one—what ought to be the attitude of the Church in reference to these ?

1. *The Eight Hours Bill.* To us it seems plain that it would be unreasonable to expect the Church to lend support to this (as yet) very crude and undigested measure. Two matters are involved ; generally, the desirability of shorter hours of labour, and specifically, the advisability of an enactment which would make it illegal for workmen to work more than eight hours a day. On the first point there is general agreement ; on the second point we are far from agreement. The whole current of opinion and feeling in this country for many years has been running toward shortening the hours of labour. We say advisedly, opinion and feeling ; it is not a question of mere sentiment, because it has been made out clearly that more work and better work in proportion can be done in the shortened period. The manufacturers were not ruined, as they apprehended they would be, by the Ten Hours Act ; they got more work for the time, and of better quality than when the working day was twelve, or even fourteen or fifteen hours. As for eight hours, it seems to most of us that, in most employments, if a man work eight good hours he does very well. If, by general consent, eight hours should become practically the length of the working day, the workman would certainly have a more leisurely and desirable life ; more time for reading, for self-improvement, and for intercourse with his family and his friends. In this point of view, his life would come to be more on a level with that of the professional classes, and he would get a lift over that gulf that at present separates the cultured and leisurely classes from those who eat their bread in the sweat of their brow. This we cannot but regard as a very desirable consummation. The working classes by the possession of the suffrage share the political power and responsibility of the country, and it is most desirable not only that they should have leisure to gain an intelligent acquaintance with political problems, but that they should be in a position to exchange views with members of other classes, and to stand abreast of them in discussing questions for the general good. No doubt it will be said by some that greater leisure in the hands of workmen of low tastes means more time in the public-house, and greater degradation of personal character. But do all the cultured and leisurely class make an unexceptionable use of their leisure ? What of those children of fortune whose one object in life is the pursuit of pleasure, and who have hardly ever known what an hour of good solid labour of any kind means ? What of the fashionable *habitués* of Monaco or of the race-course ? Of course in some cases there would be abuse of increased leisure. But one would hope that the influence of living Christianity, the growth of intelligence, the increased

sense of responsibility, the growing regard for character that marks a class rising in importance and influence, would be powerful checks against the growth of sensual indulgence in connection with shortened hours.

With one of the arguments often advanced for shortened hours we have not much sympathy. We mean the plea that a larger number of workmen would be needed to do the country's work, and thus the ranks of the unemployed would be thinned, and their miseries relieved. Two remarks occur to us on this argument: first, that if more men were needed for the same amount of work, and the market price of that piece of work remained the same, the wage for a day's work must fall; and second, that even if the labour market were relieved to-day, yet, with a population growing as rapidly as that of Great Britain, the old difficulty would return in the next generation. Besides this, we have doubts whether, as a rule, the men who are out of work are equal in ability to those who are pretty regularly employed. It is the least efficient men who are first paid off when slackness sets in; and if, by some sudden *coup de main*, employment were to be found for all these in existing establishments, it is doubtful whether the work, at least of a considerable proportion of them, would not be done in such a manner that a first-class employer would be unable to continue to employ such indifferent skill.

The other question bearing on the point now before us is, Would it be wise, or would it even be feasible, to pass an enactment that should absolutely prevent employers from receiving, or workmen from giving, more than eight hours' work? Let it be observed that the case of great factories is different from the case of ordinary places of industry. In a great factory, depending wholly on its machinery, all must work together, and all must stop together; it is not possible to make much distinction between the man of eighty and the lad of eighteen. But take establishments not depending on machinery, and especially establishments where the pay is for piecework, and see how the rule would act. Take a compositors' room, for example. Why should a young, strong, able-bodied man not have the power of working more than eight hours if he wished? If it became a general practice to work but eight hours, he would naturally conform to that as *his* general practice; but who shall say that he ought to be prevented by law from working an extra hour, or several extra hours, if the exigencies of business or his own interests required it? Most men would say that it would be absolute tyranny to prevent him. We cordially admit that, for an occupation like the miner's, where the damp, the foul air, and the constrained posture are so ruinous to health, a limit of eight hours is most reasonable. What goes against common sense is, to apply to all employments, whatever their nature, the same rule you apply to the miner's. This, at least, is the view that must commonly be taken in the present state of the question. That the Churches should be expected to support a hard-and-fast eight hours bill is, I think, unreasonable, but not that they should give their influence for shorter hours as a general rule.

2. Next, as to *wages and strikes*. It does not seem to me reasonable that Churches should be expected to meddle much with these. Let it be cheerfully allowed that the proportion of profit which workmen have been wont to receive as wages in prosperous times and prosperous businesses when employers were making great fortunes, has been too small; that workmen have done right in claiming more; and that they have only exercised their legal right when they have refused to work on what they have deemed insufficient wages. Still, it is true that the Churches, for the most part, are *not competent to decide* when a strike is warranted and when it is not, and that it would be very unwise for them to commit themselves to one side under a vague impression that it was right. The issues of a great strike are so serious every way—serious to the employer, and very serious to the employed—that Churches as such, or even ministers or members of Churches in their individual capacity, would not be warranted in interfering on one side or the other, except on the clearest perception of the merits of the case. Only in one case has the present writer been able to see so clearly on what side justice lay as to warrant him in coming before the public in favour of men on strike. That case was the strike in the Scottish railways a few years ago, where the question was not so much one of wages as length of hours. There could be no doubt that the length of time during which many men had to work was most inhuman, and that a public protest against it was demanded. But even in this case one had to qualify one's support by strongly disapproving of the men for striking without the stipulated notice, and for coercing those who were willing to work. And, generally, there have often been so many things connected with strikes of a repulsive kind that the Churches have been glad to give them a wide berth, although we gladly own that in recent years strikes have been comparatively free from the ugly features that used to mark them in former days.

3. Then as to the great question of *land and capital*. It is impossible for a fair mind not to admit that there is force in some of the arguments that demand some redistribution of these. Some of our ablest political economists—such as Adam Smith, Prof. Fawcett, Mr. Stuart Mill, and Prof. Elliott Cairnes—admit that no wealth can be produced without labour, and that those who through great wealth enjoy all the comforts of life without labour, are made rich by the labour of others. The annual income of the United Kingdom is generally allowed to be from twelve to thirteen hundred millions sterling. If out of this amount something like two hundred and twenty millions go as rent, two hundred and fifty millions as interest on capital, and three hundred and fifty millions to others who do not practise manual labour, there remains only about five hundred millions as wages paid to those whose manual labour produces the comforts and the necessaries of life. I do not inquire whether the above division of the national income be quite correct, but if it be anything like correct, it is enough to raise a very serious question, Are not the actual workers underpaid?

It is the strong conviction of many that they *are* underpaid; and yet when one asks how this is to be remedied, one is at a loss how to answer.

There are just two ways of altering the present distribution of wealth—by wholesale revolution, or by piecemeal reform.

Revolution takes all the land and all the capital of the country, and throws them into a common fund for the benefit of all the people. But how are you to deal with the present holders? You must either confiscate their property, or remunerate them for it. If you *remunerate* them, you continue the present burden on labour, merely changing its incidence; nominally you present the people with valuable property, but the property is so tremendously mortgaged that the interest of the mortgages swallows up the proceeds. If you *confiscate*, you do an enormous wrong to the present holders, who have acquired their property on the faith that they would be protected in the enjoyment of it. Even granting it to be a bad system that allows individuals to possess so large a share of the general property, as some do now, the system has grown up and continued for centuries, and the whole foundations of society would be shaken, and interminable violence and anarchy would be introduced, by any measure that would suddenly transfer the ownership to the mass of the nation.

That Christian Churches of any denomination should be expected to support such a proposal is out of the question. On other grounds, too, besides moral, the project is beset with difficulties. If land and capital are all made national property, there must be a great army of Government officials to administer them. But, for the most part, Government officials are neither the most active nor the most conscientious and careful of managers. To suppress all interest a man may have in the success of his labour is not the most likely way to make him an efficient worker. And what security could we have for the success of the scheme? How could we secure that, in the attempt to work it, it would not fall into confusion, and in the end aggravate the evils it was designed to cure? Certain it is that the English are far too practical a people to launch out into a great revolutionary scheme on the mere strength of an idea or a pretty theory. It is easy to draw beautiful pictures, like Mr. Bellamy's in *Looking Backwards*, but that a great nation could ever glide into such a scheme without resistance or protest is as completely out of the question as that a man should sleep a mesmeric sleep for more than a hundred years, and awake "all right," as the story supposed. Whoever may give support to such revolutionary schemes, the Christian Church can never be of the number. And whatever grounds of dissatisfaction working men may allege against her, it were absurd to blame her for not helping in this.

But all the more on this account ought the Church to encourage all feasible methods for promoting a better distribution of land and capital. Schemes for allotments, for the compulsory sale of land needed for public interests, for peasant proprietorship, for fair rents, and the like, deserve all encouragement. Entails and primogeniture rights should be prohibited, as

tending to undue accumulation. Whether measures might be devised to restrict accumulation in the hands of a few is a question which we do not feel competent to discuss. But whatever is competent in the direction of giving the people more interest in the land and capital of the country, though it might fall far below what would be demanded for a perfect system, is surely loudly called for in the interest both of justice and expediency.

And there are other things with which the Church ought to charge herself. She might do much to vindicate the honourable position of the labourer. It was under Pagan Rome and Greece that labour was judged disgraceful, that it was work for slaves, not free men. What a lift the labourer got when the Son of God became a member of the labouring class, and with His own hands, in all likelihood, worked for His living! It is not necessary to speak as if manual labour were altogether on a par with intellectual, but much might be done to mitigate the view of it as degrading, the leaven of which still works so often. A word of cheer and encouragement for the labourer from those who do not labour like him might often be like cold water to the thirsty soul, and prove very refreshing. But it is not so much by studied words or formal encouragements that good might be done, as by a sympathetic spirit finding natural outlets on informal occasions, and thus indicating the more conclusively what lies within.

Might not much good be done likewise by the Church setting herself right against the hard selfishness that has so much influence in the world of labour, and trying to encourage a more considerate and brotherly spirit? Our fictional literature seems at present to have this for one of its objects; many is the story that comes down on selfishness, and seeks to promote the spirit of brotherhood. In a question of this kind the pulpit ought not to lag behind the novel. Nor ought this to be treated as a little matter. It is not a question on which a passing hint at distant intervals will suffice. Rather, it ought to be clearly set by every preacher of the Gospel before his mind as one of the practical matters on which he ought to bestow the greatest pains. The promotion of such a spirit might well be regarded as one of the aims of his life. "To sweeten the breath of society," to use a phrase of Dr. Chalmers', is surely a noble and blessed achievement. Is it not embraced in the second clause of the angel's song, "Peace on earth"? And might it not be a matter of profound satisfaction to any minister if he succeeded in breaking down the antipathy of class to class, and especially if he brought about, or even helped to bring about, a happy relation between employer and employed?

In any discussion of this subject it would not be right to overlook the great function of the Church to train men to those moral and spiritual habits, which, by promoting self-control, industry, thrift, and foresight, contribute so much to make the working man's life worth living. After all, of how little avail is the most amply provided home without these habits? Under the influence of them, each day of ordinary life brings new stores of satisfaction and enjoyment, while the want of them, even in the richest homes, is associated with splendid misery. And if, over and above the ways and

habits of a moral life, there be found the hopes and joys of the life of faith, how unspeakable the blessing!

After all, the Church that by its affectionate and faithful ministrations continually promotes this spirit, does unspeakable benefit to the working man.

"NOW WE SEE THROUGH A GLASS, DARKLY."

BY MRS. BOYD CARPENTER, Ripon.

THE beach was a pleasant one, with long stretches of bright smooth sand, broken here and there by rocks and pools. These lent an agreeable variety of form and contrast of colour to the scene, for the rocks abounded in rich marine vegetation; feathery weeds of brightest scarlet and richest purple lay side by side with floating ribbons of emerald hue. The placid pools that nestled in the hollows held many a gem of purest ray hidden within their depths, and from their mirror-like surface flashed back the reflection of the sunlight. Nor were they devoid of life. When the tide was high, and the sea covered them, they became the favourite haunt of certain sea-mice, crabs, shrimps, and others, who now and then found themselves imprisoned in these shallow depths until they should be released by the return of the tide, and enabled to seek their homes in the greater depth beyond.

The crabs, of course, were independent of the tide. They could breathe in the air or under the water equally well, and would often go to and fro across the hard smooth sand back to their ocean home. Owing to this peculiarity they held their heads rather high, and were inclined to think themselves very superior in knowledge and power; they certainly had better opportunities of knowing things, and as knowledge is said to be power, perhaps they were not so very far wrong. Anyway, this was the spirit which animated a certain crab who frequented the largest of the pools; and apparently not without reason, for he was constantly appealed to in any matter of doubt or difficulty, and this surely was some excuse for him if he seemed at times to think that he knew everything. He was of an inquiring and reflective turn of mind, a bit of a philosopher too. He made friends of every creature in his own element, the sea, and learnt from them what he could; but he made friends also in his excursions to the pools with others who lived in the air, from whom he learnt new facts. Upon these he was wont to enlarge when he returned to the sea, and so he gradually acquired a position of teacher, and was constantly referred to in matters of dispute. His most attentive pupil and most constant disputant was a young sole whose home was far below the surface, and who rarely quitted its unruffled depths. Half buried in the sand, she would lie and listen to the wondrous stories of her friend and teacher, the crab. Around them would gather one and another of their friends and neighbours, occasionally throwing in a word of comment or approval, or propounding a difficulty, or more rarely contributing a piece of information.

"But what is the sun? You keep talking of the sun, and I don't know what you mean; what is the sun?" she sharply inquired, in the midst of an interesting account of the crab's morning on the rocks.

"The sun is the source of life," said the crab sententiously, not best pleased at having his story spoilt.

"Well," said the sole, "we seem to get on very well without him, none of us have seen the sun, and yet we live very comfortably, and have got all we want, plenty of food and comfortable snug homes."

"Ah!" rejoined the crab, "you don't really live without the sun; you think you do because you don't know him; but it would be a very different world, I can tell you, if there were no sun."

"Well, tell me what he is like. Have you seen him?"

"No, I cannot say I have," admitted the crab; "no one has seen him at any time."

"Then I don't believe there is any such thing; it is only your absurd imagination, and you think to impose upon us because you know some things which we don't. I shan't believe it unless you can prove it," said the sole, wriggling the sand triumphantly off her back as she glanced round for approval at the plaice and whiting who had gathered near, and settling herself again with the air of having completely posed her teacher.

"Well, I believe in him because I have felt his heat and have seen his light," said the crab.

"Then, did the sun make light and heat?" asked a whiting, who had been listening very attentively.

"They are part of him," replied the crab; "he would not be a sun without light and heat, and none of them can be separated. There can be no life without heat and light; everything would die if they were gone. As long as the world has been, so have they."

"You speak in riddles," petulantly put in the sole. "What do we know of sun, or heat, or light, living down here? Perhaps, if you could tell us what these things *are*, we could follow you."

"Well, it will be difficult," admitted the crab, "because you have had no experience of these things. And yet I think I can do it, because if I can show that I speak the truth about the things you do know, you will believe me when I tell you about what is above you, won't you? To begin with, you cannot see the sun; I have never actually seen him myself; neither can you feel his heat, for you are a fish. But here I may remark that you must be willing to believe the testimony of those who can, if you see that it is not contradicted by anything you know. It is as much beyond your power to feel heat as it is to see the sun; but this is no proof that they do not exist; you must 'take these on faith,' as they say. And yet not altogether, now I come to think of it, for you can examine carefully the evidence there is of such a thing as heat. Though you cannot yourself experience it, you can test the assertions of those who have; and you can observe its effects, and see if they

can be accounted for in any other way. If they cannot, it clearly shows that this, which is called heat, is a very real thing. And when you see that it fits in and explains a whole number of things you could not understand before, you will be ready to believe you have found what is true, will you not? But I won't ask you to agree to this yet. I will first show you that you have some knowledge of light. There is not one of you that is entirely destitute of light. Let us put it to the test, come along."

So saying, the crab crawled upward, accompanied by his friend the sole, and by several others who had been attracted by the conversation, and were interested in its continuance. After going some distance, he approached a rock which reared itself to within a short distance of the sea's surface. Upon this he mounted, and, turning to the sole, inquired:

"Do you see no difference in the sea here from what it was below?"

"Yes," she replied, "it is bright and blue; down below it is dull and dreary. I often come up here to enjoy a good swim, and I love the change."

"This is light," said the crab, "and down below is darkness. You love light, you say; and you evidently know the difference between light and darkness, since you come up here to enjoy it."

"But it is all very well for you to argue like that. Of course, I know the difference between blue sea and gloomy sea, but it does not prove to me that light has got anything to do with it, nor that light comes from the sun," objected the sole.

"We must go a little further then," said the crab, crawling onwards towards the shore. By-and-bye he gained a rock which rose above the waves, and, calling to the sole, urged her to swim upward as he climbed until they touched the surface. As they did so, he bade her notice how much paler the ocean grew, so pale that she could hardly bear it, yet for one moment, before she sank relieved to the ocean bed, she caught a glow of golden glorious light.

"Now," said he, "I have proved to you that there is such a thing as light; you have felt it in your own experience. It must come from somewhere. You did not make it, did you? Neither did I. You have seen that the higher you go the more light you get, and it would go on increasing if you could bear it, until at length you would reach the sun."

"But where is the sun?" timidly asked a plaice that was floating near.

"The sun is everywhere, throughout all nature, and yet we think of him most often as in heaven," replied the crab. "I admit that we are wrong to do this, because, as I said to you, the whole world would be different if there were no sun—everything would lack life. And yet it is difficult to avoid speaking of him in this way to you, who live down here and cannot see all the wondrous things he does."

"Well, I admit the light," sighed the sole, as she sank somewhat exhausted on the sand; "but I did not see any sign of a sun, nor do I see that it is necessary to believe in one; there was only a great flood of light,

and surely this is part of that same nature you keep talking about so much. We could get on very well if we had light only. What gain would a sun be, and why need you assert that the light has any connection with the sun?"

"The sun makes us sure that we shall always have light. There are times when we seem to lose it, and have to try and find our way in the dark with no light to guide us. I have often been caught on the rocks by darkness coming on," said the crab, "and all the world has seemed topsy-turvy, and everything in confusion, but I could always console myself by saying, 'By-and-bye it will be light,' as I shuffled back to the sea, for I knew the sun was somewhere. There are times when we don't see the sun for several days; we have light all the same, but not for so long together, nor so bright—everything is cold and chill. I have learnt from a swallow who often comes and sits on the rocks and chats to me, that they call this winter. Then, again, there are times when the sun shines constantly, and it is hardly dark at all; they call that summer. It is lovely and warm then; everything bursts into life."

"But," objected the sole, "this does not prove that there is a sun; it only proves that you feel the light and the heat; and you don't expect me to believe in an argument which is only drawn from your feelings, feelings which I don't share. It is all very well for you to persuade yourself that there is a sun because you feel what you call its light and heat, but it is no proof."

"True," rejoined the crab, "I don't ask you to go by what I feel, nor yet by what you feel yourself, because, as I said before, being a fish, you cannot feel heat, even if you would. But you can judge of the truth by the difference which its absence makes. When there is no heat all is barren and bare; there is no life in anything. My friend, the swallow, tells me that after he flies away, in the winter, everything dies; the trees are bare, the leaves all withered, the flowers dead. But when summer comes and the sun shines, the warmth calls out new life, and everything seems to smile; the grass begins to grow, the trees to deck themselves with leaves, and the flowers to bloom. The swallow tells me too that there are lands where they always enjoy the sun, because they are nearer to him than we are, and flowers blossom and fruit ripens every day. Surely you will believe that there is a sun somewhere when you see what a tremendous difference his absence makes."

"What did you mean when you said you had never actually seen the sun?" asked the sole.

"I meant that I had only seen the light and felt the heat and knew the life-giving power of the sun, and I said I had never *actually* seen it, because I believe that there are some of those beings they call men who think that they have, and who maintain it is only the same as the earth after all. Two of them were down on the beach some time ago with a long round thing which they looked through. They were looking at the ships, I know, for I heard them say so, and then they sat down, and one told the other that they could make things like the one he had got through which they could look

at the sun itself, and that they could find out what it was made of, and that it was not so wonderful after all, as some people imagined. That a long time ago people used to worship the sun, but that nobody thought of doing so nowadays. They call themselves 'scientific,' I believe."

"Well," said the sole, "you have better opportunities than we of knowing these things, and I am glad to hear all about the sun. It must be very nice to be able to get near him, I know this from the greater joy I feel when I can sport and splash in the clear blue waters above. How happy you must be when you can crawl across the golden sand and lie basking in his rays! I wonder what those other creatures feel whom you call 'men.'"

"Oddly enough, I heard two of them talking about him not long ago," said the crab. "I was lying in a pool half hidden beneath a bunch of cool sea-weed, when they came along the beach and sat down on the rock above me. This is what I heard, and though they never mentioned the sun by name, but always talked of 'him,' it is quite clear whom they meant."

"What I crave is more certain knowledge. 'No man hath seen him at any time,'" said the younger of the two, "and so we have nothing definite to go upon."

"Nothing but his revelation of himself, his works, and the proofs of his ever-constant presence," assented the elder. "'In the beginning he created,' we are told; 'all things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made.' That was one revelation of himself. 'In him was light, and the light was the life of men'; thus he continues to show us of himself, because that 'true light' is still 'the life of men, and lighteth every man that cometh into the world.' Again, not only was he 'in the world, and the world was made by him,' but 'he came unto his own'

"Here I lost the end of the sentence," explained the crab, "for at that moment a large wave washed towards us, causing them to rise to their feet and almost sweeping me from my niche. I managed to cling to the rock pretty firmly, and when it subsided the younger of the two was speaking."

"A consuming fire, you say?"

"Yes," was the reply, "as a fierce heat. It was foretold that he should be 'like a refiner's fire, and should sit as a refiner and purifier,' for not only is it true that 'the fire shall try every man's work,' 'in the day when he shall judge the secrets of men,' but it is equally true that he is doing so now. You know it yourself, you feel it in your soul, and though you may be troubled with these doubts so that darkness hath blinded your eyes for a time, all would be clear to you if you would but keep close to him who hath said, 'I am the light of the world, he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.'

"Again the wave washed towards us, and this time my two friends turned homewards, doubtless continuing the conversation as they went, for they moved slowly, with their faces toward the ground. As for me, I crawled homewards too, to be met, oddly enough, by your question, 'What is the sun?'"

EXPOSITORY THOUGHT.

THE EXPEDIENCY OF CHRIST'S DEPARTURE.

By REV. GEORGE MATHESON, M.A., D.D., F.R.S.E.

ST. LUKE xxiv. 29; ST. JOHN xvi. 7-11.

"ABIDE with us: for it is toward evening, and the day is far spent." "It is expedient for you that I go away." I have placed these two passages together not because they have any connection either in time or text, but because they present the two sides of a great problem—its difficulty and its solution. If ever a prayer could have been pronounced beforehand to be according to the will of God, it would be the cry of the disciples for the continued presence of their Lord. Whether it expressed itself before or after the resurrection, the instinct from which it proceeded was the same—the desire to have Him always near them. And the need was the same—the approach of the evening shadows. In the sphere of religion all the old objects were becoming dim. A cloud had fallen over the beauty of the gods. The rites had ceased to solemnize; the omens had failed to satisfy. To the follower of Christ it was not the choice between one visible guide and another; it was the choice between one visible guide and none. For the last three years religion had been to these disciples what Schleiermacher says it should be to every man—a feeling of absolute dependence. They had gone to Christ as to an oracle. They had revealed no capacity for independent thought, not even any desire for self-communion. They had asked simply a physical guide, an outward chart or directory, an index of the way, an almanac of the weather. Their hopes had all along been bounded by their vision. The glory they had sought in Christ had been a visible glory; the glory they had sought *from* Christ had been a visible crown. To rob them of the outward presence was to rob them of all that they possessed, all for which they had left their nets and followed Jesus. One would have thought that it could violate no law of the highest nature to pray, "Abide with us: for it is toward evening, and the day is far spent."

And yet, our Lord declares that to answer such a prayer would be to violate the highest law of nature—the benevolence of God, "it is expedient for you that I go away." You will observe, it is the *departure* of Christ that is expedient, not the mode of His departure. The common explanation of the subject is to say that Christ here insists on the necessity of His death. He often does insist on that necessity; but not here. What Jesus is contemplating is the fact of His invisibility. It matters not for the present how this invisibility has been caused, whether by a mist on the hill or by Elijah's chariot of fire. He is thinking only of the invisibility itself, and, provided this can be secured, He cares not by what process it may be accomplished. He says that the disciples have suffered by His visible presence, and that in order to repair their loss the visible presence must be removed. He declares

that to grant their petition would be to cripple them, to impede their progress, to oppose their development. He tells them that their horizon will be widened by the very thing which they expect to narrow it, and that they will only get their prayer truly answered by having it in its present form refused, "if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you : but if I depart, I will send Him unto you."

This, then, is the striking thesis of the passage before us—the need of invisibility to perfect communion with Christ. And in the following verses He proceeds to give His reasons for this thesis. He says that there are three respects in which the reign of the invisible Spirit shall aid the communion of the disciples, "when He is come, He will convince the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment." In the still succeeding verses He emphasizes separately each of these three convictions, "of *sin*, because they believe not on Me;" "of *righteousness*, because I go to My Father, and ye see Me no more;" "of *judgment*, because the prince of this world is judged." The question is, What does He mean? No man has ever denied that sin, righteousness, and judgment are the special revelations of Christ. But what we want to know is why these should be specially revealed, not by Christ's presence, but by His departure, not by His visible, but by His invisible communion. We should have thought beforehand that the visible presence would have had most power. We should have said that the best revelation of sin would have been the outward Cross of Calvary, that the best revelation of righteousness would have been the sight of Christ's ministrant love, that the best revelation of judgment would have been the actual spectacle of the withered fig-tree, or the audible discourse on the fall of Jerusalem. Does it not seem a paradox to be told that in relation to the highest development these were rather hindrances than helps, and that the ultimate revelation of sin and righteousness and judgment was reserved for the time when a veil should be cast over the visible scene?

Yet, if we look deeper, we shall find that nowhere is the teaching of Christ less paradoxical, nowhere more practical and sober. Let us glance at the statements one by one. Let us begin with ver. 9. "When the Comforter shall come"—when the new legal adviser shall come—"He shall convince the world of sin, because they believe not on Me," *i.e.*, He shall convince the world that sin has its root, not in bad acting, but in bad thinking, not in the thing we do, but in the ideal we believe in. Our Lord means that as long as right and wrong are matters of positive law, they are held to lie merely in the commission of certain *acts*. But when the visible tribunal is withdrawn, and man is thrown back upon the instincts of the spiritual life, he finds that he can no longer determine acts by their labels. He can no longer write upon one, "this is good," and on another, "this is bad." He shall view the same deed as either good or bad according as it conforms to an inward standard. In the law of Moses there was a catalogue of the things which could and of the things which could not be done. In the law of Christ there is no such catalogue. The thing which is labelled "bad" to-day

may have inscribed on it "good" to-morrow." And why? because it may be done to-day from one motive, and to-morrow from another. There is a curious story told of Christ in the traditions of the early Church, and it seems to me to bear the stamp of truth. One Sabbath day, as He was passing on His round of ministrations, He saw a man engaged in secular work. He paused, fixed His eyes upon him, and addressed him thus: "Friend, if thou knowest what thou art doing, thou art blessed; if not, thou art unblest." Whether true or false, the words are a splendid commentary on the passage before us. Everything depends on the object which the man believed in. Was that object *himself*? Did he say, "I want to teach these poor creatures what an independent man I am. I want to show them what a mastery I have gained over the superstitions of the past, how completely I have emancipated myself from the trammels of old tradition." If so, then, his act was a sin. It was dictated by the desire to see the reflection of himself in a mirror, and it ignored the Pauline rule of considering the good even of a weak brother. But did he say, on the other hand, "I believe in Jesus Christ and His benevolence. I have been grieved to see the fields laid low with lashing rains, and the crops destroyed ere they can be gathered in. And I have been glad of this bright Sabbath, which has been made for the wants of man, and which, unlike most of the other days, has come without tears. Why should I let it go without making it a blessing? Why should I not employ its hours in helping to lift the treasures lying on its bosom, in seeking to redeem something from the harvest wreck?" If he said that, his act was no sin. It was raised out of the catalogue of evil things, and made to shine as one of the stars in the kingdom of the Father. And it was raised from within, not from without. It was the same deed which in the other supposition had formed the material of sin. The difference lies in the spirit, in the thought, in the ideal, in the object of belief. It cannot be estimated by the hand or by the eye. It is indistinguishable by sight, immeasurable by touch, incalculable by any outward process. It is only recognizable by the intuitions of the heart and by the light of that love which dwells within the heart; it is spiritually discerned.

Now, can we wonder from this point of view that Christ should have greatly felt the advantage of an invisible presence? The tendency of all visible tribunals is to emphasize the outward act. It was so with Judaism. A man of the Old Testament dispensation was not taught to think so much of *sin* as of *sins*. The very fact of being under surveillance led in this direction. Sin cannot be under surveillance. It is a thing between the man and his own heart, not between the man and his fellow men. The aspiring youth in the Gospel had a great consciousness of *sins*, but not of sin, "all these have I kept from my youth up; what lack I yet?" He was quite sincere, and I have no doubt he was quite correct. I have no doubt he had actually abstained from the worship of graven images, from profane swearing, from working on the Sabbath, from dishonouring parents, from theft and murder, from licence and perjury. What he did not know was that he might abstain from all these things and yet be in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of

iniquity. This he never could know as long as his eye was fixed on a purely outward standard. He must be driven within himself; and how shall he be driven within himself? Must not the outward standard be removed, the legal tribunal veiled, the visible presence hid? Must not the earth and the heavens be shaken in order that he may learn that within the secret places of his own soul there are things which cannot be shaken? Can we feel surprised that, looking to the law of man's nature, and considering the magnitude of the spiritual as compared to the physical world, the Son of Man should have expressed His sense of the need for an inward tribunal, "it is expedient for you that I go away?"

I come now to the second of those points in which our Lord claims an advantage for the invisible presence. He says that when the inward adviser shall come, He shall convince the world of *righteousness*. This would not be the least peculiar, but He proceeds to give the strangest possible reason for it. The world is to be convinced of righteousness "because I go to My Father, and ye see Me no more." One would imagine that this was the way to convince the world of unrighteousness. If the sin of man has succeeded in expelling from the world's borders the purest soul that ever lived, if the destructive force of human iniquity has brought death to the highest and holiest life that earth has ever seen, it seems to furnish the strongest possible proof of the power of evil, the most ample evidence that unrighteousness, and not righteousness, is natural to humanity.

If, indeed, our Lord had paused at the words "because I go to My Father," their meaning would have lain on the surface. They would then refer to Christ's exaltation, to the fact that His sacrifice had given Him an empire compared to which the dominion of Cæsar grows dim. The spectacle of a Christ exalted as King over all nations, and exalted by the admiration of His moral strength alone, might well be represented as fitted to convince the world of the power of righteousness. Yet, plausible as this is, and true as it is in point of fact, it is not the idea of the passage before us. Christ is not speaking of His exaltation; He is speaking of His invisibility. He is considering His ascension not as a spectacle, but as the curtain which *falls* on a spectacle, not as a higher view, but as a limit to the entire earthly view, "I go to My Father, and ye see Me no more." How could this convince the world of righteousness? Was it not a thing to depress, a thing to be deplored? Was it not calculated to damp the moral energy of man, to cause him again to say, "Who shall show us any good?" As the sunlight is more favourable to the sense of beauty than the mist, so should we expect to hear that the visible presence of the Master was more favourable to the sense of righteousness than the cloud which received Him out of their sight.

But let us look deeper, and I think we shall find that Christ's words are susceptible of a very high and a very profound meaning. Let us put ourselves for a moment in His place. His present relation to His disciples was that of a master to his servants. He wanted above all things to make trial of these servants. He had never yet tried them, never tested their

fidelity in any way. It had all been eye-service, all the fulfilment of commands under His own direct inspection. How was He to find such a test? There was clearly only one method. What is your test of the fidelity of any one of your servants? Is it not the fact that he has acted for your interest at a time when he believed you to be far away, that, when he had lost the sense of your presence and ceased to feel the power of your outward eye, he still did his duty and preserved the integrity of his ministrations. You could not find a better test of domestic fidelity than just to assemble your retainers and say, "I am going on a long journey, and you will not see me for many days. You must act for me in my absence, must anticipate the commands I cannot give, and avoid the faults I cannot outwardly restrain." I think most people will be agreed that such a test would be infallible in its searchingness and conclusive in its inference.

And this is the test which our Lord proposes. It is not adduced here for the first time. It is no new or foreign thought either to the Gospels or to the Epistles. It is the moral to the parable of the Talents, in which the difference between the good and the unfaithful servant is made to lie, not in the mere fact of work done or left undone, but in the fact that it was done or left undone in the absence of the Master. It is the moral to the life of Moses in Midian drawn by the writer to the Hebrews, "he endured as seeing Him who is invisible." And it is the moral directly drawn by our Lord Himself in contemplating the demand of Thomas for an outward sign, "because thou hast seen thou hast believed; blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed." The blessing does not consist in the fact that they have believed on less evidence, but that they have believed on *inward* evidence, have been convinced of the Master's presence even when there was no visible sign of it. So is it in the passage before us. Our Lord declares that the world shall be convinced of righteousness by the abiding power of virtue after His presence has been withdrawn. The submission to the authority of an invisible Spirit will prove to all men that there is an inherent force in goodness and an intrinsic majesty in moral truth. And I believe that historically it has been so. I am convinced that the greatest testimony to the power of holiness is just its continuance in the absence of any outward tribunal. Prudence has its outward tribunal. When a man violates *its* law; he is arrested at once by the voice of society. But when a man cherishes in his heart malice, or hatred, or envy, or aught that is uncharitable, there is no outward voice to arrest him, none to say "What doest thou?" And yet righteousness does live on the earth. In spite of all the selfishness and heartlessness around us, there are in the moral firmament lights unextinguished and inextinguishable, souls that have borne their burden unflinchingly up the Dolorous Way and kept their faith untarnished in the midst of the gloom. Their existence is the demonstration of the Spirit's power. It proves that virtue is above the world, because it is independent of the world's sanction and unaffected either by its smile or frown. It vindicates for morality a higher source than the

seen and temporal, and places the intuitions of the heart on tablets more enduring than those of stone. The obedience to invisible law has convinced the world of righteousness.

This brings us to the third point in which Christ claims an advantage for the invisible. He says that when the new legal adviser shall come, "He shall convince the world of judgment, because the prince of this world is judged." He means that when the outward tribunal is withdrawn, and man is driven within the recesses of the spiritual life, sin shall for the first time be judged in its citadel, "the *prince* of this world shall be judged." Under the old *régime* it cannot be said that sin was judged in its *citadel*. It was judged in its environment, in its outworks, in its provinces; but not in its fortress, not in its capital; its prince remained untouched. What was the old *régime*? It was the principle by which every evil deed received in the flesh its immediate penalty—by which Korah was buried alive, and Jonah was shipwrecked, and Jezebel was slain. It is even the principle that underlies the allegory of the barren fig-tree, in which the Pharasaic assumption of unpossessed virtues is punished by the withering of those actually possessed. But our Lord declares that none of these axes went to the root of the tree. What is the root of the tree of life? It is what in the intellectual world is called consciousness, in the moral world, conscience. Conscience is simply my consciousness of sin, and the consciousness of sin is the judgment of sin. In the old *régime* there was no judgment of the conscience. If you simply punish a man for doing wrong, you only prove to him that sin is a very imprudent course of life, fitted to involve in great calamity those that enter thereon. But the true judgment of conscience is only seen when sin does not involve calamity. There are times in which the wicked spread themselves like a green bay-tree, in which place and power seem to belong to the workers of iniquity, and no worldly good is to be gained by holiness. If at such a time there enters into the mind of one of these delinquents a sense of moral pain, a sting of remorse, a conviction that he is doing wrong, the judgment of God is there and then proved to be a real thing. The man, in the absence of an outward tribunal, is confronted by the verdict of eternity, and made to realize that there is another world against whose law there can be no appeal.

And the reason is plain. Every retribution must have some connection with the sin; otherwise it is simply a calamity, not a judgment. We sometimes lament what we call the silence of God in this world. We ask why it is that the breaker of moral law is not seen to suffer like the breaker of physical law. We say, if we could see the murderer struck by lightning on the threshold of his awful deed, or if we could behold the hand suddenly paralyzed at the moment when it was stretched out to write the defaming slander, we should have a clear and certain revelation that sin brings misery. Of course we would; and what then? We should be as far as ever from being convinced of judgment. The sense of misery is not a conviction of judgment. To be struck by lightning may be a judgment on a special kind

of sin—reckless exposure to danger. To have the hand paralyzed may be also a judgment on a special kind of sin—licentious life. But even in these cases the calamity might be received without the judgment. It might be taken as a pure misfortune and groaned under as a proof of the bitterness of life. And in the large majority of cases there is no such retributive connection between the outward and the inward. What connection is there between a lightning-stroke and murder? What analogy is there between paralysis and slander? Even if God did not make His sun to rise on the evil and the good, even if every act of wrong were followed by one of these outward catastrophes, there could be no judgment *on* the soul except in so far as it was a judgment from the soul. It would only be in so far as the mind connected the outward and the inward that there would appear to the eye of Belshazzar any handwriting on the wall. The truth is, the judgment of God is always inward. It addresses one part of our nature, and one alone—the innermost part, the conscience. Where it addresses anything else it is unheard; where it speaks to this it is audible in the absence of all accessories. And if it be so, surely the absence of all accessories is an advantage. It enables conscience to reign alone—not only without a rival, which it always is, but without the appearance of a rival. It brings the mind into the presence of virtue's own tribunal, where no fig-tree is withered for its presumption, and no Ananias is struck dead for his lie, but where, in spite of this seeming indifference, a sentence is uttered by a still, small voice, and conscience, deprived of earthly aid, is proved to be Divine. The loss of the visible presence has convinced the world of judgment.

There is one other question which here arises. What advantage does the world get from these convictions? No doubt there is a satisfaction in being convinced of *righteousness*; but what of sin and judgment? Why should our new legal Advocate, or, as we translate, the Comforter, have, for the two main duties towards His clients, the impressing them with a sense of their sin and the confronting them with a certainty of their sentence? Is not this strange comfort? We can understand very well how it should enhance the majesty of moral law and prove the reality of the will of God; but how should it be hailed as a source of moral strength to the delinquent? That it is so hailed is beyond dispute. Let us never forget that the convincing of sin and judgment is claimed as a work of the Spirit, is declared to be one of the benefits of an invisible as distinguished from a visible communion. Would it not seem as if the so-called comfort of our Lord were in reality only adding another shade to the already deepening gloom, and imparting fresh drops of bitterness to that cup of threatened bereavement which was already almost full?

No doubt it actually was so; the Spirit's first gifts are gifts of pain. But the value of the pain lies in this, that it is a revelation. It reveals the presence of life in an organism which was believed to be dead, and which really was dead; it is the first symptom of resurrection. All life begins with pain. Natural life does so. The sensation of suffering is the first experience

of every man. When the embryo first emerges into the light of this world it is unfitted for the new environment, and it expresses the unfitness in strong crying and tears. Yet the sense of unfitness is itself an evidence of progress and a prediction of coming harmony. So is it in the spiritual world. The test of entering into the environment of the higher life is the soul's sense of pain. My first experience of the breath of heaven is the conviction of sin. It is not sin that gives the sense of sin; it is holiness. It is only from the top of the hill that I can see the moral valley. It is only by the light that I can discern the gloom. It is only by the Spirit that I can know myself to have been without the Spirit. Therefore it is that to the Son of Man this symptom is so dear. It is in itself pain, but it is symptomatic of joy. It is what the haze is to many a summer morning—the precursor of midday warmth. To Christ it was from the very outset impossible that He should send peace without sending a sword. He felt that the first gift of peace, the first proof of peace, must be a sword—something that should pierce to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and be a discerner of the thoughts of the heart. He felt that to purchase this pain any other pain was light and insignificant, not worthy to be compared to the glory that shall be revealed. He perceived that its advent was delayed by His own presence, that it could never come until man should be forced to look within. Therefore, He willed to depart. The night must come in which no man can work, in order that these disciples might learn that sin is deeper than action, and that God's judgment is independent of the outward course of day. The reign of the Spirit could alone reveal the poverty of the heart of man; it was expedient for him that Christ should go away.

THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

THE HISTORICAL CHRIST AND MODERN CHRISTIANITY.

BY REV. PROF. A. B. BRUCE, D.D.

Two countercries are audible in the religious world at the present time. One is, "Back to Christ"; the other, "Christ as we find Him in our immediate environment." One can understand and partly sympathize with both. It is natural that those among us who are dissatisfied with contemporary presentations of Christianity in the Church creeds and catechisms, in the pulpit, in religious literature, in living samples of Christians, should turn with loathing from the polluted waters of the River of Life far down the stream, and revert with intense longing to the pure fountain as it leaps sparkling into light in the evangelic memoirs. On the other hand, it is equally natural that some should think it unreasonable to be obliged to go back eighteen centuries for inspiration, and eagerly demand a word nigh and also sure. It is all very well, such may say, to send us back to the school of Jesus. His words are indeed most sweet and reasonable, and we could not desire a wiser

Master. But He and His teaching belong to history, and in all history there is an element of uncertainty, and, if we are to believe the critics, that element in the Gospels is a large one. We want a Christianity independent of history, and that cannot be shaken by the most sceptical critical assaults.

It would be difficult to say which of these two voices is the louder. From the nature of the case it is not to be expected that either shall ever so prevail as altogether to silence the other. They derive their support from different classes of the community, and from diverse elements of human nature. The young, with their passionate enthusiasm for the heroic, will always feel the charm of the Jesus of the Gospels as compared with the ecclesiastical Christ; the old, with their love for the concrete and the practical, will be content with the Christianity of tradition. Lovers of ease want to get a working religion that will serve their turn in time and eternity, with as little trouble as possible, and therefore, of course, prefer the word nigh to the word afar off: the word they hear every Sunday to that which is to be obtained by a careful study of the evangelic memoirs. With them agree men of philosophic bent—not, indeed, from any ignoble indolence, but because their interest is in ideas, not in facts.

Every man has his bias, and it is well that a man should know and frankly acknowledge his bias. My sympathies are with the cry, "Back to Christ," and my aim is to show that the tendency it represents is fitted to exercise a wholesome influence on the spiritual life of the age. The two ways of it being: historical Christianity and Christianity independent of history, my contention is that Christianity cannot make itself independent of its initial history without serious loss in moral quality and spiritual power.

Contemporary religious life and literature make us acquainted with three types of "Christianity independent of history." They may be discriminated with sufficient accuracy as the *philosophical* type, the *ecclesiastical*, and the *pietistic*.

1. Of the first, the most influential and worthy exponent in this country is the late Professor Green, of Oxford. This able and noble man was an avowed earnest advocate of the programme, "Christianity independent of history." He accepted substantially the results of the Tübingen criticism, and regarded the reconstruction of the life and teaching of Jesus from the Gospels with any approach to certainty as impracticable, and as even if possible wholly unnecessary. For him, the essence of Christianity lay not in historic facts, but in a few great leading ideas which, once introduced into the religious consciousness of mankind, become a possession for ever. "The Word is nigh thee," was the chosen motto of one of his remarkable religious addresses of which unhappily only a fragment has been preserved. "The Word nigh," the "essence within the essence of Christianity," is indicated in that fragment to be: "the thought of God, not as 'far off,' but 'nigh,' not as a master, but as a father, not as a terrible outward power, forcing us we know not whither, but as one of whom we may say that we are reason of His reason, and spirit of His Spirit; who lives in our moral life, and for whom we live in

living for the brethren, even as in so living we live freely, because in obedience to a spirit which is ourself; in communion with whom we triumph over death, and have assurance of eternal life." God immanent in the moral life of man, immanent as a spirit of self-sacrifice, of death to self and resurrection to a blessed life of love for the catholic interests of the Divine kingdom, such, according to Green, is Christianity *in idea*, as distinct from Christianity in dogma, or in crude intuition which connects the eternal ethical truth in an exclusive sense with the person of Jesus Christ. He believed and gladly confessed that through Jesus the great idea received exceptional exemplification, and first became a great power in the thought of the world, but he did not believe that in Him the Divine moral immanence was either exclusively or perfectly realized, or that it is necessary now to be always and anxiously connecting the idea with His history. Hence his preference for Paul's Epistles and the Fourth Gospel as compared with the Synoptical Evangelists. They helped him to get away from the historical to the ideal Christ. Not that Paul and John were Hegelian philosophers exactly, but that what they seemed to value in Christ was the ideas or truths embodied in the great critical events of His history, His birth into this time world, His death and His resurrection. "The Word was made flesh." "I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and that He was buried, and that He rose again the third day according to the Scriptures." Translate these Apostolic statements into ideas, and you get: God immanent in man, and immanent as a moral force working stedfastly towards death to self and new life for the whole; and this is all the Christianity we need to have or know.

2. It is hardly necessary to select any individual writer or book as representative of the second type of Christianity independent of history, that which I have distinguished by the epithet "ecclesiastical." It can, indeed, scarcely be said to exist as a distinct type deliberately formulated by any competent, responsible person. Those who insist on the importance of the Church as a source of knowledge concerning Christ and Christianity, generally insist also on the importance of acquaintance with all that can be ascertained concerning the Christian origins. So, for example, with the authors of *Lux Mundi*, who represent another religious tendency, having its seat in Oxford, of a very different character from that of which Professor Green was the exponent, though traces of his influence can easily be detected in some of the essays which make up that famous volume. The essayists declare that they write "as servants of the Catholic Creed and Church, aiming only at interpreting the faith we have received." But they write also as men who believe that it would be a fatal objection to ecclesiastical Christianity if it could be shown to be out of harmony with the teaching and spirit of Jesus, or to treat lightly as mere accidents any of the cardinal events in the earthly history of the Incarnate One. They would recognize the desirableness of using the evangelic history as a corrective of possible evil church-

tendencies, and the utility of intimate acquaintance with that history for this end. Yet it is quite compatible with all this that the influence of the doctrine of the Church and its functions taught in their joint literary production on susceptible readers might be to strengthen the habit of looking to the Church, its institutions and means of grace, as for all practical purposes the sole and sufficient channel through which individual believers attain to Christian faith and life. The habit is sufficiently strong of itself in many minds without any encouragement from leaders of thought, so that a very little encouragement goes a long way towards fostering an excessive veneration for mother Church, as to all intents and purposes the ultimate authority in matters of religion. For such as occupy this attitude the short and easy way to Christianity may be summed up thus: "Believe what the Church teaches, and do as she bids you." Men who follow this brief directory will either neglect the evangelic history as superfluous, or read into it what they have learned from other sources. They have no power of reading the Gospels with a fresh eye, or of finding in them anything different from what they have been taught, or of discovering there a Jesus who sits in judgment on much which has hitherto, in their esteem, passed for Christianity. There is a Church-woven veil upon their minds in the reading of the Gospels which prevents them from seeing the true Christ. And as the Christ they do see is the conventional Christ of the religious community in which they live, the Gospel pages seem flat and commonplace, and might as well not be opened, for all the benefit derived from them.

3. The third type of modern Christianity, which I have called the *pietistic*, makes itself independent of history by leaning with an exclusive trust on the Risen Christ, conceived of as living and spiritually operative by a direct immediate causality now and always. This may seem to be substituting a Christ far off in space, living in a distant place called heaven, for a Christ far off in time, of whose life and work we read in the Gospels. But the Christ above becomes a Christ within through His spiritual influence manifested in conversion and sanctification. The ultimate trust is in religious experience, which for Christians of this type takes the place held by moral ideas in philosophic Christianity, and by Church teaching in ecclesiastical Christianity. Experience is the "Word nigh," the interpretation of which gives to faith a Christ known as the cause of certain spiritual effects, pardon, peace, purity; that is, as one who hates sin, sympathizes with the sinful, and has the will and the power to save from sin's guilt and evil dominion.

This school might with some plausibility point to Dr. Dale's *Living Christ and the Four Gospels* as its literary advocate, and it certainly may congratulate itself if it can legitimately claim the support of a name so weighty and of a book so eloquent. In making allusion to that well-known work in this connection, I have in view rather its probable effect on readers of pronouncedly subjective pietistic tendency than anything that could be cited from it, looking in the direction of disparagement of the religious value

of the historic Christ. Dr. Dale cannot justly be charged with undervaluing such knowledge of Jesus as the Gospels supply. He admits that if by some unhappy accident such knowledge were to perish, or be reduced to the three items: that Jesus was a great religious teacher, that He had been crucified, and that those who had loved Him believed that He had risen from the dead, "the loss to the thought and life, the strength and the joy of the Church would, no doubt, be immeasurable." But in an apologetic interest he tries to show that even in such an emergency we could get along fairly well. His argument put broadly and briefly is to this effect. It is matter of observation that the bulk of Christians are very little disturbed by assaults on the historic foundations of the faith made from time to time by the Strausses, Renans, and Huxleys of unbelief. How is this? Because whatever may have been the original ground of their faith—it may have been the story of the Gospels assumed to be true—their faith has been verified in their own personal experience. The verifying power of that experience is so great that it would give us back our Christ even in the extreme case of the Gospel story, true or false, becoming buried in oblivion. The generation which had the misfortune to be overtaken with so great a catastrophe would still have the experience of sixty generations of Christians behind it attesting the redeeming power of the man of whom all that was now historically ascertained was that he was a great religious teacher who had been put to death, and who was believed by his disciples to have risen from the dead. The experience of eighteen centuries would be the proof that he had really risen, and that through death and resurrection he had become the Prince of Life; and from this convincing evidence the generation bereft of the Gospel story would take heart to come to the Risen Lord, and ask from Him the grace and mercy they need to find in their own experience that they came not in vain.

In an apologetic interest this argument is at least well intended, though it is permissible to suggest that it is perhaps a little overstrained, for it may very legitimately be doubted whether Christian experience would survive the loss of the Gospels. Christ might still continue to exert spiritual influence, but it would not be of the specifically Christian type, but only such as He whom the Fourth Gospel represents as the Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, exercises even upon men in heathen lands who never heard of the historic Jesus. But not to insist on this, What, I respectfully ask, if this subtle argument, intended to make believers secure against sceptical assaults on the historic foundations of faith, should foster a spirit of indifference to the history? Is there not a risk that when men have got by heart the lesson, that faith is independent of questions as to historicity, they will go one step further and leap to the conclusion that faith is equally independent of the contents of the history? This is all the more to be feared when it is considered that a tendency to historical indifference is inherent in such intense religious experiences as Dr. Dale makes the foundation of his argument. The people who have such vivid experiences

as he, in highly wrought language, describes need rather to be exhorted to study the Gospels, than to be addressed in such a way as might easily be construed into an encouragement to neglect them. Intense experience often produces a peculiar disheartening deadness to all aspects of truth which do not lie within its own narrow range. Its gospel, consisting of a few theological propositions, important but by no means exhaustive, which have been vitalized by keen emotion, makes it indifferent even to the Gospels. This may partly account for the comparative neglect of the Gospels, especially of the first three, more or less characteristic of the Protestant section of Christendom from the days of Luther downwards. The Protestant type of piety is intensely subjective; it starts from the question how shall a man be just before God? and is absorbingly interested in the problem of personal salvation. Hence throughout its whole history it might, with a certain measure of truth, be described in the terms recently employed to characterize the evangelical piety of England at the period immediately previous to the Oxford Movement; which, according to Dean Church, "dwelt upon the work of Christ, and laid comparatively little stress on His example, or the picture left us of His personality and life," and made constant use of the Epistles, "while the Gospel narrative was imperfectly studied, and was felt to be much less interesting."¹

The authority of Paul, whose epistles, above all, have been dear to the heart of Protestant piety, might plausibly be cited in justification of this neglect. Does he not say, "though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him no more"? apparently treating such knowledge as we can get from the Gospels as of no religious value. I do not think that is what Paul means. If it were, we should have to see in the words quoted a proof that Paul had his limitations, and that he did indeed, as he himself acknowledges, "prophecy in part." But the statement in question must be interpreted in the light of the Apostle's controversy with Judaism. His opponents in Corinth, as elsewhere, laid stress on external companionship with Jesus, and because he had not, like the eleven, enjoyed the privilege, disputed his right to be an Apostle. Paul's reply was: Not outside acquaintance with Jesus, but insight into His mind and spirit qualifies for Apostleship. The answer implies that the former may exist without the latter; and that this is true, familiar experience attests. Who so ignorant as a man's own relations often are of his inmost character? They know him after the flesh, as father, son, or brother, but not after the spirit, as a man—as a man of genius or as a man of God.

Such are the three types of Christianity independent of history. Let me now attempt to criticize them, with a view to show that they all stand in need of supplementing and rectification by a full, wholesome knowledge of the historic Jesus.

1. Now, first with reference to the philosophic Christianity of Green, I

¹ Dean Church. *The Oxford Movement*, p. 167.

should have no sympathy with any one who refused to admit that the ideas on which he laid stress are valuable ; that they are truly, if not exclusively, Christian ; and that they may greatly help men to live good and noble lives. Neither should I care to raise or discuss the question which his biographer says is sure to be asked by those who hear or read of Green, Was he a Christian ? I should accept him as a Christian on the grounds suggested by Mr. Nettleship : If to be a Christian means " to believe that every man has God in him, that religion is the continual death of a lower and coming to life of a higher self, and that these truths were more vividly realized in thought and life by Jesus of Nazareth and some of His followers than by any other known men, then without doubt he was a Christian." But I think a man who holds these views would be a far better Christian if he did not treat the evangelic history as a superfluous scaffolding after he had by its means built up his system of philosophic ideas. It has been said by critics of Hegelianism that it values history only for the ideas it embodies, and reduces all historical characters to bloodless idea schemes. In so far as this statement is true, and I think it has some foundation, it spots a weakness in that philosophy. Disembodied ideas, however angelic the ghosts may be, yield a religion deficient in ethical inspiration. Value the body for the virtue and life that emanate from it :

"Oh, sacred be the flesh and blood
To which she links a truth Divine.

"See thou, that countest reason ripe
In holding by the law within,
Thou fail not in a world of sin,
And ev'n for want of such a type."

The real may in a true sense be the rational, but the rational gains in moral momentum from contact with empirical historic reality. There is power in details, in individual particulars, which from the high philosophic point of view are of no account. They turn the colourless light of truth into the coloured light which suits our mortal eyes. Or, to express myself in terms borrowed from Newman's *Grammar of Assent*, they turn notional assents, which deal with abstractions, into real assents, which deal with objects vividly presented by the imagination. The notional assents are comparatively powerless ; it is in the real assents that the power lies. How faint, for example, the influence of the abstract idea of death to self and resurrection to a new life, compared with that arising from contemplation of the history of one in whom it was realized in a signal manner, and for whom it meant literal crucifixion. The story of the Passion touches men as the finest philosophic idea never can. Peter and John bore themselves bravely before the Sanhedrim. What was the explanation of their courage ? They had been with Jesus and heard His searching words, felt His sincerity, witnessed His heroism. They had been with Him in daily companionship. How different from being with Him in a romance, or in a philosophical class-room. It may be that criticism threatens to take away from us the real historic

Jesus, and to leave us nothing but a legendary or an ideal Christ. If so, all I have to say is, so much the worse for us and for Christianity.

It may be less important, yet it is worth saying, that, even assuming that ideas are the essential matter, the ideal significance of the life and teaching of Jesus is not exhausted by a generalization based exclusively, as was that of Prof. Green upon Paul's Epistles and the Fourth Gospel. There is one category in special that is thereby overlooked: that of Christ's gracious, sympathetic love. Paul and John do indeed both speak of Christ's grace. "Ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though He was rich, yet for your sakes He became poor," writes the one; "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth," writes the other; yet neither the one nor the other supply the details needful for a full appreciation of the truth they enunciate. For these we must have recourse to the synoptical accounts of Christ's comradeship with the class called "publicans and sinners," which, more impressively than any general statement or theological proposition, show the philanthropy of God and the worth of man to God, even at the worst.

2. Ecclesiastical Christianity needs the corrective supplied in an intimate knowledge of the historic Jesus, both in faith and in conduct. In faith, for while the Church, in her creeds, catechisms, and homilies, gives us a Christ that is Divine, it is by no means so certain that she has been successful in keeping before the eyes of her children a Jesus that is truly human. From one cause or another the tendency has ever been to be more jealous for the divinity than for the humanity, and to assert the latter in a faint, hesitating, half-hearted way lest the former should be compromised. This is frankly admitted by Principal Gore in his Bampton Lectures on the Incarnation. And he suggests the true remedy: "We need again and again to go back to the consideration of the historic Jesus."¹ Yes, we do, and not merely that we may be sounder theologians, but that we may be better men. For a merely Divine Christ cannot do much for us. The Christ of scholastic theology dwells not in the heart, but only in the head. He is simply an unknown man, not properly, indeed, a man at all, of whom it is affirmed that He is God. The moral virtue, as well as the truth, lies in the confession that God is immanent in the well-known and well-beloved Man Jesus, the wise and good.

In its ideal of life, also, ecclesiastical Christianity needs the corrective of first-hand evangelic knowledge. One who comes to the study of the Gospels with an open eye and unveiled face makes a startling discovery. It is that the prevailing religion was in deadly antagonism to Jesus, and was directly responsible for His crucifixion. And this was what a divinely-given religion, the religion of Moses and the prophets, had come to! Rabbinism—ominous, hateful name! What happened once might happen again. What if in the Christian Church Rabbinism should re-invade the kingdom of heaven?

¹ The Bampton Lectures for 1891, p. 144.

Christ's promise to Peter is no guarantee against such a fate, for it is conditional on the Church continuing to be animated by the spirit of Peter's confession, the spirit of direct inspiration as opposed to the spirit of tradition. At other times He expressed grave apprehension as to the future, as in the parable of the Tares. Have His apprehensions been realized? Would it be a calumny to say that to a large extent the spirit of Rabbinism has prevailed in the Church? But are we not required by the *Apostles' Creed* to declare our belief in the *Holy Catholic Church*, and have we not been lately told that it is "becoming more and more difficult to believe in the Bible without believing in the Church"?¹ There is an important sense in which one can *ex animo* confess a Church catholic and holy, viz., as "inclusive of the common and historic consciousness of Christian humanity," and in the same sense of the word Church, one can even accept the more disputable proposition laid down by one of the authors of *Lux Mundi*.² But moral criticism of the Church is not thereby interdicted. If any attempt were made to shield the Church from such criticism on the ground that we cannot believe in the Bible unless we believe in her, it would be sufficient to recall to mind the fact that the Old Testament canon was compiled at a time when the spirit that culminated in Rabbinism had begun to exert its malign influence. Shall we, therefore, say that we must believe in Pharisaism in order to believe in the Old Testament? Must we believe in the rabbis in order to believe in the prophets?

Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. For myself, I have for many years been deeply convinced that, in the interest of a truly Christian ethical ideal, it is very necessary to take an appeal from the moral judgments of the Church to the judgment of Jesus. The Church has often bound what Jesus looses, and loosed what He binds. She has been largely under the influence of a spirit which has given her judgment a wrong moral bias. The Sermon on the Mount is, therefore, and must ever continue to be, an indispensable and most salutary criterion of ecclesiastical righteousness. With what joy, as of one that hath found a pearl of great price, has many a modern doubter, after years of discontent and darkness, turned to its golden sentences, and to many similar words in the Gospel records, and said to himself, Here at last is something which I can believe with all my heart! Truly the yoke of this Teacher is easy and His burden light! Don't expect such a man to listen to you when, in the name of any ecclesiastical society, Roman, Anglican, or Reformed, you say, We can now do without the Gospels. Take hold of the hand of Mother Church, and she will lead you safely to heaven. To any such suggestion his reply will be: I prefer to go to the school of Jesus and learn from Him the words of eternal life—the true doctrine of God, and man, and their relations. I dare not listen with abject submission to the voice of the Church, lest it should put me out of sympathy with the teaching of the great Master. I feel that her voice and

¹ Principal Gore in *Lux Mundi*, p. 338.

² *Vide* on this, Dr. Newman Smyth's *Christian Ethics*, p. 50.

His are not always in harmony, and that I must sometimes be anti-ecclesiastical to avoid being anti-Christian.

3. The pietistic type of Christianity can as little as any dispense with the wholesome influence of the historic Jesus. Its watchword is conversion; its supreme aim, personal salvation; and with it thus far we can have no quarrel. It is our duty to turn from sin unto God, and we do well to inquire, What shall I do to be saved? But it is necessary to remember that conversion is only turning our face in the right direction; after that, the way of godly life has to be trod. This is not always remembered. There are some for whom conversion is salvation, and who put their trust in a supposed inward change rather than in God or in Christ. The result is a religion of spiritual egotism, having no inward connection with morality, and too often associated with gross immorality. But we need not waste time over this ignoble type. Let us think rather of a loftier form of pietism, which includes holiness in its conception of salvation, and is passionately bent on attaining Christlikeness. This kind of Christian wants, above all things, to have Christ dwelling in his heart; reigning over will, intellect, imagination—his whole inner man. Good! But who is the Christ that dwells in and reigns over you; whence do you get your idea of Him? Is your Christ an objective or a subjective one? Does He come in upon you from without, from the Gospel history, rectifying, enlightening, liberalizing—in a word, educating your conscience? or is He merely a projection of your undisciplined conscience, sharing and sanctioning its errors, prejudices, scruples, fanaticisms? On this depends whether your Christianity is to be of a broad, strong, manly, thoroughly healthy type, impressive by its grandeur and beauty, or feeble, sickly, self-conscious, conceited, repelling rather than attracting all whose moral sentiments are sane and unsophisticated.

The best guarantee that our Christianity shall have the right ethical quality is thorough acquaintance with the Jesus of the Gospels. In those Gospels we find invaluable elements which it is impossible to evolve out of the religious consciousness. Can you evolve out of religious experience the Sermon on the Mount, or Christ's apologies for loving the sinful, or His withering exposure of counterfeit piety and morality, or His exquisite teaching in parable and proverb concerning the kingdom, or His simple yet far-reaching doctrine of God and man as related to each other as Father and Son? Or will our Christianity be none the poorer for lacking these and kindred elements in our idea of the Christ? Is it not too likely to turn out a morbid artificial affair, lacking the sweetness and reasonableness of the religion of Jesus, ascetic and self-torturing in temper, yet at the same time self-satisfied and censorious, sitting in judgment on types of Christian piety far worthier than itself?

The weak point of the type of piety now under consideration at its best is the tendency to intense exaggerated subjectivity. Along with this goes a craving for the stimulus that comes from the enthusiasm of numbers assembled in religious convention. That good may be got at such assemblies

need not be disputed, but not, it is to be feared, unmixed with evil. They may hurry men into premature decision; they may kindle the emotions without bringing corresponding light to the mind; they tend to enslave the conscience of the individual to the average moral feelings of the multitude. It is not a good sign when a man has greater enjoyment of a religious convention than in the quiet reading of the Gospels. It were better to be alone with Jesus than in that crowd. Theoretically, of course, the good of being alone with Jesus is universally acknowledged. But the difficulty is to be truly alone with Him. You are not alone with Jesus if while you read of Him your ear is filled with echoes of popular religious voices, and your mind dominated by artificial interpretations of Gospel truth.

In view of all interests, then, and of the defects which cling to prominent types of modern Christianity, it is good to cultivate a close acquaintance with the historic Jesus. Some go to Oxford, some to Rome, and some to Keswick; let us not forget to visit Nazareth. After being long waited for, the Christ came to this world, lived in it a while, spoke many wonderful words, and did many gracious deeds. Can it be that the thing to do now is to forget Him, as surmounted and superseded by philosophy, by the Church, or by Christian experience? The urgent duty of the hour rather is to make the story of the earthly Jesus our religious *vade mecum*. All honour to those who have made it their business to accentuate this truth. This honour belongs in our time very specially to the Ritschl school in Germany, of which an instructive and well-informed account was given in a recent number of *THE THINKER*.¹ Of the merits and demerits of that school I cannot now speak. One thing only I wish to say, that the emphasis with which the value of the historic Christ to religious faith and life is insisted on in such a work as Prof. Hermann's *Verkehr des Christen mit Gott* is, in my judgment, worthy of all commendation. It were well that that book were translated, that the English public might have it in its power to compare its teaching with that, for example, of Dr. Dale. The contrast would help to promote a discussion urgently needed for the purification and invigoration of our pulpit teaching and our popular religious life.

Happily a translation has just appeared of another work emanating from the same school, which will powerfully help towards the re-instatement of the evangelic records in their proper place of fundamental importance. I refer to Wendt's book on *The Teaching of Jesus*, the tendency and express aim of which is to vindicate for the words of the Great Master the position of ultimate authority in the Christian religion, as against all other theories as to the proper seat of authority. With this aim, as expressed in the author's preface to the English edition, I fully sympathize. It is necessary to give the words of Jesus the first place, not merely in order to keep the Church in its proper position of subordination, but even in order to a wise and wholesome use of the Bible. We must read the Old Testament with the discriminating eye of men who have been in the school of Jesus, and

¹ "The Ritschlian Theology," by Prof. Orr, in the issue for August, 1892.

use the writings of the Apostles as the utterances of persons occupying the position of mere witnesses and interpreters of the One Speaker in the New Testament, the Son through whom God has uttered His final word to the world.

I am well aware that behind all this lies the critical question as to the historicity of the Gospel narratives. It is a large topic which cannot be entered upon here except to the extent of making one or two general observations. And one is that the proper way to meet critical scepticism is not to surrender at discretion. We should do our utmost patiently to ascertain what in the Gospels possesses high intrinsic probability, so as to reach a moral certainty that in the main the true historic Jesus has been faithfully reproduced. Much can be done, nay, has been done, in this line, and the result well repays the pains.

It may be objected that by this method we never get beyond probabilities, and religious faith needs certainties, not mere probabilities, to build on. It is the craving for certainty that makes men, according to their temperament, fly to philosophy, or to an infallible Church, or to a mystic experience which yields at least subjective assurance. Hermann recognizes the legitimacy of the demand, and has his own way of meeting it, in harmony with his view as to the cardinal importance of the historic Christ. In effect his position is that the impression which the evangelic presentation of Jesus makes on our religious nature guarantees its general truthfulness as the picture of One who realized in His own life the moral ideal, and brought the kingdom of God as the highest good within our reach. Many details may be doubtful or legendary, but the spirit, the character, the essential religious import of the unique life is faithfully reproduced; must be, else how could it have produced in us such marvellous effects?

The appeal here, it will be observed, is again to religious experience. We thought that with Hermann we were getting away from mystic subjectivities into the clear air of objective facts; but in the end he seems to bring us back to the spot from which we started in quest of some surer standing-ground than feeling. The difference between Hermann and the mystic school, to which he declares himself strongly opposed, is this. The mystics get their experience direct from the Risen Christ. Hermann gets his from the Christ of the evangelic story. The difference is an important one, and of the two tendencies that of Hermann is much the healthier. But it may be doubted whether his mode of reaching certainty gives more than subjective assurance. Suppose we subjected his argument to the test of the comparative method. The story of Buddha doubtless makes a great impression on those who profess the religion called after his name. Does their impression guarantee the truth of the story; and if not, why? It seems to me that Hermann has yielded to the agnostic spirit of the time, and been too ready to make concessions to negative criticism as one who thought he could afford to be very generous. To insist on the impressions which the

evangelic story makes is altogether right, but the impressions insisted on should not be exclusively those peculiar to the believing man, but such as are common to all intelligent and open-minded readers of the Gospel. Common to all such readers is the impression that the Evangelists tell of a real and very exceptional Person. Let that impression be the basis of our faith, and let us by study and devout thought build thereon a Christianity as healthy and humane as that of its Founder. Let us become disciples of the historic Jesus, that we may be imbued with His moral sympathies and antipathies; see things with His eyes; understand, and in some measure reproduce, His ethical ideal; abhor ostentation, as He abhorred it; love sincerity with His passionate love; attain to moral manhood, and firm spiritual individuality; become independent in our bearing towards the world, religious or irreligious, completely emancipated from servile subjection to current opinions, and all the fads and fashions of the time.

SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT.

By REV. FRANK BALLARD, M.A., B.Sc., F.G.S., F.R.M.S.

PROBLEMS OF HUMAN ORIGIN.

Most readers of our journal will be familiar with Mr. S. Laing's *Modern Science and Modern Thought*. Its manifest culture, sincerity, and force, have procured for it a wide circulation and considerable influence. Three paragraphs of this work have appeared to Mr. Capron worthy of selection for definite controversy, as embodying "the heaviest of the counts which Mr. Laing lays to the charge of Religion." These paragraphs deal with the origin of man as given in Genesis and assumed by Paul, in apparent contradiction to the modern account which issues more especially from the geologic discovery of Palæolithic human records. Mr. Laing avers that "the two statements cannot both be true." If Scripture declares that man was created high enough to admit of a "Fall," the assertion cannot be reconciled with the doctrine now everywhere received in educated circles under the name of Evolution. For, according to it, man was slowly evolved, and his whole history is one of ascent. Such a contradiction, if substantiated, is, in his judgment, fatal to the Inspiration of the Bible.

Mr. Capron's reply to this fairly common assertion of unbelief is certainly worth pondering. The author has had the wisdom to have his rejoinder well printed, so that on the score of legibility, at all events, nothing has to be discounted. His views are by no means new to Christian students of science. But they have not been thus popularly stated before. And, although we may be well assured that two classes of readers will rise from his pages unconvinced, yet the vast majority of modern human beings who have minds to be guided aright, and souls to save, are neither ready-made agnostics nor invulnerable professors of orthodoxy. Hence they may be

expected to regard as only reasonable Mr. Capron's demand at the outset—that Religion should be permitted to frame her own definition of the “Man” of whose Fall she speaks. “She distinguishes him from all other animals as created in the image of God.” Before, therefore, the whole case as between the Bible and Science can be dismissed with a curt avowal that there “cannot be” both a rise and a fall for the same being, we are bound to consider the whole nature of this being, and to ask what either the Bible has to say against his rise, or Science against his fall.

It is manifestly impossible in considering such matters to avoid cross-examining once more the first chapter of Genesis. With a fair amount of clearness, and without tedium, Mr. Capron does this, concluding that there are two interpretations open to us, which he names respectively the “explanatory” and the “constructive.” Identifying this latter with what is known as the “Carpenter theory of Creation,” he rejects it on behalf of the former. This it is only fair to allow him to state in his own words:—

In the six days God pronounced all the laws upon which the production of phenomena depends: and as those laws were the only operative agents of production, the work of producing was clearly complete. Nothing more remained to be done but for the Deity to rest and allow the laws which He had pronounced time to take effect and bring into existence the various phenomena which they have produced and are producing to-day. How long an interval elapsed between the pronouncing of the laws and the first appearance of the resulting phenomena is not stated in the Bible: and if Science avers that countless ages must have passed between the first appearance of light and the first appearances of vegetable and animal life on our planet, she tells us nothing that is contradictory to the teaching of the Bible, for the Bible is simply silent on the subject.

Into Mr. Capron's philology we need not now enter. Whether or not *Adams* in John i. is identical philologically with our “law” is not here of prime importance. It is more necessary in a brief notice to give clear account of main positions. Mr. Capron, then, accepts Evolution as scientifically established. He allows that God “caused animal life to develop from lowly and humble forms up to something higher than the ape—higher than Neolithic Man.” Inasmuch as the further words which follow give the whole gist of our author's reply, it will be best to quote them *in extenso*.

In the course of this Evolution there came at length a time when this being became fitted, by virtue of his physical and intellectual proficiency, to receive and possess the attribute of spirituality. When this point of development was attained, and not till then, God, by a process which is described as Creation, conferred this new and transcendent gift upon a single member of the race, who may be presumed to have been the first member who attained to the required standard of mental and spiritual perfection. Until this point was reached, and until this new attribute had been conferred, whatever this being might be from other points of view, from the point of view of religion he was not man; for he had not been “created in the image of God”—he had not become spiritual.

We conclude, therefore, that the distinction which the Bible draws between man and not man, is based upon the possession of an attribute which does not perish—the

attribute of spirituality. And when Religion states that this distinctive feature was first impressed upon man not more than six thousand years ago, she is making a statement which never has been and never can be disproved by Science; for of this feature Science knows absolutely nothing. Thus the assertion that the Bible conflicts with the scientific discoveries of Neolithic and Palæolithic Man cannot be for a moment sustained: all that Religion does do in relation to those prehistoric beings is to deny to them the possession of that spiritual attribute which she claims as the essential basis of *her* classification of man.

In this reply there is at all events no evasion of Mr. Laing's points of difficulty. The Agnostic, if one may say it kindly, is often of all men most illogical and most impossible to satisfy. But it will not be easy to show Mr. Capron's position to be unscientific or unscriptural. It may certainly be commended to the careful consideration of that ever-growing number of thoughtful modern Christians who wish to be both religious and rational.

Doubtless, it will startle some to be told that the Bible does not commit us to the proposition "that all existing human beings" are the "lineal descendants of Adam." They must be referred to Mr. Capron's book for his own substantiation of this caveat. It is almost a pity that he should feel free to assert what so many able Christian men of science shrink from affirming, viz., that "the Author of Genesis, with an *exact scientific accuracy*, groups the phenomena with which he deals into a series of successive stages." For the time has come as result of the many logomachies hereupon to say finally, that it is manifest that such a thing as "exact scientific accuracy" never entered into the author's conception. And even if minor inaccuracies were discovered, it would no more involve the rejection of the Bible's inspired mission than that Tennyson's immortal "In Memoriam" should be cast out of account because of his doubtful physiology in asserting that "the nerves prick."

Mr. Capron's book may, however, be well commended for its candour, sincerity, and force. "That intellectual man came into existence not years, nor centuries, but long ages before Spiritual Man," is a contribution to present religious thought which will unquestionably help many more than it will hinder, and may prove a starting-point for many more suggestions likely to promote the solidarity of Religion and Science.

Man's Great Charter, by Mr. F. E. Coggin, is of quite different character. Its aim and spirit are most worthy. "The extent of man's freedom must be measured by his nature. Therefore the Biblical preface is fitly called the Magna Charta of mankind, for it declares that God created man in his own image." Such is his concluding summary. Nor are his preceding processes of thought by any means lacking in culture and ability. But it is impossible in brief review to give adequate conception of his exact meaning in the various chapters into which (without "Contents" at the beginning of the book) his work is divided. Such pleas, for instance, as that—"the word *day* here must signify light: it must be real as a state or condition: it must be independent of time: in itself there must be the qualities of blessedness and

holiness: and further, it must be exceptional in the absence of development"—admit of and demand no little elucidation. When once a writer on these themes begins to be "emblematical," it is almost necessary to part company with him; not out of disrespect, still less contumely, but simply because he may start everywhere and end anywhere, in subjective heights wholly inaccessible to others. To illustrate this one might quote from nearly every page of Mr. Coggin's work. It would be better for his purpose, moreover, if he abstained from such language as that God "informed creation," &c.; for, though one can make out his meaning by comparison, it is not to-day's English, nor likely to lead on the ordinary reader to interest and profit. It is difficult to see the purpose and worth of printing in Hebrew, in the margin, a few of the simplest words of that language; for assuredly Hebraists will not need them, nor will non-Hebraists be thereby advantaged.

Still, Mr. Coggin's book is well worth reading, and may fairly be classed amongst works likely to be helpful in giving right direction to the modern currents of thought that set towards these high themes.

CURRENT AMERICAN THOUGHT.

DIVINE LOVE AND INTELLIGENCE. By JAMES C. PARSONS (*The New World*).—The doctrine of the Divine Love may be said to be the last refuge of religious belief—belief as distinguished from sentiment. It is claimed that religion may be maintained as a sentiment without any basis of belief. The sense of dependence, awe, reverence, trust, humility, are dispositions undoubtedly religious, and it is urged that there is no need for connecting them with any religious belief; but these dispositions or sentiments are cherished with reference to something. They are the attitude of the feelings toward some reality to which we are necessarily related. The character of the sentiments must depend somewhat upon the character of this reality. To have religious sentiments it is necessary then to have some religious ideas, some intellectual impression of the great reality to which we stand related.

The idea of God, the great reality to which we stand related, and the foundation of all religious sentiment, has undergone changes. Ideas of God's nature as limited and local, and of His character as changeable and arbitrary, have gradually faded away in the light of a growing intelligence. We all believe in God; we all believe in His love. Each individual believer pursues the tenor of his life with the thought of being guided and sustained by an Infinite Love. If the believer be one who thinks as well as feels, his reading takes a wider range. He follows with a keen interest the advance of discovery in the realms of nature and of the human mind. He is only too likely to observe a general tendency of modern writers to discredit any such conception as he has entertained of the Infinite Source of Being. It is now freely assumed that epithets of a personal character can no longer be attributed to the Controlling Principle of the Universe consistently with the conclusions of modern philosophy. The man is now looked upon as antiquated in his notions who continues to think of God in terms derived from the experiences of human consciousness.

Agnosticism would seem unwilling to rest in the negative position that we cannot know God, and proceeds to show that we *do* know that He cannot have intelligence, emotion, or will. The religious believer is thus thrown back into a state of uncertainty and distrust. This question strikes at the foundations of religious belief. It is assumed now to be irrational, in the light of modern philosophy, to hold any such conception of the controlling principle of the universe as will admit of the attributes of intelligence and love. If religion implies communion between the human and Divine, then religion is affirmed to be impossible, because there is no element in the Divine with which it is possible to commune.

Consider the validity of this claim. From the beginning of humanity it was inevitable that a being possessed of consciousness should interpret all phenomena in terms of mind. The external would be explained by what he knew internally. The first and most obvious traits within himself were the first to be attributed to the power outside himself. The whole process by which man has enlarged his conception of the Being which environs him has kept even step with the development of his knowledge of his own humanity. The outcome of the process will be, not the final elimination of human attributes from Deity, but the gradual discovery of Divine elements in humanity. It is not necessary to discuss the various theories of the origin of religion. As man's own powers unified and took on personality, he began to discover personality in the various living objects which awakened his interest, and nature became populous with sprites. Then a development took place in the mental and moral character of the personified agencies in consonance with that of him who personified them. As more intelligent motives and nobler sentiments began to gain a foothold in the human breast, an improvement is noticeable in the character of the God that is worshipped. In the continuous evolution of man's conception of Deity it came to pass that gradually, as the uniform and universal elements of human nature began to be recognized, whatever was partial and local began to disappear from the idea of God, and He became the One Ruler of the world and of humanity, elevated in character above all that was weak or ignoble, and so perfect a realization of the human ideal that spiritual purity in man was made the passport to communion with the Divine. In all this the decay of anthropomorphism is simply the dropping away of the *earthly* characteristics of man, there is no sign of any tendency to attribute to the Deity a nature remote from man, as man comes to be understood in his higher and spiritual nature.

Down to the Christian era the development may be said to have been instinctive and unreflective. Later it became metaphysical and philosophical. A time came when mind and matter were clearly differentiated. It became clear that they are two entities unlike in nature and characteristics. Mind as observer, reasoner, actor, is controller and director of matter which is simply subject and submissive. The mind of man controls his body, and by a rational inference it was held that the Divine mind was also the controller of the material world. Within the last half century a new epoch has begun; an intense interest has been developed in the study of elements and of origins. To answer such questions as these has become the ultimate aim of scientific research—*How* did the material universe come to be what it is? *How* had the human intelligence its origin? Modern study in evolution and in physiological psychology has left the impression that mind is in some sense but a stage in the process or cosmic development, and that intelligence is but an organic function. Such a tendency of thought would naturally and insensibly have its effect in modifying the conception of God. It does this in two ways. It seems to show that God cannot be intelligent, because intelligence is limited to the possessor of

a brain; and even if there could be an Infinite Mind the character of its action must be different from that of the human mind, for it is not subject to the same limitations.

We must, therefore, consider mind in its essential nature as an independent and eternal reality of the universe, and not limited to states of consciousness. However we penetrate to the origin of either mind or matter, we make not the slightest approach to similarity in their elements. Mind and matter are distinct. The author discusses consciousness, which is not a vibration, but the knowledge of a vibration, and the accumulation of knowledge, which certainly is not retained in the convolutions of the brain. Mind, however invisible an entity, certainly exists with a nature peculiarly its own, and with a power of knowing and accumulating knowledge not given to it by the brain. To mind must be attributed the separate functions of intelligence, emotion, and volition. These three functions are fully treated by the author so as to bring out the separateness and independence of mind. Not only is mind characterized by these powers of cognition, feeling, and volition, each dealing with ideas, but it proceeds in its action in accordance with certain regulative laws inherent in its nature. We call these the laws of reason. By these considerations the argument is met which denies intelligence to God, upon the ground that intelligence is limited to a cerebral organism. It is shown that intelligence is an attribute of mind in general, and that mind has a nature and character of its own. There is no reason why we may not conceive of mind as illimitable, as permanent, as universal, as the material world is conceived to be.

Another objection to the belief in an intelligent Supreme Being is, that even if mind were capable of existence without a brain, it is impossible to assign its attributes to a Being whose nature is infinite. This is based on the conception of intelligence as merely a series of states of consciousness. Consciousness as thus conceived has no significance as the action of a mysterious and universal essence infinite in nature, but is simply a finite phenomenon, appearing and vanishing in a moment. But if consciousness, however momentary in its exhibition, betrays a character entirely unique, unlike matter in its qualities and unproduced by matter, if it exhibits a capability of knowledge, of feeling, and of original action of its own, assisted only by matter to discover ideas and to express them, surely there must be behind it a nature which is not itself material, and which subsists and continues with all the attributes of intelligence as truly as matter subsists, and continues as an independent existence. We are unavoidably led to conceive of an Original Mind, of which the human is but a finite specimen, of whose nature we can but reason from that we know.

The rest of the article consists of answers to the specific objections raised by Herbert Spencer to the conception of an Infinite Intelligent Being. The argument is briefly summarized in the following concluding sentences. "Consciousness in man, although presumably not a perfect measure of consciousness in God, being limited in its means of acquiring and realizing knowledge, yet reveals the existence of a real, permanent entity, of a nature unlike that of matter, which we call mind. The functions of mind are intelligence, emotion, and will. These functions have for their object ideas. Ideas are in their nature rational and eternal. Intelligence groups them in order and system. Finite mind can receive these ideas only through the medium of a cerebral organism; but there is nothing irrational in conceiving of them as held from the beginning in an Infinite Intelligence, to whom, as realized in a perfect system, they constitute the universe. It is not irrational to conceive of that Infinite Intelligence as constantly directing all the energies in his control towards the

realization of that perfect system, and moved for ever in contemplation and in action with one abiding emotion of unchanging love."

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By Rev. H. P. SHUPE, Braddock, Penn. (*Quarterly Review of the United Brethren in Christ*).—This article is interesting so far as it deals with general principles; so far as it advocates the expression of principles in one particular form, it is no concern of ours.

The Church in its essential idea of God-designed relation of God and man existed in Eden. Sin introduced a new condition and need, and the Edenic elements of the Church idea, worship and service, had added to them the idea of salvation from sin. With these elements, salvation, worship, service, the Church has existed to this day, under different modes of existence, and with different names. In defining the Church we note (1) it is a body having certain definite constituent elements, and existing as a sphere of Divine action for the attainment of certain results within itself; and (2) that it is an institution divinely organized for the accomplishment of certain well-defined purposes in the world. As a body it is composed of true believers in Jesus Christ and constitutes the kingdom of God. It exists for the development of the Christ-life within its members by worship and edification. As an institution it is divinely designed to save the world by its witness to the truth, and its proclamation of salvation. Its essential idea on the Divine side is the spiritual lordship of the Messiah over redeemed men, and on the human side supreme allegiance to Jesus Christ as the manifestation of God and the Saviour of the world. The supreme object on the Divine side is the salvation and perfection of man, and on the human side the glorification of God through worship and work.

After the great confession of Peter, Jesus solemnly and definitely announced His Church in the primary elements of its visible existence (Matt. xvi. 18-20). On the night of betrayal He instituted the rite of the Supper; at the time of His final departure He authorized Baptism, and established the ministry of the Word. But with all these visible elements, rites, and functions designated, the Church was not yet complete. It was a body without life. On the day of Pentecost the Almighty breathed upon the body, and the Christian Church lived, complete in the essentials of its existence. It was now a living institution, vitalized by the Holy Spirit, and inherently capable of development after its own type of existence.

The Church is composed of human elements, but of spiritually-selected and prepared human elements, of converted mankind. It is God manifest in human society; the perpetuation and completion of the earth-mission of Christ through the Holy Spirit. The Church is indicated by three figures—"a kingdom, a building, and a body." These images are not always kept distinct, and there are ideas that are common to all of them. In the Church as a kingdom Christ reigns by right of Divine Sovereignty, and the institution exists by His authorization, not by human establishment. In the figure of a building the outward fabric of the Church is emphasized. In the figure of a body the vital connection of Christ and the Church is shown.

The terms *visible* and *invisible* are descriptive of aspects of the Church that require consideration in connection with the nature of the Church. Those terms do not imply that there are two Churches, one visible and the other invisible, but they designate two aspects of the one Church. Since the permanent and larger being of the Church is spiritual rather than material, is soul-life and its environments rather than physical being and visible institutions, it seems proper to make the invisible the basis of one's conceptions, and to determine the significance of the visible from that standpoint. The invisible Church, considered as a body, is composed of all things

which God hath reconciled unto Himself through Jesus Christ, whether they be things in earth or things in heaven (Col. i. 18-20). Considered as an agency of God, it consists of all the spiritual forces divinely instituted for salvation. The visible Church is this invisible one incarnated in humanity and made visible in institutions and ordinances; and its members are all those who receive its appointed agencies and ordinances according to their provisions.

What is the relative importance of the visible and the invisible in the functional work of the Church? Two extreme views and their corresponding tendencies have obtained in the conceptions of men; the one exalting the outward form, the other the inner essence. The view that exalts the visibility of the Church to the practical exclusion of its invisible powers, leads to the fatal error of making salvation a mechanical process. The other extreme, which recognizes only a subjective Christianity, exposes its adherents to the vacillations of an unanchored faith and to the vagaries of the deceitful human heart.

The identifying notes or marks of the Church are the ministry of the Word and the proper administration of the Sacraments. The preaching of the Word of God, or more appropriately, as embracing all the elements of this particular function, the ministry of the Word, includes the proclamation of the Gospel, leadership in worship, and the spiritual oversight and direction of the members of the Church as embraced in the pastoral functions of the ministry. To this is usually added another, government; but this, as being more variable as to method, is less definitely a note of the Church, though not less certainly a legitimate and Scripturally designated function of the ministry.

The due administration of the sacraments is, according to Protestant theologians, confined to the properly authorized ministry of the Church, although the Scriptures do not explicitly thus limit it. The Church in its relation to God is an institute of worship. The pleasure of God, as revealed in the religious instinct of mankind, is to have His creatures worship, and as He has revealed Himself according to this purpose, He has in His Church provided for its cultivation and maintenance. True spiritual apprehension of God prompts to true spiritual worship; but the worship of God in spirit and in truth does not imply the absence of outward forms—only the subordination of the form to the spirit, as the body is subject to the soul. Edification is secured by means of worship, instruction, and work. Worship develops the man Godward, as the sunshine draws upward plant life; instruction in God's Word nourishes the spiritual life, as food does the natural; and Christian service strengthens the character, as exercise strengthens the body. The Church's duty to teach the truth implies its guardianship of the truth. It has, as the guardian of the truth, the duty of protesting against error everywhere, and the duty of preventing the teaching of error within itself. The conversion of the world to Christ is the culminating purpose of the Church in the world.

NATIVE INSTRUMENTALITY IN FOREIGN MISSIONS. By Rev. A. BUNKER, D.D., Tongos, Burmah (*The Missionary Review of the World*).—As St. Paul was the model missionary, his methods should be studied. There were two stages in his work—the formative stage, and the organizing stage. In his early missionary life he wrought alone or with some chosen companion, preaching from place to place when able to travel. When converts had been gathered he changed his method, and went about organizing and confirming the Churches and appointing pastors. He called into the work native helpers who had been instructed by him, and ordained them in the Churches. Timothy is an instance of such selection.

With us the first stage has been passed in many missions. Countries, nations, and tribes have been explored; written languages learned; the unwritten, in many cases, learned and reduced to writing; the Bible translated into many tongues; other useful books prepared; mission plant gathered; and a vast amount of preliminary work completed. The Gospel message has been proclaimed far and wide, and native converts gathered in many missions by the hundreds and thousands. On many mission fields work has reached that stage where it must be done by native agency or not at all. It may be that less pioneer missionaries will be needed, and more missionaries with the educating, the scholastic gift; the power to culture and train into efficiency a native ministry. There will also be need for men with the executive and organizing ability, for a native ministry is very dependent on wise direction and control.

Foreign mission work is better fitted to native than to foreign talent. It requires long experience and much humility for a missionary to learn all he can from the natives in order to enable him to get down to the every-day life and thought of the heathen, and it is only in that low place that he can do his best work, and reach the common people. The missionary can reach the heathen only as he comes into close touch with them. He finds himself hedged about, as with a wall, by his ignorance of the language, customs, and manners of the people, and especially by their *modes of thought*. The native workers have inherited this knowledge from their birth, and are at once in that place where they can best reach their countrymen after they themselves have found the truth.

This brings us to consider how best to train up a native instrumentality on mission fields. The question of mission schools is much discussed in our day. There is sometimes a temptation to secularize such schools in order to retain government grants, but this should be resisted, and the aim of the schools ever kept in view. Mission schools are meant to train a native instrumentality for mission work. The pupils should constantly be under the eye and influence of the missionary, and his personal influence is one of the most important factors in the training. "It is emphatically true that native converts will take very readily the stamp of their much-loved teachers, too readily copying their faults." If there is any place where an example of Christian living is required it is in that of the missionary teacher. He who as a teacher must impress his own character and individuality on the learner, he, above all others, needs to live the Christ life. And the example must not only apply to daily life, but also to daily work. Practical training in methods is as essential as theoretical training in knowledge.

A native ministry can only be developed by throwing on the natives themselves the responsibility of evangelizing the heathen about them. The best missionary is the man who can best inspire the natives to become missionaries. This is the missionary work of the future. Using all means for the development of a corps of native workers in mission fields, by the blessing of the Holy Spirit we shall see the Gospel proclaimed in all lands, and the kingdom prepared for the enthronement of our Lord.

THE LIBERTY OF A CHRISTIAN MAN. By Rev. A. G. VOIGT, Newberry, S.C. (*The Lutheran Quarterly*).—To say that the spirit of Protestantism is the spirit of liberty is almost to utter a commonplace. The aim of the Reformation was to secure the "liberty of a Christian man." This is the title of a little book written by Luther, of which he says, in his dedication to the Pope, "It is a little book if the paper is considered; but yet the whole sum of a Christian life is comprehended in it if the sense

is understood." So comprehensive is Luther's grasp of Bible truth that his ideas were seed thoughts, not only for his own generation, but for ages still to come. In this treatise he shows the true principle of religion, and, what is only second in importance, the true principle of morality, as they had never been understood since the New Testament was written, and as they have not always been understood since, even among Protestants. The principles of Protestantism are few in number. The Holy Scriptures are the only source and standard of Christian doctrines; and the centre of these Scripture doctrines is justification by faith. A third principle is added in this book; the morals of a system are its touchstone. The Word of God received in faith makes a man good and free; the good and free man freely exercises himself in service and love.

The first Reformation principle may be thus stated. The source and power of all Christian life, piety, and freedom is the Gospel of Christ, the Word of God. For Luther the "Word of God" is identical with the "Holy Scriptures." He knows nothing of the modern idea that the Bible is not the Word of God, but *contains* the Word of God. There is grave danger of Protestantism losing its hold on the Bible. Much is now made of the Christian consciousness, of reason, of the Church as additional or supplementary, or somehow qualifying, sources of religious authority. Appeal is frequently made to the freedom with which Luther spoke of the Scriptures, but it must not be overlooked that this freedom was characterized by a literal acceptance of all parts of the Bible as the Word. Though he called the Epistle of James an epistle of straw as compared with the others, he quoted texts from St. James as just as infallible an authority as St. Paul.

But Luther's favourite conception was that the Word is a life-giving, soul-freeing power. It is not only a saying about life, freedom, and salvation, it is itself the sustaining power of life. In it the soul has all things which it needs; without it the soul is as possessing nothing. There is no feature of Luther's theology more characteristic than this dynamic, realistic conception of the Word. What is the Word of God which we have in the Holy Scriptures to the soul? Luther answers, Everything. It is the life element in which the Christian lives, and moves, and has his religious being. The Word of God contains, and is, a supernatural power imparting life and salvation.

As Luther has a realistic conception of the Word, so he has also of *faith*. It is not mere assent to propositions. In faith a vital connection is established between the soul and the life-giving Word of God. In the union with Christ by faith the Christian becomes a free lord of all things. We need have no fears for morality from this doctrine of faith. In meeting the objection that his teaching led to immoral results he exhibited the true principle of Christian morality. The Christian man, lord of all by faith, is the servant of all by love. Moral action can only spring from freedom. Necessity and constraint deprive good acts of their moral quality. It is faith in Christ which makes free and begets that love which is the fulfilling of the law. "A Christian man lives not in himself, but in Christ and his neighbour; in Christ by faith, in his neighbour by love. By faith he ascends above himself to God; from God he descends beneath himself by love, and yet always remains in God and His love."

MORAL POWER AND HOW TO GENERATE IT. By Rev. LAWRENCE KEISTER, S.T.B., Wilkesburg, Penn (*Quarterly Review of the United Brethren in Christ*).—Life, as we know it, is dependent on organization, and Church life is no exception. As a living thing it needs a body. The society is the soul, the organization is the body.

This body is the instrument through which this soul accomplishes the ends of its life. The tendency of our times is to increase and perfect the machinery of the Church. Organization is just now in the air. The Church needs to organize, not as an end, but as a means to an end, namely, the development of its own resources. Organize in order to gain the vantage ground of influence, but especially as a means of wielding effectively the moral power centred in the Church society. Organization conduces to the moral power of a Church in that it unifies its members, concentrates their energies, and directs their efforts in special lines of work.

The moral power of a Church is partly derived from the cause it represents. A Church is the representative of the cause of right and righteousness in a community. A Church, as well as an individual, has a character. Let it faithfully, disinterestedly, and persistently give itself to the moral and religious welfare of a community, and it will meet with hearty approval and support. The work of the Church is not to popularize Christianity, but to Christianize the populace. And since "truth is a part of the celestial machinery of God, whoso puts that machinery in gear hath the Almighty to turn his wheel." Hence faithfulness to the cause it represents must give a Church large increments of moral power.

The moral power of a Church is dependent on its membership. A Church society is made up of men and women. They constitute its working force. The objects of its efforts are likewise men and women. It aims at bringing them to a recognition of God's claim upon them, and then in perfecting them in the new relation. On this side its work lies in the domain of human life to which it must adapt itself.

It is true that we are not all alike in our spiritual life, any more than in our bodily and mental make up. Spiritual growth should be as natural as the growth of a child. There could be as many faithful Christians as there are members of the Church; each having his individuality; each having a place in the kingdom of Christ, which none other could fill. If we attend to the complete renovation of our moral nature, we need no longer sigh for power to do good. With purpose to do, comes capacity to do, and with capacity opportunity.

And the moral power of a Church is dependent on the spiritual presence of Christ. The Church is a society of believers in company with Jesus Christ. Leave out the spiritual presence of Christ, and the Church lacks the element by which it is harmonized into a brotherhood, and vitalized into a living body. "The unity of the Spirit" is no figment of Paul's brain, but an essential fact in the spiritual world. In a Church it is the harmony evoked among many different minds by the gentle touch of the finger of God.

The author thus summarizes his article. "We have found in our study that the organized body of a Church has the force of aggregation, the strength of union, the power of concentrated effort, but that its highest potency is as the instrument of the Church society; that as a Church identifies itself more intimately with the cause of right and righteousness in a community its moral power rises in both extent and degree; that the moral power of a Church society (which is composed of men and women, and appeals to men and women) is dependent upon the moral character, the consecration, and the spiritual energy of its individual members; that a Church receives its prime increment of moral power from the presence of Christ, who is the inspiring and directing head of each body of believers.

POLITICS AND THE PULPIT. By Bishop CYRUS D. FOSS, D.D. (*The North American Review*).—This is a topic of practical interest; but it may be examined

without prejudice in its relation to the United States rather than to Great Britain. Sound principles will probably be found to bear universal application and adaptation. It will suffice if those "sound principles" are discovered.

It is a great glory of the world's Redeemer that He was "the discoverer of the individual man." Before He revealed man to himself and to his fellow-man, the individual existed chiefly for the State. Man as man was insignificant; history concerned itself with man as strong, brilliant, victorious, great. It was a radically new view of humanity which revealed the "King of all worlds" as having "tasted death for every man," a view which immensely levelled up the lowest of men. But Christ also came to set up a kingdom which is to permeate, subjugate, and dominate all the governments of the whole earth. We are thus led to one of the chief functions of the Christian ministry. It must incarnate and voice the best conscience of the age, not shrinking when the sins to be denounced are entrenched behind political barricades; nay, holding up the sins of rulers to the most merciless rebuke, because of their far-reaching and signally destructive influence.

It is strange how widespread and persistent is the notion that politics and religion may of right be entirely dis severed from each other—that they necessarily occupy different territories of human thought and life. It has been held that the Christian ministry should be blandly blind to the strifes of political parties, and that the pulpit should reserve all the vials of its wrath for the sins of the Patagonians. The mere contests of party politics, which involve no grave moral issue, have no place in the pulpit. It is not the minister's function to attempt to direct, from the pulpit, the party affiliations of his people. That is a question for the individual himself. No man and no organization may invade the sacred realm of private judgment. Such subjects as the drink curse and the slavery curse are proper subjects for pulpit treatment, because they bear directly on public morality. The State must itself become righteous by the omnipresence and omnipotence of moral principle. The mission of the Gospel is to society; to senates and parliaments, as well as to individuals. "Public virtue" must become more than a meaningless phrase.

Pre-eminently is it the function of the Church, and of the pulpit, in this age to mediate between capital and labour, and with ceaseless assiduity to fill in the awful chasm between wealth and poverty. "On this continent like causes are swiftly working out like results (to those deplored in European nations). Our nation's hope is in general education; the purification of politics; the destruction of the drink traffic; wise legislation; the absolute and omnipresent supremacy of law; and, above all, in the evangelization of the masses of the people. The 'Incomparable Teacher' gave one panacea for the ills of all nations in six words—'Preach the Gospel to every creature.'"

DOES THE BIBLE CONTAIN SCIENTIFIC ERRORS? By CHARLES W. SHIELDS (*The Century Magazine*).—All schools of philosophy, as well as all churches and denominations, have a common interest in inquiring whether the Bible can yield us any real knowledge within the domain of the various sciences. At the outset of our inquiry it is necessary to distinguish between literary imperfections and scientific errors. Literary imperfections are found in the inspired writers. They were not trained rhetoricians, nor even practised writers. They show the greatest variety of culture and style. But the literary blemishes of Holy Scripture, as seen by fastidious critics, do not touch its revealed content or Divine purport, but may even heighten it by the force of contrast. Historical or historiographical defects may be admitted. Prophets and evangelists did not write history philosophically, or even always

chronologically. Their narratives have many little seeming discrepancies as to dates, places, names, and figures; but similar errors are found in modern histories, and are not assumed to invalidate the general accuracy of the histories. It is a fair presumption that many of these Bible discrepancies are not errors of the inspired text, but mere errors of transcription, or errors of translation, or errors of interpretation, or simply still unexplained difficulties. Moreover, traditional glosses must be distinguished in the inspired writings. The original autographs and their first transcripts have long since been lost, and our existing text of the Hebrew and the Greek must have become corrupt through the negligence or design of copyists and editors. But similar phenomena have been common enough in secular literature. The Greek and Latin classics, and even standard English authors, are marred with textual corruptions, such as the loss or change of a word or letter, or even part of a letter, sometimes running a single number up into the thousands, and sometimes reversing the meaning of a whole sentence, or turning it into nonsense. The text of Xenophon is full of them. The "Epistles" of Cicero have them by the hundred.

Perhaps also the Bible might be the Bible still, in its most essential import, although its long reputed authorship should now be discredited. It may be conceivable that such a Bible could have survived its own literary errors as a trophy of the most devout scholarship; but if quite conceivable, it is not yet certain, nor very probable. The plain statements of the inspired writers themselves, their apparent indorsements by our Lord and His Apostles, and the consistent tradition of three thousand years, still stand opposed to the conjectures of learned criticism. And such conjectures are not sustained by all the literary precedents and analogies. The claims for Moses and Isaiah were not even questioned during more than twenty centuries. It would seem rather late now to overthrow all this external testimony by mere internal criticism of their accepted writings. As yet there is no more critical demand for two Isaiahs in the Isaian prophecies than for a dozen Homers in the Homeric poems. In fact, the sacred writers are not half as fragmentary and composite as well-known English historians, poets, and philosophers. Nor do marks of editorship always weaken the genuineness and integrity of a standard treatise. Not even such tell-tale signs as new words, late idioms, or local phrases could wholly discredit a renowned author whose writings have come down to us through all the vicissitudes of language and literature. "The several codes of Moses, if framed after the conquest of Canaan, would have been no more ideal than the *Republic* of Plato, and any later Hebraisms or Chaldæisms appearing among them since the Babylonian exile need be no more puzzling than Anglicisms or Americanisms among the feudal forms and Norman phrases of a recent edition of Blackstone."

It may be confidently affirmed that neither the literary imperfections, nor the historiographical defects, nor the traditional glosses of Holy Scripture can of themselves, at their worst, impair its scientific integrity or philosophic value, if it have this value. They may raise presumptions against the claims of inspiration in the minds of hostile critics. Some friendly critics take the dangerous ground that the Bible teaches nothing but religious truth, and may even teach such truth in connection with scientific error. This is dangerous ground, because it is ground lying inside the limits of an accepted revelation; because it involves not so much the mere human form as the Divine content of that revelation; because it exhibits that Divine content as an amalgam of fact and fiction, truth and error, knowledge and superstition; because it opens the way for hostile critics to proceed quite logically from scientific errors to religious errors in the Bible, and because it would abandon the whole metaphysical domain of the Bible to the empiric, the agnostic, and the sceptic.

It is important to note that the general distinction between errant and inerrant Scripture is not made by Scripture itself. As a theory of inspiration it is modern and extraneous. It is not the theory of their own inspiration given by the sacred writers themselves. If anything is plain in their writings, it is plain that they claim to be making Divine communications under an unerring guidance. Our Saviour, too, sanctioned the claim in His own use of the Hebrew Scriptures. This author says, "It is simply impossible to associate such statements with an erroneous communication from God to man in any sphere of truth, physical or spiritual. The only escape from them is to except them from the physical sphere, or limit them to the spiritual sphere. But no such exceptions or limitations can be found." The Bible shows that its physical teaching is implicated with its spiritual teaching in the closest logical, and practical connections, with no possible discrimination between the one as erroneous, and the other as true. Throughout the realm of the sciences the devout student will see the author of Scripture revealing Himself as the author of nature, and building the one upon the other. The whole psychical superstructure of religious doctrines and ethical precepts will appear to him reposing on its physical foundations in the pre-existing constitution of nature and humanity. It is seldom remarked that both the physical and the spiritual teaching are alike given in a non-scientific form. It is often said that the Bible does not teach astronomy or physics as a science. But neither does it teach theology or ethics as a science. If the one is presented as a crude mass of facts and truths, without law or order, so is the other. If it be granted that the physical truths of Scripture are couched in the popular and phenomenal language of the times when it was written, so also are its spiritual truths veiled in the anthropomorphic and even barbaric imagery common to all rude peoples. "If it be urged that we have left far behind us the contemporary astronomy of the Old Testament, with its spangled canopy of heaven wrought as a marvel of handwork, how shall we defend its contemporary theology, with its manlike deity so often depicted as a monster of anger, jealousy, and cruelty?" There is not an objection to the non-scientific character of the physical teaching which will not recoil with greater force against the spiritual teaching. Nor can it be said that the physical teaching is any more reconcilable with popular fallacies than the spiritual teaching. It has been maintained that the Divine author of the Scriptures accommodated them to the scientific errors of their own times for the sake of the moral and religious truths to be conveyed. But the risk of such reasoning is that it might prove too much. It is a matter of history that the so-called theory of accommodation has run its course in the schools of criticism, until in the end it has reduced Christianity to mere natural religion as adapted to the Jews.

It should be noticed that both the physical and the spiritual teaching alike have a permanent and universal import, as well as local and temporary reference. Usually, this is admitted as to the Biblical theology, despite its antique and rude imagery. But as to the physical sciences, it is held that the prophets and apostles were so dominated by their environment, that they not only shared the scientific errors around them, but expressed them as freely as they have exposed their own frailties and inconsistencies. Otherwise, it is said, no revelation could have been received by them, or made through them, to their own age and country. It is not necessary to suppose their own personal knowledge greater than that of their contemporaries outside of the Divine communications. But neither is it necessary to suppose them acquainted with the entire purport of these communications. They may have spoken better than they knew. They may not have been fully conscious of their messages as applicable in other eras and stages of culture. Because the Bible, though non-

scientific, is not anti-scientific, it is as true for our time as it was true for its own time, and is likely to remain true for all time to come.

It may be objected that, as a matter of fact, we get our theology from Scripture, and our natural sciences from nature. It may be replied that, "as to theology, it is true that, when considered as a metaphysical science of God and Divine things, its material is mainly to be found in the Bible; but it is not true that, as an empirical science of religions, it may not find material outside of the Bible in the religious history of mankind. As to the physical sciences, it is true that they are derived mainly from nature as bodies of empirical knowledge; but it is not true that they can find no metaphysical ground and material in the Biblical revelations concerning physical facts."

The physical teaching in its own place, and for its own purpose, is quite as important and valuable as the spiritual teaching. Such facts as the origin of the heavens, the formation of the earth, and the constitution of man have a physical side, which has been, indeed, revealed to us in connection with religious truth. True as it may be that religion is the chief topic of revelation, yet it is still true that it touches other great interests of humanity, and serves other high purposes. While the furtherance of science, the perfection of philosophy, and the growth of civilization cannot be ranked as its chief ends and issues, yet they may at least be classed as its incidental fruits and trophies. In this guarded sense we shall find that the physical portion of revelation, small though it seems to be, is of the greatest benefit to science, philosophy, and general culture. There is its apologetical, or evidential, value. But its chief value is largely metaphysical. It is becoming every day clearer that all physics at length run out into metaphysics, and that every physical science at bottom rests upon some hidden metaphysical basis underneath the facts or phenomena with which it deals, down in a recondite region of realities and causes which Divine revelation alone can disclose. "The Bible, indeed, does not teach the empirical part of any science, its body of phenomena and laws; but it does teach its metaphysical complement, the Divine ideas expressed in those phenomena, and the Divine causes of those laws. In astronomy it does not teach celestial physics, the figures, motions, and orbits of planets, suns, and stars throughout infinite space and time, but it does teach that Divine immensity, eternity, and omnipotence, of which the whole celestial system is but a phenomenal manifestation, and without which it would be an infinite anomaly. And similarly with geology, anthropology, and the higher mental and social sciences. As the highest point of scientific contact with the Bible appears its value in philosophy considered as the supreme science of knowledge, or science of the sciences. Here the full appreciation is not only difficult, but barred by prejudice and distaste. We have become so accustomed, wisely enough, to treat philosophy as a secular pursuit, and have so just a dislike to any crude admixture of religion with science that we may be in danger of the other extreme—of leaving, at least, one half the philosophic domain under the rule of scepticism and ignorance."

It is time for us to assert that the inspired Bible is a radiant source of Divine knowledge, chiefly within the psychical sciences, but also within the physical, and, therefore, essential to the completion of philosophy itself, as the crowning science of the sciences. Such a philosophy will see no scientific errors flecking that sun of truth, which thus lights up its domain, but only paradoxes to dazzle it, should it too rashly gaze, and mysteries to blind it with tears.

THE DIVINE-HUMAN PERSONALITY. By the EDITOR (*The Andover Review*).—Notice first the reality of revelation in nature and in humanity, and the ascending

order of the revelations. The argument is that the culmination is reached in Christ, who completes the partial and prophetic revelations embodied in the universe and in history. Nature is a revelation of God. Phenomena are the manifestation of energy or force. The last and most satisfying word concerning force is that it is from the Will of God. Nature, considered as revealing God, is seen to be a revelation in concrete embodiment; it is a reality for the indwelling of God. And nature is in an ascending order; the movement might be likened to an ascending spiral. Humanity is a revelation of God. The belief in God rests on the reason and conscience of man, and on the history of the race, even more closely than on the design and order of the physical universe. Not what is superimposed upon humanity as that which is additional to it, but humanity itself is the revelation. Truth and right could not be known to man, unless truth and right were *in* man. The revelation is in and through humanity. It is higher also than the embodiment of God in nature. If it is believed that God is revealed in nature and in humanity, it is evident that the method is by concrete embodiment and by an ascending order. Is humanity, as it is and has been, a culmination? It is quite conceivable that there should be a further advance. There is no necessary reason for supposing that man is the crown of creation. The ideal of humanity is not realized. What more probable, then, than that God should make some higher revelation, which, like the others, is in concrete form, and through which powers will come in to bring to completion that which otherwise remains imperfect? Why may He not reveal Himself in a personality, who is at the same time the ideal of humanity, and the power within it by which it may be brought to perfection? There might be an organ of revelation, vitally related to the humanity that is to be perfected, yet not merely the consummate flower of a natural evolution, such as others also may become, but an organ through which God comes to men in grace and love, a new moral power introduced to bring humanity to its completion. It is the fact that in Christ a higher power came into humanity for its renovation and perfection. It may be, then, that He was above mankind in His mode of existence, yet organically related to the humanity which He transcends, and that in Him the revelation of God completes that which in nature and human life remained incomplete.

It is assumed that Christianity is exceptional, a new and higher revelation of God. Jesus Christ may be best understood as revealing the ethical qualities of God. His revelation was moral and spiritual rather than metaphysical. If God would make known His true character to men, it might be expected that, like all His revelations, this also would be in some embodiment, in some concrete reality, and therefore in a personality, in a life. No other way is conceivable to us in which character can be known but in a personal life. Therefore the mode in which God can reveal His character to us would seem of necessity to be under some of the conditions and limitations of human nature. It may be questioned whether God can reveal His character of love and right in any way but in a life which embodies His character; and we may affirm that it is known by its embodiment in the person, example, and sacrifice of Jesus Christ, the eternal Son of the Father.

When also it is perceived that God and man are akin in respect to reason, to righteousness, and to affection, that every man is made in the image of God, it is credible, and even probable, that God should reveal His true character in a human personality. Man alone has affinity for God. The organ of God's best manifestation of His love might therefore be found in humanity itself. The point of contact, of sympathetic union, is presented here, and, so far as can be seen, in respect of character, is presented nowhere else. But the real difficulty lies farther back than

the manifestation of God in Christ. It lies at the point of knowing God at all. How is it possible for the finite mind to conceive the perfect wisdom, the infinite power, the omniscience, the omnipresence, the eternity, the self-existence, the personality of God? But when the belief in God exists, it is then no strain put upon faith, nor indeed upon reason, to believe that in the fulness of time one appeared who, in a special manner, brought the life of God into the life of man for the purification and perfection of humanity.

We now inquire how can God come down to man, how can He reveal Himself to men so that they shall know Him in His real character of love? The question implies that God has already revealed Himself in part. But with the knowledge that He is absolute, how may we suppose that He will reveal Himself in His moral disposition and purpose? Certainly under some conditions and limitations which are called finite. On the whole, a human personality has the fewest limitations, for it is most nearly akin to God. It is through media that are finite God makes all His revelations. As compared with God nature is finite; yet God is known through nature. As compared with God the human species is finite; yet it is in the constitution of mankind and in its history that God reveals Himself. By finite minds God is known. "If the distinction between finite and infinite means anything, and if the infinite is revealed through the finite and to the finite in nature and in man, the revelation of God in Jesus Christ, a human personality, or the union of God with him, is only like all God's revelations, the infinite manifested through the finite, the absolute through the human and historical." The belief concerning Jesus is not that God in all His absoluteness, omniscience, and omnipotence took on the form of a man, and walked about among men in Galilee, so that Jesus knew all occurrences on earth and throughout the universe. It is that God was in Christ so far as God can manifest His life in a human personality at a given period of history, and for the purpose of bringing in His grace and love for the renewal of men. The revelation of God in Christ pertains less to His absoluteness than to His character. It is the *love* of God which is made known in Jesus Christ. The fitness of personality to express love is unquestioned.

In keeping with the Divine-human personality of Jesus is His power to work miracles. His power of instantaneous healing seems to have been inherent. It has been aptly called His "health-power." Such a power Jesus had to the fullest degree. That which is vaguely suggested by modern mind-cure, faith-cure, or even possibly by hypnotic and mesmeric influence, was complete in Jesus. His resurrection and ascension, although the visible form of His glorified person may not be understood, and certainly is not important, are the credible, and indeed natural, consummation of His life and work.

There are two truths which have the most important bearing on the Divinity of Christ. 1. God communicates and reveals Himself to finite intelligences. The revealing principle or power is called "the Word." It is the doctrine of the Logos. 2. This revelation consists in the Sonship of Jesus Christ. It is His very character, or it might be said His very nature, to be the Son of the Eternal Father. Sonship is human, but also Sonship is Divine. The revelation was Fatherhood, and was made in the person of Him who was the Son of God. The ethical value of the relation of Father and Son in God is absolute, and yet it implies a certain dependence and even limitation, a subjection in obedience and trust, a power of surrender even through sacrifice, in order to fulfil the purpose of God in redemption.

The energizing of God within us, to purify from evil, and to make us harmoniously responsive to His will in all our life, is requisite, that the revelation in Christ may

have its full power. The action of God is symbolized to us by an image of that which is internal and invisible, the very quality of life, the breath or spirit. Under the advantage of the truth about God, which Christ embodied, the Divine Spirit vitalizes the relation between God and man; He energizes in intimate correspondence with the reality of Fatherhood and Sonship as revealed in Christ. The energy of the Spirit is so closely conditioned on the personality and work of Christ that the Son and the Spirit are spoken of interchangeably as to their presence, their indwelling, their renewing and sanctifying power.

There is a limit to the understanding of the person of Christ. The limit is on the side of speculative or metaphysical ideas of the mode of absolute being and manifestation. On the ethical side Jesus stands clearly revealed. The true law of life, the Divine purity, righteousness, and love, the trust and obedience of Sonship, the revelation of the Fatherhood of God, are clear, warm, aglow with beauty and glory. The life, which was the light of men in its reality, its blessing, its life-giving power, is the gift of God for our good, and may be received as the gift of God to eternal life, whatever philosophical theory of the person is held, or indeed if no definite theory is held.

Some reference must be made to the pre-existence of Jesus. That the identical being who was the historical Jesus was transferred unchanged from one world to another no one would think of believing. His body was a new existence by means of reproduction in the human species. But He came forth from God. His very existence and being are Divine. Under human conditions, and at a given time, He embodied the reality of a Sonship which is eternal in the Divine nature. To say that He came down from heaven merely means that He came from God, who is as truly and constantly on earth as in any part of the universe. Time and space figures cannot properly be applied to the absolute and infinite.

The belief in the Divinity of Christ is as reasonable and as necessary now as it ever has been. The ideal of humanity is still far from being realized. The powers of evil are great. The law and the spirit of Christ are still the hope of the world. God in history and in humanity is not a God of the past, but of the present and the future, ever revealing Himself in Jesus Christ, who is the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever. The entire truth is summed up in the phrase, "For the Life was manifested, and we have seen the Life, and bear witness, and declare unto you the Eternal Life which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us."

THE NIMBUS AND AUREOLE. By ELLIS SCHREIBER (*The American Catholic Quarterly Review*).—The glory of God is of two kinds—essential and accidental. The essential consists in that absolute will of God which has, of necessity, been fulfilled from all eternity, and will be fulfilled to all eternity. The accidental is that manifestation of His essential glory which it is the object of creation to promote, although, in itself, it cannot add anything to the infinite glory which He has in Himself. Every external work of God brings to Him accidental glory. To increase this accidental glory is the end and object of man. One special form of this accidental glory of God consists in that brightness, cognizable by the sense of sight, whereby God, who is in Himself light, uncreated and eternal, vouchsafed of old to give a sign of His more immediate presence amongst men. The idea of visible light has always been intimately associated with the person of the Deity. The conviction that the nature and essence of God is ineffable light was a principle lying at the bottom of the Jewish religion. The dogma and ritual of the Christian religion both maintain the same truth that the Jews so firmly held. In the Creed we express our belief that

the eternal Word is Light of Light, as He is God of God. In the ceremonial of Divine worship artificial light is habitually used as a symbol of the celestial brightness of God's presence. When the Church emerged from the catacombs, the lights which had been needed to illumine the subterranean chapels were retained in the sunlit basilicas of the city.

We know, moreover, that the glory of which God is the source and centre is communicated to the spirits who are in His presence, and whose privilege it is to gaze continually on His Divine beauty. The author affirms, and gives illustrations of his assertion from the traditions of the saints and martyrs, that it is not only to the disembodied spirit that this lustre is imparted. His Bible illustration is the shining face of Moses, for which a veil was needed. The pictorial representation in Christian art of the light emanating from the Deity, and communicated to the persons of eminent sanctity, is called the nimbus, or the aureole.

The nimbus, according to its etymology, ought to possess the characteristics of a luminous cloud or vapour. It generally is figured as an opaque, circular disc, surrounding the head. Sometimes it is nothing more than a halo; there is much variation in the form and arrangement of the rays of the halo. The nimbus is a Christian symbol suggested by pagan art, where it is frequently met with. "The idea that the dwelling-place of the immortal gods was the centre of eternal and unfailing light, and that their presence amongst mortals was accompanied by a visible and material glory, was a universal and firmly-rooted belief amongst the ancients." This conventional ornament, given at first by the Greeks and Romans to the gods, was extended to the effigies of the emperors, after they began to claim Divine honours. In the East, where the saints of the Old Testament are far more venerated than in the West, the nimbus was given with great prodigality. It is assigned to all manner of quasi-sacred personages, and even to bad men, such as Pharaoh, Achan, Saul, Herod, and Judas.

The nimbus does not appear as a peculiarly Christian symbol before the sixth century. Then it was adopted by Christian art as a token of special sanctity, as a pictorial representation of the never-fading crown of glory promised as the reward of supernatural virtue and eminent holiness. The seventh and two following centuries witnessed the transition from the almost complete absence of the nimbus as a Christian symbol to the constant use of it in its spiritual signification of the Divine glory, the light of heaven. The images of the Persons of the Holy Trinity were the first to be thus distinguished, and the sacred humanity of Christ after His ascension, or in the scenes taken from His life on earth wherein His miraculous power was manifested. The angels came next in order, when depicted in their character of celestial messengers to mankind. Somewhat later the nimbus is given to the Blessed Virgin, and to the Apostles. In Byzantine art the growth of the cultus of the Mother of God may be traced—especially after the Council which suppressed the Nestorian heresy—by the nimbus assigned to her, and not to the Apostles.

Although the most usual form of the nimbus is that of a circle or disc of solid metal or burnished gold, it also assumes other shapes, and varies in colour. Sometimes the disc is suspended above the head, and then it is an oval, or circle seen in perspective. Up to the twelfth century it was frequently semi-transparent, indicating that the artist meant to represent a luminous irradiation; and as the clouds take colour from the sun's rays, so this glory—pictorial light—assumed the different hues of the spectrum. Gold is, however, by far the most prevalent, as being the most like to light or fire; it is almost invariably used for the Divine Persons, and also for the principal saints. The Old Testament saints often have a nimbus of silver. In the

twelfth century, or thereabouts, the nimbus frequently assumed the form of a broad golden band, a circlet surrounding or suspended over the head. When it is of a square or oblong shape, this denotes that the person to whom it is given was living at the time the work was executed; for the circle is symbolic of eternity, the square being the symbol used by ancient geometers for the earth, and the circle for heaven. The triangular form, which does not appear until a later period, is reserved for the first Person of the Holy Trinity; sometimes rays issue from each side of it. Very frequently the nimbus is ornamented with various devices. A cruciform nimbus, either with or without the circle, now peculiar to the Saviour, was formerly appropriated to all the three Persons of the Godhead, to distinguish the Creator from His creatures. The disc is intersected by bars increasing in width at the circumference, which, meeting in the centre, cross at right angles, thus forming what is called a Greek cross. Possibly, the cross or transverse rays in the Divine nimbus are expressive of the eternal sovereignty of God extending in all directions. The ignorance of artists often leads to the Divine Persons being depicted with a plain nimbus; and this happened often in the infancy of Christian art. A contrary and much less common error is that of representing an ordinary mortal with the crossed nimbus. The nimbus is also given to allegorical figures, such as the cardinal and theological virtues.

The aureole appears in Christian art somewhat later than the nimbus, and is quite distinct from it. The nimbus encircles the head, the aureole envelopes the whole figure. The origin of the aureole is traced by some writers to the images within bucklers, *imagines clypeatæ* of the Romans, in which a bust or half-length figure stands out in relief from a round or oval shield. These were suspended in the temples, and may have suggested to Christian artists the idea of placing the head or figure of a saint in a medallion or blind window in Churches, as was often done. In one of the mosaics, St. Mary Major, the aureole takes the character of a solid shield, protecting the persons of Moses and Aaron from the stones hurled at them by the adherents of Kore. As a rule the aureole is the distinctive attribute of the glorified body. Rarely found in heathen art, in Christian iconography its use is exclusively restricted to the Persons of the Holy Trinity, to the Blessed Virgin, and to the souls of the just represented under the symbol of a child unclothed. Scarcely a single instance is known of the aureole being given to angels. The aureole is a sign of apotheosis, being rightfully given to none but those who have entered into the *locum pacis et lucis*, into the brightness of celestial glory, of the eternity to which the Christian looks forward, and in the light of which he ought to live.

CURRENT CANADIAN THOUGHT.

JOYAH, THE FUGITIVE PROPHET. By Rev. W. QUANCE (*The Canadian Methodist Quarterly*).—This book is now being made the battle-ground of the critics, and the various positions taken by what is called the "Higher Criticism" can be effectively presented, and effectively dealt with, in connection with it.

We should not be alarmed because the literature of the Scriptures, whether of the Old or New Testaments, is being subject to the keen and searching analysis of

the literary or historic critic. In no previous period have the books of the Old Testament been subjected to such searching investigation as at present. And whatever may be the final outcome, or residuum, of proved and generally accepted facts concerning the Old Testament, there is not a doubt that many of our traditional beliefs will have to be greatly modified, and others completely swept away.

What is the character of the Book of Jonah? Is it history or parable? Autobiography or prophecy? Reality or symbol? Is it "a legend attached to the name of the historic Jonah, and worked out into spiritual lessons"? Dr. A. B. Davidson says, "It is not a prophecy, but an historical episode." Dr. Ladd calls it, "A composition designed by its author as allegorical and didactic upon a certain basis of historic facts." Dr. Farrar thinks it is "a magnificent specimen of moral allegory devoted to the noblest purposes." Dr. Cheyne thinks it probable that there is a mythic element in it. "I do not mean that the story is itself a popular myth, but that the author of Jonah adapted a well-known Oriental mode of expression, based upon a solar myth. Paul Kleinert, in Lange's Commentary, regards the book as symbolical; a symbolical representative of Israel in his mission, his failure, and his reluctant though partial fulfilment of his mission.

The principal grounds on which the historical character of Jonah is questioned are (1) the character of the supernatural in the narrative; (2) the fact that the book contains several words which are of Aramaic origin; (3) the use of the Psalms in Jonah's prayer. Objection need not be taken to miracles at all, but it may be urged that the particular miracles of this book are out of harmony with other miracles of the Bible, and are in harmony with legendary and apocryphal miracles. It will at once be seen that we must decide in regard to the historical character of the book, before we can be prepared to examine the narratives of miracle recorded in it.

It is usual to assume that the reality of the miracle of the fish is settled by our Lord's reference to it; but this raises the question, "How far must we look upon the view of Jesus concerning the Old Testament as a critical one? And how far are we bound in critical questions by His implied view of such questions? Did Jesus give Himself out to be a *savant* or a scholar? Did questions of pure science, of archæology, of literary criticism, and of history, enter into the province of His authority? Did not Jesus in these matters speak as those about Him?

As to the Aramaic forms of speech found in the book, Dr. Pusey says there are only eight words which can be pressed into the service of the linguistic critic. The following is Pusey's account of these eight words: "Three are naval terms, and since Israel was no seafaring people, it is in harmony with the history that these terms should first occur in the first prophet who left the land of Israel by sea. So it is also that an Assyrian technical term should first occur in a prophet who had been sent to Nineveh. A fifth word occurs in Hosea, a contemporary of Jonah, and in a Psalm of David. The sixth is an abridged grammatical form of a Phœnician, and not an Aramaic word; was used in conversation, occurs in the oldest proper names, and in the northern tribes. The seventh and eighth do not occur in Aramaic in the meaning in which they are used in Jonah." It has further been said by Redford, "Had it been composed after the time of the Captivity, it would have been full of Chaldæisms, but, as it is, there is not one instance which can be made out."

As to the use of the Psalms in Jonah's prayer, it must be admitted that the prayer, as we have it, is not original—it is in the nature of a literary mosaic, and it is not such in its form or matter as would be likely to be uttered in extreme danger, or in the presence of death. It bears all the marks of a poetical composition. It is easy work first to assume that all the psalms are Exilic or post-Exilic, and then argue that

a poem which quotes from post-Exilic psalms must itself be of still later date. This author suggests that Jonah's hymn may have been the original from which some of the expressions found in the other psalms were taken. And the *Speaker's Commentary* says that "internal criticism furnishes no sufficient ground for determining, with any preponderance of probability, which in each case was derived from the other. The internal evidence supplied by the hymn taken altogether, so far from proving a late era for the book, strongly favours the belief that at least this portion of the book was written by Jonah himself."

The objection to the account of the repentance of the Ninevites is thus stated by Dr. Driver: "The sudden conversion, on such a large scale as is evidently implied, of a great heathen population, is contrary to analogy; nor is it easy to imagine a monarch of the type depicted in the Assyrian monuments behaving as the king of Nineveh is represented as acting in presence of the Hebrew prophet. It is remarkable also that the conversion of Nineveh, if it took place upon the scale described, should have produced so little permanent effect, for the Assyrians are uniformly represented in the Old Testament as idolaters." The author thinks that the answer to this objection may be found in Rawlinson's supposition that the mission of Jonah took place during the reign of Asshur-dayan III. (B.C. 771-758). That was a depressed time for Assyria, a time of luxurious ease, when moral evils abounded, and the sudden warning was likely to influence them then as it would not when the nation was prosperous. Of course this explanation depends on fitting the dates together; but even if this can be done, the likelihood of a foreigner speaking in the name of a strange God producing such an effect is still difficult to believe. Dr. Farrar tries to help the removal of the objection by reminding us that "Jonah was seconded by a preacher of infinite power—the preaching of conscience, the 'voice of God in the heart of man.'"

Mr. Quance proceeds to discuss the aim and purpose of the book, and the place it fills in the unfolding process of Divine Revelation. Bleek is to the point when he says, "In no book of the Old Testament is the all-embracing fatherly love of God, which has no respect of person or nation, but is moved to mercy on all who turn to Him, exhibited with equal impressiveness, or in a manner so nearly approaching the spirit of Christianity." It may fairly be urged against objectors on the ground of Jonah being a foreigner, that "while Judaism was undoubtedly separated by a great gulf from the polytheistic systems of the heathen nations around, still there was an underlying basis of natural religion, or remembered tradition, which enabled a messenger in proclaiming truth which appealed to the conscience and to the deepest heart of man, to wake up slumbering echoes there which would produce a very great effect, especially if the attendant circumstances were of a character to lend power to the natural fears of the multitude."

The last word has not yet been said on the question of the character and date of this book. Whether the arguments for or against its historical character prevail in the end, reasonable men will persist in asking whether it is worth while to contest the point. The Divine inspiration can use the imagination of man as well as the memory of man; and the religious teachings of the book are precisely the same whether the book be regarded as fact of history or poetical creation.

PSYCHOLOGY—ITS DEFECTS. By Rev. W. H. MOORE, D.D. (*The Canadian Methodist Quarterly*).—Why is it that this science—the science of mind, of consciousness, of ourselves—so uniformly baffles the thinkers of this age as it has done the thinkers of all ages? It has made little advance since the time of Aristotle; why can it not be

wrought into a complete body of truth, at least in its fundamental elements, and made to stand forth in the daylight of intelligence? This has not yet been done. Hume, Reid, Kant, Hamilton, Mansell, J. S. Mill, Wentworth, Bledsoe, Wheedon, and others, have made contributions to this science, but they left gaps behind them which have not been filled, and contradictions which defy reconciliation. Dr. Moore thinks that confounding the terms *Feeling* and *Sensation*, and consequently using those terms interchangeably, has led to serious perversions of the truth. Mansell alone discriminates between them, but he then drops the subject. We need to see in a clear light, first of all, the facts of the mind as distinguished from what is external to the mind, then their natural or logical relations, and then out of these will emerge the properties and powers of the mind as a whole. Instead of such presentation, we are generally treated to a confused, heterogeneous, conglomerate mass of thought, feeling, and sensations.

It is a mistake to confound feeling, emotion, and passion with sensation. By feeling is meant love and hate, joy and grief, hope and despair, trust and fear, desire and aversion, delight and jealousy, &c. As phenomena belonging to the realm of sensation, we may mention heat, cold, hunger, thirst, taste, smell, touch, muscular action, &c. And we affirm that these are certainly affections of the organism—the body—not of the mind. Sensations and feelings have nothing in common—the one class of phenomena belongs to one realm, and the other class to a different realm. The origin and root of the one class is in the mind—is, in fact, the only expression a part of the mind can make of itself; the origin and root of the other class is in the organism—the body—outside of the mind, and no part of it. Feelings are in part expressions of the functions of mind cognized by consciousness; sensations are expressions in part of the functions of the body, *cognized by the mind as phenomena external to itself*; and to mix and confound the two classes of phenomena as one is to reduce both mind and body to an unintelligible chaos.

Our psychologists have regarded man as a dual being compounded of two substances, spirit and dust. For this gigantic blunder there is no excuse. Its acceptance by Christian authors was the triumph of materialism. Extended material substances can be mixed together, or united in chemical union, but the notion that unextended mind can in any way be subjected to the operation of physical law, logically denies its existence as a substance of the spirit order.

According to the Bible, the man is a "living soul." St. Paul treats the body as the "tabernacle" in which the man dwells. All through the philosophy of Plato this conception of man is set forth. To us it seems to be a self-evident truism that man is an indivisible, unitary spirit substance, or nothing but a transient phenomenal appearance. Man, considered as an intelligent Ego, is a being of the spirit order, at present dwelling, as Job says, "in a house of clay," and the proper realm of his activity is thought, volition, and feeling. His relation to his body is the relation of a master to a servant. To cognize himself—the Ego—he looks into consciousness, not into his hands, or feet, or blood, or flesh, or any physical organ. There is, indeed, an intimate and powerful sympathetic relation subsisting between the mind and body, but such action and reaction demonstrates that two related substances are in the field.

That the mind is not the life of the body is clear from the following considerations: (1) The life of the new-born infant is manifest in the perfect organism of its body, and yet the body has never felt the effects of its own active mind. At this stage of its being its mind is but in an embryo condition. (2) In cases of the extreme softening of the brain, the mind is inactive and apparently absent, and yet the vital functions

of the body often continue unimpaired for years. (8) Animal life gives to birds, beasts, and insects perfect organisms in the absence of a human intellect. Such mind as the frog, rabbit, and pigeon may have, may be taken away with the cerebral brain, and yet the life of the body remain unaffected for a long time. (4) No form of vegetation can exist in the absence of some kind of initiating life, or continue after the life is destroyed. Life, then, of different kinds or orders, is the builder and conservator of all organic bodies—vegetable, animal, and human.

In the case of man, the life of the organism, as its builder, acts as an intermediary between mind and matter, and is no part of either. The life of the body is the seat of all sensations, as the mind is the seat of feeling or emotion. There is no crossing from the one realm to the other. Each may act and react upon the other, but neither ever forsakes its base of operations. Mind can never do the work of the life of the body, nor the life of the body the work of the mind. Mind and the life of the body are two distinct but closely correlated realms. To confound them, or in any way reduce mind and life to unity, is to turn creation back to the confusion and darkness of chaos. We want a psychology which shall be a new reading of nature in the light of consciousness.

CURRENT GERMAN THOUGHT.

DIVINE PROVIDENCE AND INDEPENDENCE IN THE CREATED WORLD. By A. BREITHAUP, *Grønsee (Beweis d. Glaubens, Sept. 1892)*. Conclusion.—II. If we assume, as we must, the action of Providence and the action of natural forces, how are these related to each other? The action of Providence has been explained by the Lutheran idea of *concursum*, according to which every effect is equally the result of the working of Providence and of natural causes, and by the view that the part of Providence consists in grouping or combining different factors at the right moment. The first view supposes, not merely an indirect, but a direct action of Providence, which would make God responsible for moral evil. Indirect action is certain; for, as Martensen says, "The vital energy in free created powers is in its inmost essence God's gift." The second view is too limited an account of Providential action. To ascribe to Providence merely this power of grouping, while denying all direct action on the elements combined, would make life and nature a perpetual miracle. We must, therefore, hold fast the possibility of an inner influence of God on all created powers, this influence taking different forms according to the nature of the powers influenced, free or otherwise.

What, again, as to the working of these independent powers? How are they related to Providential government? It might suffice to say that by their means, i.e., using them as instruments, Providence accomplishes its plans. Their capability of use by a higher power is an excellence rather than a defect. But we have experience to guide us. All man's action in the various arts of life consists in such use and control of the natural powers of the world. In this use natural powers find their highest end. The action of Providence is analogous in kind, though higher in form. Even man's power of freedom is subject to law—God's laws of morality, habit, character. Man cannot obey or disobey and remain what he was before. He may

rise until he gains the freedom which is above the peril of sinning, or sink until he loses the power to repent. That is, human freedom is indirectly subject to God's power. And if indirectly, why not directly also? We cannot explain this, as we cannot explain many other things; but it is not incredible or inconceivable. Yet man's freedom retains its nature. He is never forced to do right: his good and his evil remain his own. We thus conclude that "both as regards human freedom and the sphere of nature, there is no contradiction between the rule of Providence and the exercise of independent finite powers; that, on the contrary, the entire life of the world is of such a kind that it can only be adequately explained by a constant co-operation of both factors in every field; and that neither is the rule of Providence hindered by the creature's independence, nor the working of the creature's independence interfered with by Providence."

III. So far, the physical side of the problem. The moral side is far more difficult. The chief difficulty is not the mere fact of sin, the possibility of which is implied in the gift of freedom, but its tremendous power, the sorrow and ruin which it entails now and hereafter. We can scarcely wonder that pessimism, which knows nothing of revelation, asserts that it would be better not to be than be. It is no reply to say that these effects follow by law, or by the abuse of freedom. Was God bound to preserve a fallen world in existence? It is true, indeed, that if one race had been brought to an end, and another created, the same possibility of an abuse of freedom would always have remained; so that there is no help this way. We are reminded of the pleasure and happiness which exists in abundance; still this is no more than an alleviation. We might perhaps rest in the idea that God created man solely for His own glory, and this end will be secured in any case. But what a view this would give us of the Divine character! "We should have lost the holy, gracious, worshipful God, and put in His place selfish, heartless omnipotence. With the exception of Calvin, who at least with the inexcusable logic of his predestination-theory touches on this thought, we find it only on the ground of heathenism or of an unbelieving Christendom. Such a being our God is not. And the Bible, high as it puts God's glory, knows not such an idea. Its God is love. And although it puts the end of creation at last not so much in the revelation of His love as of His glory, love is yet the noblest pearl in the crown of His glory; and an end of the world in which this love did not find perfect expression might be anything else, but it would not be Biblical."

The solution of the world's riddle is Redemption. Redemption was part of the original plan of the world; it embraces all mankind; even such things as suffering and the prevalence of sin indirectly aim at redemption. The first principle is clear from those passages of Scripture which place the counsel of redemption "before the foundation of the world," and "before times eternal." "And if redemption was designed from the first, we need not stumble at God's permitting sin, and its consequences, provided the redeeming plan extend as far as the ruin which attends sin." We thus make the purpose of redemption dependent on the actual entrance of sin. Otherwise we should make sin itself a part of God's world-plan, which would be repugnant to God's nature. That the Logos was to become man in order to perfect humanity, was unconditionally included in the world's purpose. But the form of the incarnation depended on whether sin became a fact or not. In this sense we may accept Osiander's saying: "Etiam si homo non peccasset, deus tamen incarnatus esset, licet non crucifixus."

In the second place, over against the universal extent of sin and its penalties must be placed the universal possibility of salvation. The first is taught by experience, and such Scriptures as Rom. v. 12, and John iii. 6. The second fact is just as

certain, and it effectually removes the difficulty raised by the first. "This universality of the Divine purpose of redemption must be maintained by us, despite all objections raised by the defenders of a twofold predestination, especially Calvin. Fundamental, transparent utterances, like John iii. 16, 1 Tim. ii. 4, and 1 John ii. 2, still more comprehensive passages like Col. i. 20, and Eph. i. 20 ff., also Rom. v. 18, and 1 Cor. xv. 22, leave no doubt. Not, of course, that all are actually saved, for since the possession of salvation depends and must depend on faith in Christ, to assert this is to annihilate human freedom. Whether human souls will actually reject for ever God's grace we cannot say *à priori*, but that it is possible lies in the very idea of human freedom and moral development." The universality of God's purpose also implies a universal possibility of acceptance or refusal on man's part. This also we must assert, in spite of Calvin. "Scripture knows only such sinners, with exceptions, on whom it calls to repent and believe; but to do this implies that the man so called on can obey; otherwise, would not Scripture use words to conceal its thoughts? . . . It is indeed impossible to man to believe and grow in faith apart from God's grace; but whether, when grace seeks him, he allows it to work, depends on his own choice. Since even these cases of hardening by unbelief are a fruit of human freedom, which could believe but will not, we may assert as a fact that all sinners are capable of redemption, and consequently the universality of God's redeeming purpose is fully confirmed by the actual state of sinful humanity."

Again, the miserable consequences of sin often become the means for working repentance, not, perhaps, so much in the first as in the later stages. As long as strength remains firm and pleasure lasts the sinner is confirmed in evil, but afterwards he is led to see the folly and guilt of his ways, as in the parable of the prodigal. This, of course, does not necessarily follow; man may continue impenitent to the last; but it is often the case. The writer of the paper holds also the possibility of repentance after death, and so thinks that death itself may lead in many cases to conversion and salvation. "We strongly maintain the possibility of the offer and acceptance of salvation beyond the earthly life in the case of all who have not come to final decision in this life, although we concede that the teaching of Holy Scripture on this point is not altogether clear." Passages like Matt. xii. 32, John xv. 22, 1 Peter iii. 19, 1 Cor. xv. 21-28, are referred to, but they need a good deal of pressure to yield the view advocated.

THE VULGATE BIBLE.—*The Theol. Litt. Blatt* for Nov. 11 reminds us that Nov. 9 was the tercentenary of the present Vulgate version. "On Nov. 9, 1592, Clement VIII. signed the edict, according to which all reprints of the Latin Bible thereafter were to be an exact reproduction (manifest misprints excepted) down to the smallest details of the edition published with his authority (*cujus exemplaris forma ne minima quidem particula de textu mutata addita vel ab eo detracta inviolabiliter observetur*). Booksellers and printers who violated these injunctions are threatened with the major interdict; church authorities are required to see to the careful observance of the law; and all existing privileges to the contrary are declared obsolete. Thus the form of the Latin Bible, after centuries of oscillation, found a conclusion, but certainly not in the interests of truth. For still to-day (*e.g.*) Gen. iii. 35 must be printed *ipsa conteret caput tuum* (although permission is given to use a critical apparatus), and still to-day even the theological teacher must at least officially base his lectures on the Vulgata text, save that many are content with merely reading that text, and actually expound the Hebrew and Greek. It is a long history, that of the Latin Bible, since its first beginnings, which go back perhaps to

the middle of the second century. The first revisions of Jerome, first of the Psalms (Psalterium and Gallicanum) and Gospels, and the complete remodelling of the Old Testament from the Hebrew text by this Father; next the transition-period of two centuries, until this translation found general acceptance and became actually the 'Vulgata'; again, the corruptions and interpolations from the old version which crept in on this general acceptance; the labours of Alcuin and later writers to restore Jerome's text; the first printed copies of the Latin Bible; the impulse given by the Tridentine Council to the forming of a better edition; the labours of the Popes Pius IV., Sixtus V., and finally Clement VIII.—this entire history not merely presents to the special inquirer in theology many perhaps insoluble problems (*e.g.*, whether the pre-Jeromian version was really only *one*, often altered in the course of time, or more probably, whether a great number of independent versions at least of separate books existed, to one of which, called the Itala, Augustine gave the preference), but it is also of the highest importance for the exposition and textual criticism of the Bible; nay, it has an important linguistic interest. For the Latin of the Bible and Church became an independent tongue, an abomination indeed in the eyes of the pedantic Ciceronian pedagogue, but in point of fact a vigorous idiom, a necessary and new vessel for new religious truth. Out of it the modern Romance tongues grew, so that even the modern philologist finds here a fruitful field for grammatical, lexical, and phonetic investigations." Attention is called to a tractate written on the subject by E. Nestle: "Ein Jubiläum der lateinischen Bibel" (Tübingen).

THE NICOLAITANS. By LEONHARD SEESEMAN, Pastor at Kursiten, Curland (*Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1898, No. 1).—The Nicolaitans troubled three out of the seven Churches of Revelation—Ephesus (Rev. ii. 6), Pergamum (ver. 15), Thyatira (vers. 20, 24). In the first case they are simply named; in the second they are named, and their doctrine is compared to that of Balaam in two respects; in the third they are not named, but are recognizable by the same two features, and their influence is compared to that of Jezebel. The Nicolaitans of ver. 6 are scarcely identical with the "evil men" of ver. 2, for in the latter case aorists are used, in the former the present tense. In ver. 2 the danger is past, in ver. 6 it is present. It is easy to see why Balaam is referred to; the practices of the Nicolaitans are similar to those he recommended. His "doctrine" is not some formal teaching, but his counsel. Some have thought that Nicolaitans is not a real name, but merely symbolical. Symbolical of what? No one can say. No hint of this kind is given in ver. 6. On the other hand, in ver. 20, the Old Testament Jezebel seems certainly to be used as a symbol of the Nicolaitan sect or heresy. Whether a woman was actually the leader in the evil business is uncertain. It scarcely seems necessary to assume this, as the symbolical explanation is appropriate. The notion that Jezebel was the wife of the angel of the Church may be put aside at once. A second Old Testament example, like the one in ver. 14, is natural. "As they say," ver. 24, *i.e.*, the Nicolaitans. The mention of "burden" probably alludes to the boasted freedom or licence of the sect. It will be observed that the two characteristic evils mentioned in all three accounts are among those forbidden by the decree of the Apostolic council (Acts xv. 29). Some have wished to interpret these marks figuratively of spiritual idolatry and unchastity, but without reason in the text, as others have understood by "fornication" marriage within forbidden degrees. We have to do with actual unchastity and participation in idolatrous feasts, and this was only possible among Gentile Christians.

Asia Minor, where these Churches were situated, was the scene of St. Paul's labours. Can we find any connection between Nicolaitan errors and Paul's teaching? We can. Paul had taught emphatically the Christian's freedom from the law. Nicolaitanism was the abuse of this teaching, it was essentially antinomianism. Paul expressly warns the Church of Ephesus against false teachers (Acts xx. 29); he evidently saw the germs of the error already in existence. It only needed the removal of his personal influence for the development to be seen. We do not indeed find any express mention of Nicolaitans elsewhere in the New Testament, but there are references to kindred errors (see Jude 4, 8, 10, 11, 19; 2 Peter ii. 18 f.). If we suppose these Epistles to be written about 65 A.D., and to be addressed to Churches in Asia Minor, it is not difficult to believe that a few years would suffice for these errors to be taken up by a sect. About 68 or 69, then, is the probable date of the rise of the sect.

Among the later writers who mention the sect the two chief are Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria, who write independently, and whose accounts differ widely. Irenæus's chief work belongs to the last quarter of the second century. It will be remembered that in his early life he had known Polycarp of Asia Minor, who was a disciple of John. His account tallies exactly with that in Revelation as to the two evil features, and he adds that the sect sprang from and was named after Nicolas, one of the Seven in Acts vi. He says of them also, *qui indiscrete vivunt . . . nullam differentiam esse docentes in moechando et idolothyton edere, &c.* In another place he accuses them of holding the error first sown by Cerinthus, an early Gnostic, which he proceeds to describe. This can scarcely mean that they were full-blown Gnostics, but one of the Gnostic opinions may well have been theirs. Gnosticism held that Christ, the Son of God, fell on Jesus at His baptism and left Him before His death, because a heavenly nature like His could not suffer death. According to John, one of the marks of the antichrist, already in the world, was the denial that the Son had come "in the flesh"; He came by water "in water," but not "in blood" (1 John v. 6; see iv. 2, 8, and ii. 22). If the Johannine Epistles were written towards the close of the first century, the Nicolaitans may have further developed in their views. Is there an allusion to them in chap. ii. 19?

Clement's reference is less definite. It is given in a work dating about 200-208. He evidently does not believe that the sect originated with the Nicolas of the Acts. "They say that they follow Nicolas." While charging them with the worst licentiousness, he says that they misunderstood reported sayings and acts of Nicolas, which he proceeds to vindicate. A doubtful tone pervades his account—"they say" (*φασί*), "I learn," "I think." The account of Irenæus in its simplicity and directness bears the stamp of truth. He does not give his authority, but it is impossible to suppose that he would speak so definitely without good reason. Clement's account, on the other hand, does not inspire confidence. He recounts, as authentic, a story of Nicolas putting away his wife, "because, I think, he was unwilling, according to the Lord's saying, to serve two masters—lust and God," a touch of early asceticism.

Later writers depend in their references to the subject on the earlier ones, and give us no additional light. The disposition was to father Gnostic tenets generally on the Nicolaitans. Tertullian's two references in his *de præsacr.* and *de pudic.* are based simply on the Book of Revelation, only that he mentions a heresy of his own day, "*Gaiana hæresis*," which was a revival of Nicolaitanism. Hippolytus (*Philosophumena*) is more diffuse. He speaks confidently of Nicolas as the author. Nicolas, he says, fell away from the true doctrine, and spread the two evil doctrines

mentioned. He also ascribes a fully developed Gnosticism to Nicolas, a gross anachronism. In another work he makes Nicolas teach that the resurrection is past, so denying a bodily resurrection. This we know was an early error (2 Tim. ii. 17, 18), although Hippolytus is guilty of another anachronism in making Hymenæus and Philetus disciples of the Nicolaitan sect. Epiphanius also gives long accounts of the subject, but supplies nothing new. The holding of the same views by different bodies is far from proving a common historical origin or outward connection. They often have a common root in heathen associations, but nothing more. The writer gives references in later writers still, but they are of little value.

Herr Seesemann thinks that the sect did not continue in a separate form beyond the close of the first century. Eusebius speaks of it as lasting only a short time. Irenæus, who was probably born about 115, writes as if it belonged to the past. Its doctrines may have continued longer, but in other combinations and under other names. The relation of the sect to Gnosticism has been greatly exaggerated. It may most justly be described as one of the many precursors of that diversified system. The germs of Gnosticism go back undoubtedly to Apostolic days, but nothing more. The tendency to identify Nicolaitanism with Gnosticism has led some (e.g., Kurz) to adopt the notion of two sects of the name, the earlier one of Revelation, and a later one corresponding to the Gnostic Nicolaitanism of Church Fathers like Hippolytus, but without reason. The testimony of Irenæus disposes of this notion. "We accept but one heresy of the Nicolaitans, arising about 68 or 69, and disappearing again in this form toward the end of the first century."

LUTHERAN VIEWS OF INSPIRATION. By Pastor L. STAHLIN, Bayreuth (*Neue Kirchl. Zeitschrift*, 1892, No. 7).—In the course of an article on "Christianity and Holy Scripture," the writer gives an account of Lutheran views, past and present, on this subject. It seems often to be assumed that lax views on inspiration, such as are not unknown in this country, are universal in Germany, but it is not so. The tendency, indeed, in Germany, even among the orthodox, has always been towards freer views, a tendency initiated by Luther himself. But the opinions of the great majority of Lutheran believers are not very different from those of other Christian Churches, as Herr Staehlin's article shows.

The Lutheran and Reformed doctrine of inspiration of the seventeenth century, which has been called the age of Protestant scholasticism, was exceedingly hard and inflexible. The great dogmatists like Gerhard and Quenstedt, and the creeds, taught verbal and literal inspiration in the harshest form. Even the Hebrew vowels, the signs of which were not invented till later days, were said to be inspired. This doctrine, with its extreme consequences, is traced to the identifying of revelation and the organ of revelation, and to the refusal to acknowledge any mode of Divine teaching but of Scripture. The writers of Scripture were simply God's hand and pen; they were not really authors, but writers at Divine dictation. The human factor was thus suppressed. Such a view, while professing to magnify inspiration, really abolishes it, because, as the word indicates, inspiration is an inward, spiritual thing. Mere capacity for writing at another's dictation is not inspiration. Yet the writer acknowledges the energy with which this doctrine asserted, even exaggerated, the Divine character of Scripture. We have seen the same exaggeration in regard to Christ's person. "The old dogmatists by treating this truth in a one-sided, abstract way, apart from the concrete unity in which it is united with its counterpart, and pushing it to an extreme, bring it into contradiction with itself."

It was a misfortune that the dissolution of this old dogma was brought about by

means of Rationalism, because Rationalists, while casting away the accidental error, cast away also the essential truth. "A more normal course would have been, if the dogmatic doctrine had been led by an internal movement out of its own resources to go beyond the inadequate form in which it had been temporarily fixed, to liberate it from itself, and attain a true and more adequate expression of its meaning." "So far as Rationalism protested against untrue forms it was partially in the right; in this sense it even fought for the truth. But so far as it did not preserve the bases of sound progress, but worked against such bases, it was an element of revolutionary destruction." In the present century a new theology has sprung up, closely followed by a new Rationalism, "which works with more comprehensive and effective means, and which seems more plausible as a system of truth and reconciliation, as it has learnt something from history, avoids many of the weaknesses of the older Rationalism, adds to its resources many positive elements, especially from Schleiermacher's system of doctrine, and despite all its leaning to the realistic and empirical tendency of the age, seems also to meet the ideal and religious needs of the heart, and to have on its side the humane and historical spirit of the day." Its tendency is to accentuate the human and historical side of Holy Scripture. Rationalism now goes to the opposite extreme to the old orthodoxy, treating the Bible as the product of free human activity. "However it may celebrate the incomparable worth of the Bible, it remains a human book. As such, it shares in the frailty of everything human, and is laden with the defects and failings inherent in all human work; inspiration and immunity from error are things of the past."

This brief review brings to light the duty of the present to unite the factors kept apart by former extremes. Some would fain return to the old dogmatic position, but this is impossible, and, if it were possible, would divorce the thought of the Church from the thought of the times. Salvation is not to be found in that direction. The aim of the dogmatists was right enough; their error was less harmful than the opposite one; their method was at fault. The writer then enumerates some signs of the human element in Scripture—its gradual progress, the use of the ordinary methods of authors, the resemblance of Scripture history to other history, the different styles. "All New Testament writers write the Greek of their time. And their writings are mostly occasional, and bear the stamp of the occasions which gave rise to them. They speak from their age to their age. So the Old Testament authors show a rich gradation of literary style, from the compact, granite-like style of Moses, to the softer, looser manner of later days. In the lyrical parts, in the psalms and elegies, the authors express their own moods, their personal feelings." On the other hand, the presence of the working of the Divine Spirit is also to be held.

No perfect definition of inspiration, *i.e.*, one doing justice to all the facts of the case, has ever been found, or perhaps ever will be. Christianity has done without one for nineteen centuries. The best definitions are merely approximations. Pastor Staehlin's remarks touch the core of the problem. "We must think of the relation of the two elements as a *living interpenetration*, so that the Divine working is realized in the human production, while the human production rests on Divine working. And this applies not merely to the matter or contents, but also to the form. We cannot mechanically separate form and matter from each other, but both are Divine and human at the same time. The sacred authors are empowered by the Spirit of God to utter what they say in these particular words found in their writings, but these words are not dictated to them, but are their own production. We have an analogy in the experience, that just in moments of highest spiritual tension the right word sought by the man, when suggested, is just as much given to him as found through his own

effort. Precisely on this unity of the two factors rests the peculiarity of the Scripture word, its inimitableness, and the fresh, living force with which it ever anew touches our spirit. It often happens that in other writings of the highest genius and worth, in continuous occupation with them, we feel the limit imposed by the individuality of the author; we reach a point where the author's particular style becomes a mannerism. Such a feeling never occurs as to the Bible; it never becomes monotonous and tedious. The reason is that here the individual element is the organ of the universal, and of an unexhausted fulness which springs from the infinite life of the Divine Spirit. We have the feeling that here something touches us which in unvarying originality flows from the infinite creative power of the Godhead itself, and which yet approaches us with an individual limitation. But we always feel also that the word of Scripture is not merely an object of mystic contemplation, but a power of God to salvation. It is the heart of eternal, redeeming love approaching us in speech."

The writer admits the possibility of error in secondary matters in Scripture, but his language is measured in comparison with much that we read elsewhere. "But if it should turn out that there are inexact, or even defective and erroneous, things in the Bible, this will not perplex us. We shall indeed always guard against hastily concluding that there is an error in any particular place, but we shall not say that the Bible is raised above all possibility of defect and error; we shall not say that if once the possibility of an error in Holy Scripture is confessed it ceases to be God's Word. We are sure that Scripture is the standard of the Christian Church, but it is so in regard to saving truth. By this we must judge how far the inspiration of the Bible extends. The Bible contains much which belongs to us, or a sphere of outward knowledge." After admitting the possibility of mistake here, he continues, "If this is conceded, the Bible is not a human book full of mistakes and errors; but we have only the freedom from error which is to be ascribed to it taken in the limitation in which it is really found, and in which alone it has a religious interest for us. The Bible remains to us the inspired record of Divine revelation, although by its inspiration the natural knowledge of the authors was not negated, and from the latter things may find expression which are open to the possibility of error. This feature of course belongs to the servant form of Holy Writ. Even it bears the heavenly treasure in earthen vessels. But this is very far from implying that we should cease to extol the majesty of Scripture. Even of the servant form of Jesus it is said, We saw His glory, and through the veil of a servant form shines the glory of the Divine Word."

In the Old Testament especially we may learn much from criticism, and we should be thankful for every addition to our knowledge. Popular notions often need correction. What we are urged strenuously to resist is the effort to turn the Old Testament revelation into *natural history*, for in that case the New Testament will undergo the same fate. The New looks back to the Old as completion to anticipation. "We cannot resolve this previous history into a natural development without thereby pronouncing doom on the New Testament history, and declaring the Christian faith itself to be an illusion. But we are absolutely and without reserve sure of the truth of Christianity, and from this it follows that the view of Old Testament history mentioned has no truth, contradicting the essential teaching of the Christian faith itself." The writer goes on to speak of the just Nemesis which overtakes despisers of the Old Testament revelation. They lose the power to understand it; it eludes their search, and is dumb before their questionings. In presence of the frivolities of arrogant criticism "the Old Testament remains in its sacred still majesty, like the God it proclaims, surrounded with darkness, veiled in clouds, from which, however,

the entire glory of God's revelation bursts forth like lightning." The key that admits to the inner sanctuary of Old Testament revelation is a hearty Christian faith. It is a pity that once this was often found without historical knowledge—"yet, historical without spiritual intelligence will miss the import of the Old Testament."

"In what way the act of inspiration is to be defined is a question of theology, not of Christian faith. But since Holy Scripture is on one side the work of God's Spirit, and on the other its actual structure shows that it is the product of free human labour, it follows that the course of inspiration is to be viewed as *the unity of Divine influence with free human activity*. Accordingly no doctrine of inspiration will answer its purpose by which either the Divine or the human factor in the origin of Holy Scripture, or the unity of the two, is impaired."

CURRENT FRENCH THOUGHT.

THE THEOLOGY OF JULIUS KAFTAN. C. FAVRE (*Revue de Théologie*).—Of all the theologians of the present day who belong, in a greater or less degree, to the new school, Kaftan appears to us to be the one who does greatest justice to the historical revelation on which Christianity is founded, and to the requirements both of religious faith and of theological science. We freely admit that we feel bound to dissent from some of his utterances, especially on the subject of the pre-existence of Christ. But, for all that, we have no hesitation in saying that he does justice to revelation; for he regards Christianity as indissolubly connected in all its parts with the person and work of Christ—the Saviour, who "died for our sins, and rose again for our justification," acquires in his system the central place which faith claims for Him. The fact that this is so naturally recommends this theologian to the favourable judgment of the Church. We find it very interesting to observe how he is able to find a solid foundation for some of the fundamental data of Christianity in modern theological science; and it is also gratifying to see that he brings forward into full light some subjects, such as the idea of the kingdom of heaven, which are prominent in the teaching of Jesus Christ, but which, in traditional dogmatic teaching, had fallen into the background, or had been completely ignored.

In 1881 Kaftan published his work entitled *The Essence of Religion*, and in 1889 that entitled *The Truth of the Christian Religion*. The latter work is by far the more important and explicit of the two. The first half of the book turns upon dogma, and the thesis which he develops is, that it is philosophy which has determined the form of dogma, but that its substance comes from revelation. To quote his own words: "Nothing could have been further from the thoughts of the early apologists than to wish to unite Christian faith with pagan philosophy. The sole object which they had in view was to set forth and defend their conception of the Christian faith. But it is equally certain that their scientific labours, as such, and therefore the forms into which they cast dogmas, were determined by the philosophy of their time. If Tatian, Irenæus, and Tertullian condemn the philosophy of the ancients as the source of all error, this contradiction is only apparent: they assail, not the form, but the subject-matter of that philosophy." In short, a glance at patristic theology proves that the theological labours of the Fathers are on the same lines as the conceptions of the philosophers which they attack. How, indeed, could it have been otherwise?

There is, therefore, an appeal from dogmas coloured and moulded by systems of philosophy in ancient and mediæval times to the revelation which supplied them with subject-matter on which to work.

If dogmas, therefore, are to be thus accounted for, nothing can be falser than to see in them the prolongation in direct line, so to speak, of the declarations of Holy Scripture. If they owe their form to the influence of variable and imperfect systems of human philosophy, they cannot be elevated to the level of authority from which the inspired writers speak to men. The fact that there are points of contact between them and the New Testament does not counteract the human and fallible elements they contain. Since dogmas are not a continuation of lines marked out by the Biblical writings, the Reformation has the great merit of breaking—in principle, at least—with the past, and of returning to the Scriptures as the sole rule of faith. To pretend, as some theologians do, that Holy Scripture is the first link in the development of dogma, is to make the Biblical writings no longer the sole rule of faith, but the beginning of ecclesiastical tradition.

How, then, can we conceive of the authority of Holy Scripture without, on the one hand, making it the beginning of the process of the development of dogma, which would be virtually to deny the unique character of revelation; and on the other hand, without obscuring the true character of revelation—that of the manifestation of God in Christ, and not a mere disclosure of supernatural truths? According to Kaftan, the only idea of authority which corresponds to the true contents of revelation is as follows: Holy Scripture is for us Christians the supreme authority in matters of faith; but it is not a source of supernatural knowledge: it is a collection of historical documents. Scripture has supreme authority because it contains the history of the revelation of God—the revelation which is at the foundation of the Christian Church. It is not a question of supernatural knowledge which the reason can apprehend, but rather of a revelation of God in Christ, to which our will and our whole being ought to submit. The unity of the Apostolic writings and their authority ought to be sought, not in a certain measure of knowledge common to all, but in the submission of all to Jesus Christ—if, indeed, it is true that the end of revelation is not to enrich our knowledge, but to rectify the will, and thus to control the whole of our being.

What, then, is the task of dogmatic theology? Not simply, Kaftan says, to draw dogmas directly from the Bible, for we must distinguish between Christ, the bearer of the perfect revelation, and Holy Scripture, which is the only historical document that testifies to this revelation. It is with Him rather than with it that we have to do. Christian dogmatics should not pass from faith to knowledge, in the scholastic sense of these words, but should be a simple exposition of the objects of faith. The great mistake of ancient dogmatics was in leaning upon speculative reason; setting out from ideas of the absolute, and infinite, and of causality, it professed to give a scientific knowledge of the objects of faith. In reality this conception brought along with it an impoverishment of the Christian religion. The Reformation set the nature of faith in a true light, and dogmatic theology needs to be harmonized with that standpoint. When that is done, dogmas become, not a mere department of intellectual knowledge, but a rule for the inner life of the Christian, and adhesion to them is manifested by the submission of the heart to that rule, or, at least, by an aspiration after that ideal.

It is not knowledge, as Plato taught, which confers on us the possession of the *summum bonum*. No. The highest good is found in the possession of the kingdom of heaven. That kingdom comes in with Christ. He makes us partakers of the Divine life by bringing redemption and reconciliation with God. He fills up the

abyss which sin created between God and us. His resurrection is the pledge that His work is efficacious and eternal. The task of Christian apologetics is to show that the idea of the kingdom of God, founded by Christ and in Him, is the most reasonable and attractive idea of the supreme good after which humanity longs. The old theory was, that the mind of man seeks after absolute truth; the modern, that the heart seeks after God, that the conscience wounded by sin desires a Saviour. In this way the words of Pascal find realization: "The purpose of the Christian faith is to establish two great truths, that of the corruption of human nature, and that of redemption through Christ."

We shall be glad if this imperfect sketch will have the effect of directing the attention of some of our readers to the writings of Kaftan; for the Berlin professor speaks with a weight and an authority which are bound to make his voice heard above the din of conflict which fills the theological schools of our time.

CURRENT DUTCH THOUGHT.

RELIGION AND THE SUPERNATURAL. By Prof. C. W. OPZOOMER.—Since the death of Mr. Cornelis Willem Opzoomer, on the 22nd of August last, sketches of his career have appeared in the principal Dutch magazines, both theological and literary, and his connection with the beginnings of the Modern Tendency in the theology of Holland has been once more discussed. As might be expected, the "In Memoriam" notice by Mr. W. C. van Manen, in the *Theologisch Tijdschrift* for November, is appreciative and sympathetic. Although not a theologian by profession, Opzoomer was one of the original founders of the Broad Church Party in Holland, and for many years he was in some respects the most influential exponent of its views. Born at Rotterdam on 20th September, 1821, he was educated at the University of Leyden, where he graduated in Law and also in Letters. Immediately thereafter he was appointed to the chair of Philosophy in the University of Utrecht, where for more than a generation he lectured on the History of Philosophy, Logic, Metaphysics, and Psychology. Being a man of great intellectual activity, an eloquent speaker, and a brilliant all-round scholar, he from the first attracted large numbers of students to his class-room, and the general public attended his open prelections with great avidity. By his academical lectures and his numerous publications he thus, for a long period, exercised even greater influence upon the educated classes of his countrymen than the professional theologians who were associated with him in the new movement, and most of whom have predeceased him—such men as Scholten the dogmatist, Rauwenhoff the historian, and Kuenen the Biblical critic.

But as time passed, and after a vigorous reaction had set in against the so-called "modern" theology, and especially after its advocates had become separated into divergent, if not opposing, parties, the popularity of Opzoomer began to wane, and for many years he found himself in the position of one who had outlived his usefulness, and whose influence was somewhat of a spent force. Nevertheless, not only has he contributed largely to the advancement of theological science, and done much to mould the religious life of his contemporaries, but much of his teaching has become part and parcel of the current thought of the Netherlands, and finds continual expression both in the pulpit and in the press.

It is impossible in a few pages to convey an adequate idea of Opzoomer's teaching, even in the department of religion. His writings are scattered through numerous volumes, besides countless pamphlets and addresses. He was, however, a systematic and methodical worker, and was careful to sum up the results of his arguments in clear and intelligible propositions, so that there never was any doubt as to what he was aiming at. Perhaps the two theological subjects which occupied most of his attention were the supernatural and miraculous, and the nature and essence of religion, and to these subjects the following extracts from his writings are accordingly confined.

In an introductory address to his students in which he sought to explain and defend what he called "the spirit of the new tendency," he concluded as follows:—
 "The list of complaints against our position is certainly large enough. But we are neither surprised at this, nor at the result. Was it not said of Jesus Himself: Behold a gluttonous man and a wine bibber? Why should it surprise us, then, if our doctrine should be represented as a doctrine of the belly, of eating and drinking? But what in fact is the ground of these accusations? Do we really acknowledge that there is nothing certain except that which is material, and which falls under the domain of the senses? The contrary is true. Alongside sensual perception we place another perception which has nothing in common with the senses; and alongside the body we acknowledge the spirit—a dualism that has been made sufficiently offensive to us by others. Do we willingly sacrifice the difference between good and evil? The contrary is true. We appeal to the moral sentiment, which is part of a man's being; and in order to judge, in particular cases, what must be called good, and what evil, we take heed to fruits, being convinced that a bad tree can never bring forth good fruit. Have we abandoned belief in the immortality of the soul? The contrary is true. Just in order that there should be room for this belief we congratulate ourselves on being able to cling to the independence and personality of the soul. Do we cast aside religion, and do we deify man? The contrary is true. Religion is as inseparable from our nature as are appreciation of the beautiful, acknowledgment of obligation, or even pleasure in enjoyment; and therefore alongside the sentiment of good and evil, of beauty and morality, we recognize in man's inmost being a religious sentiment which continually bears witness to him of God. Do we make a mock of Christianity, or of its great Founder? The contrary is true. Our greatest adversary must confess that we hold our teaching to be Christian, to be, indeed, pre-eminently Christian, well fitted for developing Christianity and continuing the Reformation. Our adversary himself must confess that in Christ we revere the pattern of self-denying love, the great teacher of humanity; that we admire and love Him, call ourselves by His name, and even appear as preachers of His Gospel. Wherein, then, does the enormity of our teaching consist? How are we undermining morality and religion? Why are we called man-worshippers and God-forsakers? Simply because we declare the supernatural and the improbable to be incredible in the history of Jesus, just as in the whole history of all times and all peoples. Because we think that what is natural and clearly comprehensible in His life has been adorned and glorified by legend, as in the case of thousands of others, with a number of narratives to which historical criticism, here even less than elsewhere, can attach no credence. That is our great sin; that we recognize in the Christ of the Gospels a mortal as well as an immortal part; that we surrender the wonder-worker and the prophet in order to preserve all the purer the true man, the wise, the great teacher of morality and religion. In this alone are we God-forsakers that we confess a God of order, not

of disorder. The whole list of our misdeeds is summed up in this single offence—we reject miracles. All our moral and religious heresies resolve themselves into one historical proposition—it may be just, or it may be unjust—this namely, That in Palestine, eighteen centuries ago, many things happened otherwise than is reported in the narratives that have come down to our time.”¹

Returning to the subject of miracles, in reply to an attack made upon him by Mr. Groen van Prinsterer, the leader of the Confessional Party in the Dutch Reformed Church, Opzoomer asks: “What is the meaning of this expression, ‘We deny miracles’? Do we dispute the existence of what men are accustomed to call the great miracles of creation? There is no one who thinks of disputing such a thing. And yet many pages have been written against us in order to teach us that nature around contains thousands of miracles, and that even man and human life are one great miracle. As if we did not know it, and had not loudly acknowledged it everywhere! Who would dare deny that the world is full of miracles—full of what awakens both our surprise and admiration? Who would dare deny that the circuit of what is understood by us in the universe—understood as a whole in the connection of its causes and consequences—although it widens from day to day, is inconceivably small in comparison with the endless number of phenomena which we do not understand, which remain to us enigmatical, miraculous, mysterious? In this sense of the word we see everywhere miracles, mysteries; and while cheerfully casting aside all the miracles and mysteries of the Church, we re-echo the words of our truly pious and deeply lamented poet²—

‘Lo, what a miracle is life,
And what a mystery is death!’

“And in this sense God is to us the mystery and the miracle *par excellence*. For He it is of whom we continually confess: He is great, and we comprehend Him not. We fail to comprehend Him just because He is great, much too great for us who so often go wrong in the smallest questions of life. We represent Him to ourselves under all sorts of images and in all sorts of forms, and we exhaust the resources of our language to form for ourselves a conception of Him, but in vain. He dwells in unapproachable brightness. Our eye, which is blinded by the rays of His sun, need not attempt to gaze into the eternal source of all light.

“We deny the supernatural. What is the meaning of that expression? Do we admit nothing that is above nature? Is there nothing that exists for us besides nature? The contrary is true, even although we use the word in its widest sense as embracing all finite phenomena, even those of the world of mind. We acknowledge a personal cause of nature, upon which it is completely dependent, and by whose power it is so guided in every moment of time, that if it were possible to imagine the withdrawal of this power for a single instant, we should be obliged to postulate the end of its existence. We acknowledge the working of this cause in all the phenomena of nature, so that we can repeat with Paul: ‘The invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead.’³ It is thus that we acknowledge the supernatural, a God above nature; the supernatural in the natural, the power of God in the things of the world. The only thing that we deny is the interference of the supernatural with nature, as if at one time nature may work alone without God, and at another that God may work contrary to nature. The one as well as the other we

¹ *De geest der nieuwe rigting*, pp. 21-24.

² P. A. De Génestet.

³ Romans i. 20.

hold to be absurd, because, in the first case, the dependence of the world is denied, and at best, in deistical fashion, mention may be made of a creator of the world, never of a sustainer of the universe; and because, in the second case, the world is conceived of as being not only not dependent upon God, but even as at variance with God. For us there exists no isolated miracle, for to us all is miracle. For us there is no interference on the part of God, because to us all is the working of Divine power.

"But is it not just possible that what is usually called a miracle in the sense of an interference of God in nature may have actually happened—for instance, the raising of the dead, the turning of water into wine, birth from a virgin, and such like? Is it not possible that all this occurred as God's natural working, although we have no longer any right on that account to speak of God's interference? Must the appropriateness of an act remain without influence on its reception or rejection? To all these questions our answer is ready. We no longer speak of possibility or impossibility in this strictest sense in which the last idea exhibits an inconsistency recognized by our reason. We use the words in an empirical sense. Whenever we call an act impossible we simply mean to say that it is improbable in the highest degree, and therefore for us unworthy of belief. We do not decide what would have happened if circumstances had been other than they were: we merely ask what has actually happened. Although we might admit that it is quite conceivable that something which had the taste of water when in one condition might have the taste of wine in another; although we might hold it to be conceivable that a dead man may be brought under conditions so entirely peculiar, and subjected to influences so entirely exceptional, that life returns to his body; still, we continue to assert that while we are not in a position to say that the thing cannot happen, at any rate we are in a position to say that it did not so happen.

"And what is it that enables us to do this? Nothing else but the regularity which we observe in nature, and which so completely convinces our reason that we do not doubt of its existence, even when it lies beyond the reach of our perception. Everything centres in this question: Is there such regularity? Is there in nature a connection between phenomena, so that if one returns, we may and must expect the return of the other, and hence of all? Or are they so completely disconnected that any one may follow upon any other, no matter of what kind it be? Is God's working in nature a working of order, or is it a working of accident, of caprice? This is a question which needs no answer. The existence of our human knowledge has already answered it long ago. For all knowledge is inconceivable if nature is not regular, if there is no fixed order in God's will and work. If the mercury in the thermometer expands, and thus rises as the heat increases, as it may please God, and also contracts and thus falls, as it may please God, then it is inconceivable for us to conclude that its rise or fall indicates an increase or diminution of heat. If, as it may please God, a liquid body by increasing heat passes into the form of vapour, or into an entirely different condition and becomes a solid body, then it is impossible for us to conclude from the freezing of our streams that it has become not warmer but colder; and the chemist who would evaporate a liquid must be uncertain how to attain his end. All our science and all our practice, founded upon knowledge, become nonsense if there is no regularity in nature, if a certain definite action of God is not followed by another equally definite action recognizable by us in unvarying order. If a certain alteration in the brain is followed, if God wills it, by insanity, but also, if God wills it, by a clearing of the intellect, then it is absurd for the physician to apply himself laboriously to search for the causes of insanity.

If the earth, after God's will, continues steadily to revolve upon its axis, but also, if God should will it, may suspend this motion, then it is absurd to predict that the day which now shines brightly will not last for ever, but that it will soon be followed by the night. If a certain change in the atmosphere, according to God's will, is followed by a raging storm, but also, if it please God, by a great calm, then it is absurd to signal to distant lands that a storm is approaching. Rather signal that you cannot tell what is going to happen ; or, better still, do not signal at all, and let all thought and work entirely cease. For all your thought and all your work take for granted the regularity of nature ; presuppose the inseparable connection of definite facts with other definite facts—a connection which we are accustomed to call the law of cause and effect. It is with difficulty that you can part with the material remains of your dead friends, to whom your soul is bound with a passionate love. Still, you do not leave them in your sitting-room, but bury them deep in the ground. You do so because you expect a loathsome, unsightly dissolution of their corpses within a few days, and because you think you know what the effect of this dissolution will be upon the living. But you are foolish and unkind if no fixed order of nature exists on this point, with which you are well acquainted. If you doubt this order, or the possibility of its knowledge ; if you deny to yourself the power of determining what is the course of nature, what the will and the work of God are, then cease to bury your dead. If it should please God, they may verily return to life again, and you surely would not snatch from their lips the first returning breath of life. You foretell the future, it may be years and centuries beforehand, and ceaselessly act, now in this way, now in that, but always so as to dispose of this future according to your wishes and necessities. But all your prediction and all your action are folly if it is not certain, established beyond all doubt, that what nature will do in the next moment of time is not determined by what nature is doing at this moment, or, in other words, that what God is doing at this instant He will continue to do in the next. If our belief in this fixed determination is erroneous, then all our research and all our labour are an absurdity ; we must cease to be thinking and acting beings ; we cannot even continue to be animals ; the best thing for us would be to become plants. But if we have a right to think and act ; if the earth is already full of the beautiful fruits of all that we have thought and done ; then our belief in the fixed order of things is an immovable conviction, which no story of antiquity, even were it a thousand times better authenticated than it is, can take away from us."¹

To the subject of religion Opzoomer devoted much attention, and his writings thereon contain some of his ripest and best thought. The following paragraphs present a summary of the principal conclusions to which he came on this important question :—

"Religious belief is nothing else than the acknowledgment that God reigns, and that He is wisdom and love. Religion is nothing else than the disposition of mind which animates a man when he is deeply penetrated by that belief.

"Religious belief embraces all things, and acknowledges them to be brought about by God's will, and thus to be good. This acknowledgment does not hinder us from so distinguishing things in their relation to one another that we call some good and others bad, see virtue in some and in others sin. What we call evil and what we call sin are willed by God just as much as is the contrary. The ideas of sensual evil, of pain and of sin, are purely relative ; for God they have no significance. The attributes that are ascribed to God—that of holiness, for example—are likewise purely relative. The freedom of the human will in the absolute sense, as freedom

¹ *De geest der nieuwe rigting. Naschrift*, pp. 27-34.

not with respect to the world surrounding us, but with respect to the past and to God, is a false idea, that is rejected by science and religion, and is not called for by the moral life.

"In order to maintain the right of religious belief men have endeavoured to prove the existence of God. With the exception of a single one—the ontological, which has not the least value—all these proofs seek to induce us to acknowledge God's existence by calling our attention to the world and to what is to be observed therein. But not one of them is in a position to fulfil the task which it has assumed. Logic reveals defects in them which render the whole of them unsatisfactory. Religious belief, far from being established by the reason, would, if we possessed no other faculty than reason, speedily succumb to its assaults. Solely by the religious sentiment is this attack warded off. Of that sentiment religious belief is the expression; in that sentiment alone it finds the ground and right of its existence.

"Although religious belief finds the ground of its existence in feeling only, it is not therefore to be thought lightly of as something merely subjective, nor yet to be represented as a beautiful fiction. Religious belief is intimately connected with all that flows from the other sources of knowledge, forms with them a whole, and rounds off the unity of the world and the unity of man. If a complete and fruitful knowledge is to follow, religion and religious belief must be studied where they are found in their highest bloom, where they reveal themselves in their full power. They do this in the religion and religious belief of the true Christian—above all, in Jesus Himself. In Jesus religion is completed, but then it is also inseparable from the belief that animated His whole being. That belief must therefore have a definite purport, for devoid of purport, apart from dogma, belief in God is altogether inconceivable.

"Religion may be reckoned as belonging to the nature of man, although we must admit that it is probable that there are whole races of people without religion, and although it is beyond doubt that among civilized peoples there are many who not only lack belief in God, but even reject and controvert it.

"Religion has also a history whose law of movement consists in this, that the idea of God, which man always forms as best he knows how, is at every turn borrowed from higher beings; first from the objects of nature around us, then from the human body, thereafter from the human mind; and lastly, separating from this mind all that is imperfect, reaching forth to the idea of the perfect mind of the Father in the heavens, to whom a purely spiritual worship is to be offered.

"But even where this highest form of religion is reached progress still remains to be noted, and the law of that progress is this: (1) That religion is always applied more and more perfectly, so that at every point it embraces more completely the whole life of man, and accompanies him in all his thinking, feeling, and willing; and (2) That it always unites itself more intimately with man's whole development, and imparts to it an increasingly perfect freedom without thereby dreading the slightest danger to itself. Religion is in a position to impart this freedom when it desires nothing else itself except religion, so that religious belief never gets confused with ecclesiastical belief, which is, in fact, a mixture of religion and of scientific opinions. It is science, above all, which lays claim to the imparting of this freedom, and if only all confusion of the boundary lines between the two is carefully guarded against, the perfecting of science can never lead to the annihilation of religion.

"The acknowledgment of God as a *spiritual* being excludes all ideas which apply merely to what is corporeal; and likewise, as often as we think of Him in connection with time and space, it excludes all contradiction and limitation. It makes deism as

well as pantheism impossible, although it respects what is partially true in both tendencies, and merely lays upon us the task of avoiding the onesidedness of both in order to unite them in a higher unity. This unity is erroneously sought in the supernatural, which, although it has arisen with necessity, and so far as it has value is not to be minimized, is unable to maintain itself permanently against the just complaints of religion as well as of science. It has been the good fortune of modern theology alone to bring about this higher unity in a theory of life which allows no abatement from the fixity of natural laws, but at once sees in the whole universe, with all its laws, nothing more than an effect of which God is the cause. The acknowledgment of God as *perfect spirit* is inseparable from the idea that God is perfect wisdom and love. Belief in God's perfect wisdom immediately produces the thought that the world in which it reveals itself is a perfect and harmonious work of art. From the belief in God's perfect love there flows the thought that the kingdom of God must come over all the earth, and that it must come in each of us, so that our existence cannot come to an end with the dissolution of our body. The coming of the kingdom of God is slow, and is not hindered by sin, which has no power over God, but is a phenomenon under God. Still, sin need not remain, and it will be withstood by each of us with all the greater power according as our heart is more closely united with God and as our eye is fixed more firmly upon what is perfect. Our whole idea of God can never be anything but faulty, not only because we ascribe to sin too great independence of God, but because every time we attempt to picture the image of God our materials are borrowed from what is human. The acknowledgment of this imperfection need not lead us to give up our belief in God, but to seek for the best conception of God of which our age is capable. It should lead as far as possible to the elimination from it of all that is perishable in man and that forms no permanent part of his being.

"If God is represented to us as perfect spirit, then the service of God—religion as distinct from worship—can be nothing else than purely spiritual. It thus consists in the dedication of our spirit to God, and in restless striving to make both ourselves and the world more perfect. We perfect ourselves if we use and develop all our powers thoroughly, including the intellectual talents with which we have been endowed. In this way religion cannot possibly have any interest in the repressing of science, but rather in its promotion. In so far as religion stirs us up to know, in so far does it stir us up to act, and, very far from working against what is human, it makes the realization of truly human life upon earth for the first time possible."¹

CURRENT SCANDINAVIAN THOUGHT.

ANTOINETTE BOURIGNON IN SOUTH JUTLAND. By L. J. MOLTESSEN.—No department of knowledge has been more assiduously cultivated by Scandinavian scholars than their own national history and civilization; and among the many periodicals which have been launched in the three northern countries during the present generation, none has had a more honourable or useful career than the *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* published

¹ *De Godsdienst, passim.*

by the Danish Church History Society, and for many years edited by Dr. Holger Fr. Rördam. As a matter of course it appeals to a somewhat limited circle of readers, and the bulk of its contents is only of value to those who are concerned with the history of the Scandinavian Church and its leading representatives. But the relations of Denmark to other countries, especially in previous centuries, was so close that much of the work accomplished by this society is of more than local interest. In the current number of the *Samlinger* (Fourth Series, vol. ii., part 8) the principal and most generally interesting paper is an account of the famous Flemish religious enthusiast, Madame Bourignon, and her residence in South Jutland, of which, omitting many curious details, the following is a brief outline:—

After sketching her family history and describing the numerous vicissitudes of her early life, Hr. Moltesen proceeds to a more minute account of her residence in Jutland. She arrived there on 18th June, 1671, and halted at Tønning, on her way to the island of Nordstrand, where God had told her she would be happier than at Amsterdam, and where she intended to establish a community which would renew the Apostolic age and live a life in imitation of Christ. This, however, was not to be the case, as she never reached Nordstrand at all, and her own life in Jutland was the reverse of happy. Imagining that Tønning was full of assassins, she removed to Slesvig, into which she made a somewhat eccentric entry. Here she enjoyed the Duke's protection, and was visited by many of the Court people, although she sought to live as retired a life as possible. While here she wrote a book against the Quakers, partly in answer to a work directed against her, and partly to allay certain rumours that she was a Quaker herself. A number of people from various quarters adhered to her and her teaching, and after they had exceeded a score in number she hired a house for them at Husum. But on paying them a visit in the following summer, instead of finding them an exemplary evangelical flock, she discovered them to be a set of licentious men and women. Most of them were thereupon sent over to Nordstrand, the others were disbanded, and became her persecutors.

At this time a young man, Johannes Conrad Hase by name, came to her from the reformed community at Altona, along with his mother. He had sought the means of salvation in the writings of Thomas à Kempis, Tauler, and Jacob Böhme, but having accidentally fallen in with the works of Madame Bourignon, he found more light in them than in all the others. His clergyman at Altona having in consequence made an onslaught upon her, she retorted in one of the most important works she ever wrote, *Le Temoignage de Verité*, printed at Husum, and immediately translated into German. Although this work was directed principally against the Calvinists, the Lutherans were greatly enraged at it, and the clergy at Husum and Slesvig obtained an order from the Duke forbidding her to print anything else in the country, and instituting proceedings against her. Having appealed to the Duke, but without obtaining satisfaction, she removed to Flensburg in December, 1673, where she had two adherents. She took refuge first with one, and then with the other, but domestic broils resulted in both cases, and she was obliged to take up her abode with strangers. As soon as the clergy were apprised of her presence, they started a crusade against her, and she returned *incognito* to Husum. A search was made for her in Flensburg, and as she could not be found, the mother of the young man already referred to, who had accompanied her thither and remained behind, was subjected to a curious cross-examination, which, however, failed to elicit much information.

From Husum Madame Bourignon sent a characteristic letter to the authorities of Flensburg rating them soundly for their conduct to her, declaring that they had treated her as the Jews treated Christ, and demanding restitution of her property

and books under pain of compulsion by a higher power. The authorities were greatly incensed at the receipt of this letter, and Hase, who was the bearer of it, after being searchingly examined as to any share he may have had in the writing of it, was put in prison on account of his unsatisfactory answers. Both parties now appealed to the King of Denmark. Madame Bourignon complained that she had been treated contrary to justice and good government, as well as contrary to the teaching of Jesus Christ and the Holy Scriptures. The authorities, on the other hand, sought to justify their conduct from the questionable character of her books and doctrine, and the clergy sought to show that she inculcated three dangerous errors—(1) That she completely subverted the ground of salvation and the chief articles of the faith; (2) That she sought to re-establish the vain and empty papistical worship; and (3) That she rejected entirely salutary orders instituted by God, inasmuch as she spoke against priests and universities, and dissuaded people from marriage. The decision of the King in the matter was practically a foregone conclusion, and it surprised nobody when an order was issued that Madame Bourignon's books should be burnt. Nothing daunted, however, she again appealed to the King, defended herself from the attacks made upon her, and demanded that her messenger, who was still in confinement, should be set at liberty.

No attention was paid to this letter, and Hase was detained for five months, and only regained his freedom on paying for the cost of his maintenance. Having no money of his own, the bill was paid by Madame Bourignon, and he was thereafter conducted to the frontiers of Slesvig-Holstein. A proclamation was afterwards read from the pulpits of Flensborg forbidding the inhabitants to receive Madame Bourignon into their houses. Meanwhile she took up her abode at Husum, and proceeded to print some new publication, notwithstanding the interdict that had been served upon her. As soon as this became known the printing-press was seized, together with a quantity of books and paper. She immediately began to ply the Duke with letters; but, getting weary of her repeated complaints, he condemned her to perpetual silence, and ordered her to be imprisoned. This latter order, however, was not carried out, as a sufficiently influential person interceded for her. Feeling no longer safe in Husum, she fled, one winter day in 1674, in the disguise of a peasant, to Slesvig. Here she underwent great hardship, sleeping in the winter upon the bare floor in her clothes, with some pieces of firewood for a pillow.

About this period two books were published against her, to one of which she replied in *La Pierre de Touche*, which, however, could not then be issued, as she was still condemned to silence. But two friends came to her aid and published anonymous pamphlets on her behalf. This helped her considerably, and people now became rather more interested in her. Numbers read her writings, and saw nothing in them contrary to the teaching of their own clergy. Many even sought to be received into her society, but she refused this on the ground that she had no desire to found a new religion, but strove after a complete denial of self and the world, and a renewal of the suffering life of Christ. The Duke was again enlisted on her behalf, and she was offered a certain amount of freedom on condition that she subscribed to certain articles of agreement, but which she declined to do. She was thereupon urged to transmit to the Duke her confession of faith, which she did on 18th March, 1675, in the following terms:—

"I am Christian, and believe all that a true Christian will believe. I am baptized into the Catholic Church in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. I believe in the twelve main points of the Christian faith, or the Apostles' Creed, and have no doubt about any article therein. I believe that Jesus Christ is true God and

at the same time true man, and that he is the Saviour and Redeemer of the world. I believe in the Gospel, in the Holy Prophets, and in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. In all these articles of the faith I will live and die. This I testify before God and all mankind who are interested therein."

Although the Duke had nothing to say against this confession, he took no further interest in its author, who forthwith threatened both land and people with the wrath of God. But new dangers soon threatened herself, and in March, 1676, she fled to Hamburg, whence she travelled to Lützburg in East Friesland, and died at Franeker on 80th October, 1680, alone and forsaken, with the words on her lips, "If I die, it cannot be the will of God, for I have not yet accomplished that for which He sent me."

THE BOOK CRITIC.

THE DOCUMENTS OF THE HEXATEUCH, TRANSLATED AND ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER. With Introduction and Notes by W. E. ADDIS, M.A., of Balliol College, Oxford. Part I. The Oldest Book of Hebrew History. London: David Nutt. 1892.

THE excuse which the author offers for publishing another book on the well-worn subject of the Hexateuch must be admitted to be adequate. To follow the whole course of German criticism on the point is a work of serious labour, even to a person fully equipped for the task, and with plenty of time to devote to it. Mr. Addis has attempted, to a certain extent, to popularize the study. I say to a certain extent, because his work is itself by no means what is generally known as "popular." It certainly presupposes a considerable acquaintance with the critical methods, and with textual criticism, and demands, moreover, the capacity for following abstruse and learned disquisition. Mr. Addis' method has a considerable advantage in the matter of clearness over most other works on the subject. Instead of criticizing the Hexateuch as it stands, he divides it into its component portions. The present volume, containing what he calls "the oldest book of Hebrew history," gives us the portion of the Hexateuch now generally known as J E, or the combined narrative of the Jehovist and the Second Elohist. The portions of the narrative belonging to the Elohist and Jehovist respectively are distinguished by being printed in different type, so far as criticism regards them as capable of being separated. In this he follows the example of Profs. Kautzsch and Socin, and others, in Germany. He prefixes an able and learned introduction to his work, in which he gives the fullest and best account known to the writer of the course of German criticism on the subject. He has evidently studied the writings of the principal German critics with great care, and the general characteristics of their labours have never been better set forth. He then discusses the composition and date of the books, and follows with the text of J E, beneath which valuable notes are added. Writing at Melbourne, Mr. Addis is, no doubt, deprived of a good deal of the assistance enjoyed by scholars in our own hemisphere. He deserves, therefore, a considerable amount of additional credit for the care and pains with which he has performed what is clearly to him a labour of love.

From the point of view of the writer, it is unfortunate that Mr. Addis has so

completely identified himself with the school of Graf and Wellhausen. For it leads him to represent results as definitely ascertained which there is at least some reason to believe are still uncertain. That the agreement of critics of note on the general contents of J E, Deuteronomy, and P is an important fact cannot of course be questioned. But whether their conclusions should as yet be considered as ascertained facts is still a matter of opinion. It is possible to interpret Mr. Addis' extremely clear and accurate *résumé* of the critical history of the last hundred and fifty years in regard to the Hexateuch in a way very different to his. It seems at least as much a history of failure as of advance. Progress there is, no doubt. But as the late Sir George Cornwall Lewis remarked in regard to similar speculations in the field of Roman history, it is progress in a circle. Astruc, in his theory of the component documents, imagined that the use of Jehovah and Elohim was the main determining feature of their contents. But Hupfeld discovered that he was mistaken. His investigation proved to him that a *second* Elohist was necessary, and thus Astruc's idea that the writers could be distinguished by their use of Jehovah and Elohim respectively was abandoned. Astruc's theory has received its death-blow in the discovery, admitted now by all competent scholars, that it is impossible accurately to resolve the Jehovist and Elohist narratives into their component elements. The efforts of Hupfeld, Knobel, and Nöldeke, again, to settle the *Grundschrift* proceeded upon a principle which is universally acknowledged in all history, namely, that the early documentary annals of a nation are usually dry catalogues of facts, and that it is in later historians that these facts are adorned with the graces of style, and are set in a framework displaying reflection, imagination, and feeling. But the whole basis upon which their research is reared is removed by the discovery attributed to Graf, that the Priestly Code is not the *Grundschrift* at all, but the coping-stone of the historic fabric. We should therefore naturally look for descriptive touches, philosophic reflections, or theological generalizations in it, instead of attributing the baldest narrative of all to the age in which Mosaism is supposed to have received its final and highest development. Then, again, Dr. Wace has recently asserted that the German critic, Dr. Cornill, has given up the "stylistic criteria," which were supposed to have fixed the limits of the Priestly Code, and has declared that its unity is not unity of authorship, but of spirit. Further, the question of the date of the Priestly Code is even yet unsettled. "Dillmann," as Mr. Addis says, "places the composition of the 'Priestly' document some three centuries before the date given by Kuenen and Wellhausen." As, however, he further remarks, Dillmann admits that it was added to after the Exile, and that it was not promulgated when he believes it to have been written; but was retained as a "Privatschrift," handed down only among the priests. But, on the other hand, Mr. Addis makes the admission that "Nöldeke, perhaps one of the greatest Semitic scholars now living," as well as Bredenkamp, Count Baudissin, Kittel, and others, support Dillmann's view.

There are other considerations, moreover, which seem to have escaped the attention of the critics. They are fertile in theories, but these theories are often found without definite historic support. They are strong in extracting results from documents, but they cannot interpret their results when they have reached them. The English critics differ in one important point from their Continental brethren. They do not hold, as Kuenen and Wellhausen do, that Mosaism was developed from fetichism through polytheism. They hold that "a certain germ" of law and morality was imparted to the Jewish people by Moses. But on neither of these theories has there been any attempt to explain a very important fact, admitted on all hands, the use of the word Jehovah or Jahweh. The existence of a Jehovist in the eighth or

ninth century B.C. is supposed to be demonstrated; but *how came there to be a Jehovist?* By what law of religious development was the idea of the Eternal Existence of the one true God thought out? On the traditional theory the answer is consistent and intelligible. It was revealed by God Himself to Moses. We want an equally definite historical account on the "development" theory, or the "germ" theory, of the manner in which this high conception of God was reached, and we want to find this account supported, not by conjectures, but by facts. At present not the slightest attempt has been made to point out the steps by which this most important theological discovery has been arrived at.

Another point also requires a little explanation. We are told that the writers of the Hexateuch were compilers, and that as far as the Priestly Code is concerned the portion of the narrative taken from it is accurately known. But so far there has been no attempt to point out the principles on which the compiler proceeded. *Why* did he continually piece together inconsistent stories from various narratives, when he had presumably, at least, one consistent narrative before him? That he might, or some later copyist might, occasionally have placed a different account of some historic event of great interest side by side with that in the authorities he was following, is of course quite possible. But why did he so constantly interrupt the course of a continuous narrative by the insertion of what is represented to be contradictory matter? And when we are asked to believe in insertions in the middle of one rational and coherent narrative of a verse, or half a verse, from another, we naturally inquire, What principle may be supposed to have guided the compiler in taking this course? Was it likely, we may not unreasonably ask, that without any particular reason he would surround himself with a number of cumbrous rolls, and constantly insert, while transcribing the record of an intelligent and satisfactory guide, a sentence, or half a sentence, or even a word from some other writer, who frequently gave an altogether different account of the events narrated? If it be the fact that he did so, we have no wish to dispute it. But it would surely assist us to know whether it were the fact or no, if we could understand the principle on which the compiler proceeded when acting in so unusual a manner.

We have no space to follow Mr. Addis in his notes. But they are frequently—to use an expressive German word—as "*willkürlich*" as those of the authorities he follows. Thus he sets down *holid* as characteristic of the author of the Priestly Code, and *yabad* as characteristic of J E, because they are used in Gen. iv. and v. respectively, in spite of the fact that *yivvaléd* is used by J E in Gen. iv., by P in Gen. xlv., and that the word *holid*, which he declares to be characteristic of P, is not once to be found in this last passage. Sometimes he deals a little freely with the text. To take one instance out of many, *beshaggam*, in Gen. vi. 8, is dismissed as a corrupted reading. But the whole of this portion of the narrative has an air of simplicity which suggests great antiquity, and the apparent false concord involved in the translation "in their transgression he also is flesh," may be explained as an archaism. A very similar construction, making "all flesh" a noun of multitude, is found in ver. 13, which, it is worth while to notice, is assigned to the Priestly Code. It may seem venturesome, in the face of high authority, to deny that either of these passages are from documents written in the palmy days of Hebrew literature. But it is none the less certain that the early portions of the Book of Genesis, from whatsoever sources compiled, appear to many to have a character of their own, differing widely from the later history, and even from the later chapters of Genesis itself. Mr. Addis, again, assigns the blessing of Moses, in Deut. xxxiii., to the time of Jeroboam II.; remarks on the omission of Judah from it, and of the triumphant refer-

ence to the myriads of Ephraim ; and considers it "plain" that the poet "belonged to the northern kingdom," which, he further adds, on Graf's authority, was "victorious" and "prosperous" when the blessing was compiled. But he does not explain how, in the face of the relations of Judah to Israel as described in history from the time of the accession of David onward, such a document came to be embodied in a Book like Deuteronomy, composed, as he imagines in order to fix in men's minds the doctrine of the supremacy of Judah and the necessity of the one sanctuary.

One further instance may be given from the Book of Joshua of the slender basis on which Mr. Addis is inclined to rear somewhat large conclusions. He tells us that Joshua ii. "cannot have been written, or at least put in its present place by the author who wrote i. 11, iii. 2," because of the mention in these two passages of the fact that the Israelites were to cross the Jordan in three days. "In other words," he adds, "the author of these verses did not know the story of Rahab and the spies." But a Hebrew scholar of Mr. Addis' stamp cannot possibly be ignorant of the fact that there is no pluperfect tense in Hebrew, and that the Hebrew writers are therefore compelled to leave it to the common sense of their readers to assign the pluperfect sense to the ordinary past tense. Thus in Gen. xii. 1 the Authorized Version translates *vayyomer* by "had said," and though the Revisers use the ordinary past tense, it is clear that the call related in chap. xii. 1 must have preceded the events narrated in chap. xi. 31. And in ver. 4 the preterite *dibber* is translated "had said" by the Revisers. So *higgid* is translated "had told" in Jonah i. 10. There is no conceivable reason why we should not translate "had sent" in Joshua ii. 1. And there is one very good reason why we should so translate, and that is that the spies are said to have been sent from *Shittim*, and in chap. iii. 1 we are told that the order to cross the Jordan in three days was given *after the removal* from Shittim. Thus it appears tolerably clear that the writer of chap. iii. 1 knew *something* at least of the narrative in chap. ii.

But while the principles of interpretation adopted by Mr. Addis seem open to criticism, there can be no doubt of the ability, learning, and candour with which they are carried out.

J. J. LIAS, M.A.

THE INTERNATIONAL THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY. CHRISTIAN ETHICS.

By NEWMAN SMYTH, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1892.

TWENTY years ago D. F. Strauss asked the question from a dogmatic point of view, Are we still Christians? And for himself, and a large section of his educated countrymen, he answered it in the negative. It is, perhaps, more important to put the question from an ethical point of view, in a slightly different form—Are we Christians yet? And, if pressed for an answer, it might be harder than we should wish to give it in the affirmative, even with regard to the best section of the population in a country like our own. The Christian standard of life is so lofty in its simplicity, so searching in its tests, and so far-reaching in its issues, that even as regards the practically acknowledged *standards* of our life in many departments, it must be acknowledged that the very Church of Christ is not Christian yet.

For this, and for many other reasons, we welcome such a volume as that before us on Christian ethics. A broad, thoughtful, comprehensive treatise on the subject has long been a desideratum in English literature. Translations from the German, useful as they are, cannot supply this lack, and we congratulate the editors of the International Theological Library on the success which has attended their attempt to place this subject in the forefront of their programme. For Dr. Newman Smyth's work, though by no means without its faults, meets the needs of the case by being

comprehensive without being diffuse, and interesting without being superficial. It is not like a formal treatise, written to take its place in a series, but has apparently been a work of love—the outpouring of a full mind through a ready pen. The very wide ground included in the title has been fairly covered; the deficiencies we have noted may be mentioned presently. The Introduction well describes the relation of Christian ethics to philosophy and theology; the contents of the Christian ideal and the methods of its realization are discussed with a fulness that leaves little to be desired; the subject of the Christian conscience is fully handled, and the analysis and description of Christian duties is fairly complete, the “social problem” receiving deservedly full consideration. Dr. Smyth’s style is clear and flowing, often epigrammatic, sometimes eloquent. A few Americanisms jar upon eye or ear. But perhaps the main characteristic of the work is its freshness and vigour. The subject of “morals” has been dealt with by one writer after another in such a cut-and-dried and often perfunctory manner, that it is little wonder it has elicited much less general interest than it deserves. We miss, perhaps, in Dr. Smyth’s pages the glow of ethical enthusiasm which would have been appropriate, at least here and there in his exposition; but if he seldom attempts a lofty flight he hardly ever flags or loiters, leading on his reader from stage to stage of his great theme, like a guide who never grows weary and will not suffer the traveller to grow weary either.

Where so much is good it is difficult to fasten attention upon special excellences. We may mention, however, among the passages which have specially interested us: the position of the Scriptures as an ethical norm in their relation to the Christian consciousness; the contents of the Christian ideal and the varied presentation of the Christian conception of the highest good; the position of faith in its relation to the Christian character; the unfolding of the various duties towards self as a moral end, a part of the analysis of duty to which too little attention has been given; and some of the remarks made by the author on the social problem, a subject which he has evidently studied with care, and on which he gives some most suggestive hints.

On the other hand, we miss some things of great importance from this volume. It would be ungracious to dwell upon them, unless they were of importance, for Dr. Smyth’s volume reaches, as it is, to 500 closely printed pages, and there is hardly one of the topics handled which he could afford to pass by. But we miss at many points what seems to us the distinctively Christian note. Without expecting to find any ecclesiastical shibboleths, or any sectarian dogmatic system, we think that a treatise on Christian ethics should have sounded a more distinctively Christian note on the subject of Sin, on the relation between the Atonement of Christ and the cleansing of conscience, on the New Birth and the operation of the Holy Spirit in the renewal of man’s nature. It may be said that these topics belong to dogmatics. Strictly speaking, they do; but we refer only to the ethical side or aspect of them. The Christian conception of conscience, and the way in which it is freed from its load by faith in the Atonement of Christ, lies at the very foundation of *Christian* ethics. Dr. Smyth, possibly, does not believe in Atonement as we have used the word, and his treatment of faith, while very interesting and suggestive, points in this direction. Again, it seems somewhat strange that in a book on Christian ethics our duty to God should be in every sense postponed to our duty to ourselves and others, that important topic being scantily treated in a few pages almost at the end of the book. Doubtless, “*Abou Ben Adhem*” may be quoted, and it is true that he who loves and serves his brethren is loving and serving God, but Christ’s example is surely to be followed in the *order* of the two great commandments, for more reasons than one. The subject of “Moral Dynamic” is also very slightly treated in a few pages

at the end of the work. Considering the importance of motive power in any system of ethics, and its special importance in the Christian system, Christianity alone being able to supply that which in other elaborate systems is lacking, it would have been well if Dr. Smyth had left more space for its treatment.

These things are, however, questions of arrangement and proportionate importance on which writer and readers may well differ. There is so much to enjoy, and to suggest further thought in this volume, that we cannot spend time in fault-finding. We may take as an illustration of the author's way of handling his subject what he has to say on the progressiveness of the science of Christian ethics. He insists, in the first instance, very wisely on its continuity, but is not afraid to claim progressiveness, in the proper sense of the word, both for Christian theology and Christian ethics.

"There can be no progress of the Christian consciousness away from the fundamental facts or vital truths of Christianity. Progress in doctrine and in ethics proceeds from the initial facts and truths of Christ's life and teaching, but it will not break its continuity with them. This is only saying that the progress throughout will be typically and essentially Christian.

"Advance in any knowledge may take place in two directions ; it may be either extensive or intensive ; it may consist in a larger comprehension of facts, or in a clearer insight into their nature. . . . Have we made progress in both kinds by means of the increase of the Christian materials of knowledge, and through clearer Christian insight, since the New Testament Days !" (pp. 66-67.)

The answer is given that beyond doubt we have made such progress. The centuries have brought many important facts to light concerning the kingdom of God and its extension which were not before the view of the Apostles, while "new facts, however made known, are revelations of God in His universe." Few will be disposed to deny, further, that progress has been made "through the better appropriation and interpretation of the contents of revelation which are given in the Scriptures." We have not space to show the interesting way in which the author applies this general principle to some of the details of his subject ; suffice it that we have indicated one very fruitful principle, the working out of which would introduce new life and new meaning into several departments of Christian ethics.

In coming to the details of duty, and what are generally called questions of casuistry, we find Dr. Smyth's judgment to be as sound as his exposition of general principles is clear. Illustrations crowd in upon us. Many might be culled from the chapter on our Duties to Ourselves. Dr. Smyth's way of handling this subject is by no means likely to lead to selfishness, though the alteration of order which we suggested above would have prevented even the appearance of making "self" the matter of first importance. But this chapter has a value of its own, in days when a kind of exaggerated altruism, borrowed from Christianity and marred in the borrowing, is being set up as a dominant principle of current non-Christian ethics. "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" is Christ's teaching. Butler, as a moralist, vindicates the place in morals of a reasonable self-love. And Dr. Smyth well says, "The duty of self-regard, which follows immediately from any spiritual conception of the worth of human nature, may also be ethically deduced from the nature of an adequate idea of what love is. For love is self-affirmation as well as self-impartment. It must first be self-affirmation in order that it may become self-imparting love. We cannot give worthily what we have not esteemed to be worthy. . . . True self-love . . . is therefore the antecedent condition of all genuine and worthy love of others" (p. 328).

But passing this by, we might refer, as specimens of the author's sane and wholesome casuistry, to his treatment of the obligation of veracity and its possible

limits, or to his remarks on marriage and family life, or to his treatment of "the industrial conscience." An extract on the last topic will be found suggestive.

"A good industrial conscience will be on its guard against all transactions which involve a change of property without value received. Betting and gambling are demoralizing because they violate the first economic principle of value in exchange. Speculation is competition run wild. In all transactions where there is gain without compensation, competition without co-operation, the true social law of exchange is violated; the Christian ethics of business is mutual service in labour and mutual benefit in exchange" (p. 436).

The remarks which follow upon "the mutual obligations between men which arise from the existence of social classes and from the industrial differentiations of the modern world" are equally excellent and quite as important. Perhaps this part of Dr. Smyth's work will strike a large proportion of his readers as being the most valuable, especially at the present time. The author writes on this topic with that "good sense," which Bishop Ellicott has somewhere called "a special *Χάρισμα*," one which is needed by the moralist as well as the theologian, and is nowhere more necessary than when the thinker and theorist leaves his abstract principles to plunge into the world of men and things. The author's analysis of the causes of the social problem, his discussion of the Socialist or Collectivist attempts at reform, his indication of the root of the mischief in moral evil, and his sketch of the truly Christian solution of this complex problem, are alike admirable.

We end with the question with which we began. It is especially in relation to social ethics that the question is raised—Are we Christians? Some, like J. S. Mill, say that the New Testament gives no sufficient code of social ethics; others that it is impossible to carry into practice the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount; while others again, like Count Tolstoi, advocate a recasting of the whole social system on the basis of a literal interpretation of our Lord's words in Matt. v. 7. The question is—Are we Christian in our *standards* of life, are we even *aiming* right? Allowance may be made for the weakness of human nature and the chasm so frequently visible between theory and practice, but it is matter of the very first importance, whether in our social and political ideals we are even on the right track, endeavouring to work out at least in spirit the ethical teaching of the Master we profess to serve.

Those who are interested to find Dr. Smyth's answer to this question will find an indication of it on p. 374. We must, however, take our leave of what we hope even in this inadequate sketch we have shown to be the most important English work on one of the most important subjects that can engage the attention of the Christian teacher. It contains matter for many a sermon, and, what is far better, lays down the lines for a nobler, purer, more truly Christian ideal, to be realized in our individual, family, social, ecclesiastical, and national life. It is a book eminently fitted to teach ministers, who in turn may teach what they have learned by example as well as by precept.

W. T. DAVISON, M.A.

THE GOSPEL OF A RISEN SAVIOUR. By the Rev. R. MCCHEYNE EDGAR, A.M.
Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1892. 7s. 6d.

As the battle of the truth of Christianity is being more and more fought round the Resurrection of Christ, so the truth of the Resurrection is narrowed down to a single point, How the faith of the early Church can be explained without the fact. There is no longer any need to prove the sincerity of that faith as Paley did. It is admitted with all its mighty effects. The faith founded the Church, and the Church has changed the world. How, then, can the Apostolic faith itself be explained save as

the reflection of the reality? This is the question which is driven home with resistless force by such writers as Fairbairn, Godet, Row, Beet. We do not fear the issue which is being fought out on this ground. Christ, Christianity, the New Testament, Miracles, are all staked on the truth of the Resurrection, and it is becoming more and more evident that they are on safe ground. The best argument for the Resurrection is the exposition of its historical, doctrinal, and ideal aspects. The writers just named deal chiefly with the first. Books like Westcott's *Gospel of the Resurrection and Revelation of the Risen Lord* deal with the doctrinal and ideal meaning of the fact. Mr. Edgar's book covers the whole ground in a way adapted for general and popular reading. The comprehensiveness of the plan will appear from a rapid summary of the topics discussed: the postulate of the soul's immortality; the vital importance of the question; preparations in the Old Testament and in Christ's teaching; the evidence proper in Paul, the other Apostles, and the evangelists; the witness of the Lord's Day and the Lord's Supper; the credibility of the witnesses; the general question of miracle involved; and then a further series of nine chapters discussing the various aspects of Christ's teaching and work as affected by the Resurrection. In the last section there is perhaps a tendency to a discursive treatment. It is not perfectly clear how the particular fact of Christ's Resurrection enters into all the Christological thought of the Church, and delivers us from Materialism, Atheism, &c., or how it bears very directly on everlasting felicity and punishment. The author has apparently seized the opportunity of saying a strong word for the truth on most of the central Christian doctrines.

Beside being written in a lively, animated style, the work is marked throughout by a strain of clear, strong common sense. The author has first mastered all or most that has been written on the subject, as is shown by the immense number of authors and works referred to; has felt or fought his way through the throng of critics of all schools; and then deals with the difficulties, raises and marshals the arguments in reply, not in the language of the schools, but in that of common life. He is eminently an apologist for the people. Business men will appreciate his plain, downright criticism of the critics. He is himself often quite as racy as some of the racy writers he approvingly quotes. One is amazed at the width of reading displayed. The numerous references to men and books keep up the reader's interest. The exposition of Paul's testimony is especially good. "Paul was not the man to be victimized by hallucination. His conversion was well worth a journey on the part of Christ from heaven to earth. Nothing short of such an interview as he maintained he enjoyed with Jesus could have converted him from persecution to missionary enterprise." The defence of the character of the witnesses selected is exceedingly happy and cogent. The demand for a commission of experts is well shown up. As to the vision theory, "the critics would have us believe that *the witnesses began this dreaming simultaneously, kept at it off and on for about six weeks, the dreaming fit embracing no less than five hundred persons on one of the occasions, and then suddenly ceased, so as to admit of the resurrection idea getting launched as history.*"

The book gives evidence of the greatest care on the author's part, the Table of Contents and Index being exceedingly clear and full. There are a few slips. On p. 91 *pension* should perhaps be *penchant*. Why "an anonymous but able book" (p. 86)?

J. S. BANKS.

THE FAITH AND LIFE OF THE EARLY CHURCH. AN INTRODUCTION TO CHURCH HISTORY. By W. F. SLATER, M.A., Biblical Tutor, Wesleyan College, Didsbury. Hodder & Stoughton.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Slater's immediate aim is evidently to suit the requirements of beginners by furnishing them with a general view of the state of the Church in the first century, an aim which he reaches by means of a very lucid survey of the well-traversed field, his book is distinctly valuable as a contribution to some of the vexed questions of recent controversy. His searching investigation into the character and course of Jewish Christianity, in particular, throws some fresh light on this obscure subject. In their reaction against the Tübingen school, English scholars have for the most part asserted that the Jewish, law-keeping, conservative type of Christianity which refused to yield to St. Paul's newer and larger conceptions came to an abrupt conclusion with the destruction of Jerusalem by the soldiers of Titus, after which the great body of Hebrew Christians are said to have been blended in Church life and belief with their Gentile co-religionists. But there is no evidence of this, and Mr. Slater's careful sifting of the meagre materials that are all we now possess in the way of relics of the age immediately succeeding New Testament times shows how improbable the supposition is. There can be no doubt that when the Church again emerges into full daylight, towards the middle of the second century, we meet with a Jewish type of Christianity in very pronounced antagonism to Catholic ideas and practices. Now it is certainly most improbable that this would have sprung up if the old differences had been healed; at all events, it is more reasonable to imagine that they continued through the obscure period and then blossomed out into the more pronounced heresy of the succeeding age, in accordance with the common rule that divergent movements tend to become more widely separated. This does not mean that the later narrow Ebionism was anticipated by the primitive Jerusalem Church; but it means that the high value set upon the law by the early Jewish Christians was not abandoned on account of the catastrophe which destroyed their city. Several hints of this state of things may be detected. Thus, the account which Hegesippus gives of St. James entirely accords with it. The New Testament shows that Judaizers were found in the Churches of Asia Minor, Corinth, and Rome. No doubt it was an error to identify these bitter enemies of St. Paul with the main body of the Hebrew Christians, but their strength and persistence do not suggest that the Council at Jerusalem had put an end to the legal views and habits of their venerated authorities in the home Church. There is good reason to believe that the practice of observing the law was maintained by the Hebrew Christians right through New Testament times. It is a pure assumption that so carefully cherished a practice was ever destroyed. All this Mr. Slater traces out with much care. Then he shows how the differences on both sides were accentuated in the new age. The embitterment of Judaistic Christianity in Ebionism is familiar to us, but the corresponding narrowing on the other side is not so generally recognized. Yet it may be clearly seen in Ignatius, when he refuses to communicate with Jews who keep the law. This is a distinct movement away from the liberal position maintained by St. Paul, because while the Apostle vindicated the liberty of Gentiles, and for himself pronounced the inutility of the law, he did not decline to unite in Church fellowship with Judaistic Christians. The narrow policy of Ignatius tended to aggravate the sectarian peculiarities of the excommunicated.

W. F. ADENEY, M.A.

THE CHURCH OF TO-MORROW. By W. J. DAWSON. London: James Clark & Co.

THE interest in this book will be increased not a little by Mr. Dawson's retirement from the Wesleyan Methodist Ministry to accept the pastorate of the Highbury Quadrant Congregational Church. With the newer Congregationalism, which is feeling after some better way of effective co-operation between all the scattered units of the body, he is in hearty sympathy; yet his recent change only means that Congregationalism has done for him what Methodism would not do; it has given him "one church and the same pulpit every Sunday." There is so much talk about Christian Union, and Mr. Dawson has such an attractive way of putting things, that good as this volume is, we wish that it had been a great deal better, that the addresses had not simply been printed together, but had been used by Mr. Dawson as materials for a fair and ordered treatment of his splendid theme—the Church as she is to be when the Divine forces at work within her have mastered the contending elements and have enshrined themselves in a fitting spiritual temple. There must be, he affirms, change mainly in four directions. The Church of the future must be one in which all religious souls may draw nearer together on the basis of those fundamental truths upon which they are all agreed; she must be frankly democratic; she must aim at the regeneration of society; and neither intellectual differences nor differences of ecclesiastical organization are any longer to keep men separate who are really one in heart.

Waving the form of the book, we take more grave exception to Mr. Dawson's careless use of most important words in a restricted or wholly false sense. One of the addresses is entitled "The Failure of the Supernatural in Conversion." Surely this is not our author's meaning, for in other parts of the book he strongly affirms what in this title he denies. Conversion, he says, is "the result of an impression of God . . . so vivid, so real, so overwhelming that it has literally changed the current of a life and made men new creatures in Christ Jesus"; it is "a Divine process, which may happen in a moment." A still more glaring instance is his misuse of the word "democratic." Mr. Dawson never uses this word in its proper sense of government by the people, but in one represented by his question, "Is the Church Democratic? Does it seek to be the friend of the friendless?" Surely Kingsley, Geo. MacDonald, Ruskin, cannot be described as "great secular writers." On the other hand, there is no such distinction as that made by Mr. Dawson between the use of the words "blessed" and "happy" in the New Testament. In every case they represent the same Greek word, and it is absurd to say that "Christ does not authorize us to expect happiness." Still, with the burden of the book we are in the heartiest accord, and no one will read these addresses without catching some glimpse of that vision of which the late Dr. Hatch wrote so beautifully in the closing words of his Hibbert Lectures: "For though you may believe that I am but a dreamer of dreams, I seem to see, though it be on the far horizon, a Christianity which is not new but old, which is not old but new; a Christianity in which the moral and spiritual elements shall again hold their place, in which men will be bound together by the bond of mutual service, which is the bond of the sons of God; a Christianity which will actually realize the brotherhood of men, the ideal of its first communities."

CHARLES M. HARDY, B.A.

THE EARLY NARRATIVES OF GENESIS. By HERBERT EDWARD RYLE, B.D.,
Hulsean Professor of Divinity. London : Macmillan & Co. 1892.

THIS volume consists of eight papers based on a course of Lectures delivered at Cambridge in 1890-91, and since published in the *Expository Times*. The importance of this little volume of 138 pages is quite out of proportion to its size. It takes its place with such works as Canon Cheyne's *Hallowing of Criticism*, and Mr. Horton's *Revelation and the Bible*, and, in a different way, Prof. G. A. Smith's *Isaiah*, as one of the pioneers of the reformed exposition of the Bible. The chapters dealt with contain the stories of the Creation and Fall, the murder of Cain, the Flood, and the Tower of Babel. Frankly and fully accepting the results of modern science, criticism, and archæology, the author uses them to illustrate and expound these stories and to unfold their spiritual significance. Those who are acquainted with the edition of the Psalms of Solomon, of which Prof. Ryle is the joint editor, will not need to be told that his work here also is exact, scholarly, and thorough. It will form a useful student's handbook to the archæology of the subjects treated and the critical analysis of the chapters. It is scarcely necessary to say that Prof. Ryle does not attempt to find either science or history in these chapters; but, none the less, they are to him a revelation of God, an inspired vehicle of Divine Truth. As to points of archæology, we may call attention again to the Babylonian parallel to the story of the Fall, published by Mr. W. St. C. Boscawen, in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* of Oct., 1890, in which the fruit of the garden is sinfully eaten, as in Genesis. Mr. Pinches' recent discovery of a parallel to the second account of the Creation was, of course, not to hand when these lectures were written.

With regard to the general attitude of the book we may quote the following paragraph :—

"The poetry of primitive tradition enfolds the message of the Divine Spirit. Criticism can analyze its literary structure; science can lay bare the defectiveness of its knowledge. But neither in the recognition of the composite character of its writing, nor in the discernment of the childish standard of its science, is there any reproach conveyed. For, as always is the case, the instrument of Divine Revelation partakes of limitations inalienable from the age in which it is granted. The more closely we are enabled to scan the human framework, the more reverently shall we acknowledge the presence of the Spirit that pervades it."

The author's exposition of the lofty spiritual teaching of these narratives with regard to the nature of God and man, of sin and righteousness, fully justifies the value he claims for his methods of exegesis and criticism.

W. H. BENNETT, M.A.

THE WITNESS OF HERMAS TO THE FOUR GOSPELS. By C. TAYLOR, D.D.,
Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. London : C. J. Clay & Sons, 1892.
pp. viii. 148.

It has become one of the commonplaces of New Testament criticism, especially as applied to the Gospels, to begin with the testimony of Irenæus, towards the end of the second century, and thence work backwards through the hundred years which separate him from the Apostolic age. The testimony of Irenæus, especially in book iii., chap. xi., is so full and so remarkable that even Strauss frankly admits it as proof that in A.D. 180-200 there were four, and only four, Gospels fully acknowledged by the Christian Church. He admits that the quaint reasons which Irenæus gives as to why there *must* be exactly four Gospels are not to be taken as the grounds upon

which the selection of four was made, but as arguments by means of which Irenæus endeavours to justify to himself and to others the fact that precisely four Gospels, neither more nor less, had been given by Divine Providence to the Church.

The arguments are interesting enough to bear repetition, all the more so because they have a very close connexion with the important treatise of the Master of St. John's on the *Witness of Hermas to the Four Gospels*.

The Church is diffused throughout the whole earth, and the earth has four quarters; therefore there should be four Gospels. The Gospel is the breath of life to men, and the wind of heaven has four breaths; therefore there should be four Gospels. The cherubim, who are images of the activity of the Son, are fourfold—a lion, a calf, a man, and an eagle; and like these are the four Gospels. The dealings of the Son of God with the human race are fourfold: with Abraham and the patriarchs face to face; with the Israelites through the priesthood; with the disciples through the Incarnate Son; with the present Church through the Spirit. Therefore the Gospel also is fourfold; and those who make either more or less than four Gospels are adding to the truth, or refusing what has been divinely ordained. We may smile, if we please, at some of these arguments; but it is quite clear that at the time when they were written, precisely four Gospels, neither more nor less, were universally acknowledged in the Church. Irenæus would not have thought of seeking for such arguments if within the memory of those whom he had met either in the East, or in Italy, or in Gaul, there had been Churches which accepted only three, or (like Marcion) only one, of the four. So that the witness of Irenæus covers not only the years during which he was writing his work on *Heresies*, but the previous forty or fifty years; in other words, it carries us back to A.D. 140 or 130, if not to a still earlier date.

It was becoming another commonplace of Biblical criticism to leave the *Shepherd of Hermas* almost entirely on one side in working back through the witnesses which lie between Irenæus and the Apostles. Constructive and destructive critics alike are agreed that it contains no definite quotation from either the New Testament or the Old. "The scope of the writer gave no opportunity for the direct application of Scripture. He claims to receive a Divine message, and to record the words of angels" (Westcott, *On the Canon of the New Testament*, 8rd ed., p. 181). But it is the object of Dr. Taylor's treatise to show that in future the testimony of Hermas is a most important factor in the sum of evidence, and must on no account be left on one side. He contends that we have in Hermas precisely the kind of evidence which is of such incalculable value in Irenæus, viz., statements which show, in however quaint and strange manners, that in the writer's time the exact number of four Gospels was well established, because the writer assigns to this fact mystical significance, and expresses it in a variety of allegorical forms. Nay, more, he thinks it probable that it was from Hermas that Irenæus derives the idea of the mystical arguments which he uses to prove that a fourfold Gospel is an *à priori* necessity, and that Irenæus is merely reproducing in new forms what had been urged by Hermas some forty years, or possibly even eighty years, before Irenæus wrote. That Irenæus knew the *Shepherd of Hermas*, and esteemed it very highly, we know from his own words. On one occasion he introduces a quotation from it with the formula, "Well therefore said the Scripture" (IV. xx. 2). So that it is by no means improbable that, if he understood the allegorical language of Hermas to mean the four Gospels, he would thereby be led to employ similar ideas in his own work.

It will be seen that the importance of Dr. Taylor's theory, if it can be established, is very considerable. Even if we assign no higher date to Hermas than that which is

commonly accepted upon the statement in the Muratorian Canon, viz., c. A.D. 140, we have obtained what is substantially the same testimony as that of Irenæus respecting the four Gospels from a point forty years nearer to the Apostolic age;—a great gain. And if we allow to the *Shepherd of Hermas* the early date for which Zahn and Dr. Salmon contend, viz., c. A.D. 105, we have good reason for maintaining that the four Gospels must have been well established before the death of St. John: which would indeed be a startling result. And in considering this point we must bear in mind the enormous success which the *Shepherd of Hermas* had during the first century of its existence. It would be no exaggeration to say that towards the end of the second century it was better known and more widely received than one or two books which are now in our New Testament. Therefore, if Hermas was all along understood to mean that the historical foundation of the Church is to be read in precisely four Gospels, then we have a very large addition made to the evidence which tells in favour of the authenticity of the four evangelical records.

But all this is as yet purely hypothetical. Did Irenæus and the Christians before him, who delighted in the *Shepherd*, understand the imagery of Hermas to mean the four Gospels? Did Hermas himself intend that they should so understand it? Until this is shown to be at any rate highly probable, the advantages which have been held out to us must be foregone.

The passage on which the argument mainly turns is in Vision iii. 18. "But in the third vision ye saw her (the Church) younger and fair and gladsome, and her form fair. For just as when to some mourner cometh some piece of *good tidings*, immediately he forgetteth his former sorrows, and admitteth nothing but the tidings which he hath heard, and is strengthened thenceforth unto that which is good, and his spirit is renewed by reason of the joy which he hath received; so also ye have received a renewal of your spirits by seeing *these good things*. And whereas thou sawest her seated on a couch, *the position is a firm one*; for the couch *has four feet and standeth firmly*; for the world too *is upheld by means of four elements*." This couch, we are previously told, was taken into a tower, which also represents the Church, and is *four square*, built on foundations laid in *four rows* and of stones which are *squared*, and which represent apostles, bishops, teachers, and deacons (*Vis.* iii. 3, 5, 10). Before sitting youthful and joyous on the couch or bench, the woman who represents the Church was seen sitting old and feeble in a *chair*, the same word being used as in the Gospels for "The scribes sit in Moses' *seat*." This chair, then, is the Church's seat of authority under the Mosaic dispensation, which had become obsolete. "What can her new seat the bench, which stands on four feet, signify but the fourfold Gospel?" asks Dr. Taylor. "We may say then that it is the Four Gospels that are signified by the feet of the Church's seat, and that are likened to the four elements of the world" (p. 9). "To anglicize the wordplay we may say, that the elements of the foundation of the tower, in *Sim.* ix., correspond to the elements of the world. . . . These links between the similitude and the vision confirm the suspicion that the fourfold foundation likewise adumbrates the fourfold Gospel" (pp. 10, 11).

That some of the strange imagery used by Hermas would be very likely to suggest to Irenæus some of the strange arguments by which he tries to prove that there must be exactly four Gospels, may be safely granted, and Dr. Taylor has done good service in pointing out the minute coincidences between the two writers in detail (pp. 13-18). But we must be cautious about concluding that, because the *fours* in Irenæus certainly refer to the Gospels, therefore the *fours* in Hermas do the same. It is possible that they do so: but it is also possible that they merely symbolize perfection. That a tetrad or square was a symbol of perfection, and that four was

regarded as an excellent number, is a familiar idea in ancient philosophy. We find it in Aristotle more than once (*Eth. Nic.* I. x. ii.) and in Plato, who quotes it as from Simonides (*Protag.* 339).¹ The four elements of which the world is compacted are of course a mark of its perfection: and the four rows in the foundations of the four-square tower may easily have a similar meaning. The four feet of the bench or couch, if they mean anything more than that a bench must have four feet in order to be firm, might be explained in a similar way.

But in order to strengthen his argument Dr. Taylor goes on to show in detail that Hermas makes free use of the subject-matter and phraseology of the Gospels, although he never expressly quotes them. We are warned that "Hermas has a way of going off at a word and using it without too strict regard to the context from which he borrowed it" (p. 83), and that "it is against the principle of Hermas to allude plainly to the Scriptures" (p. 95): but even with this proviso some of the cases in which he is supposed to be drawing from the Gospels seem to be a little far-fetched, *e.g.*, those noticed pp. 44 and 47. Moreover, the greater number, if not all, of the instances taken from the Synoptic Gospels might be derived from oral tradition, just as well as from written documents. Whatever date we give to Hermas, the oral tradition was still vigorous in his day, and he can hardly have escaped being influenced by it. The possible allusions to the Fourth Gospel are not very numerous. Dr. Taylor supposes that the parable in *Mand.* XII. v. 8 is taken from the miracle at Cana. It begins, "When a man has quite filled sufficient jars with good wine" (*γεμισθὲν οἶνον καλοῦ*). But he does not notice what may be a direct quotation from John iii. 9 in *Mand.* XI. 19, "How, sir, say I, can these things be?" There are, however, one or two probable allusions to the First Epistle of St. John which are more convincing than either of these (pp. 82, 88, 89), and also one to the pericope of the Woman taken in Adultery (pp. 101-103), besides which there are various Johannine phrases, such as "last day," "know the truth," "works of God," "true" (*ἀληθινός*), "spirit of truth," and the like,* and all of these put together make a fairly strong case in favour of the view that directly or indirectly Hermas was acquainted with the Gospel and First Epistle of St. John.

If then these apparent allusions suffice to show that Hermas knew the four Gospels as documents, then the possibility that the fourfold foundations on which the four-square tower that represents the Church rests, and the four feet of the bench on which the woman who represents the Church rests, refer to the Gospels, is decidedly increased. But it is very far from being proved. Even if we were certain that Hermas knew the written Gospels, it would still be possible, and not improbable, that his fours and squares symbolize nothing more definite than completeness and perfection; and we are not certain of this, for the apparent allusions and reminiscences are too undecided to prove the point. They warrant us in maintaining that Hermas was acquainted with portions of the Gospel narrative in either a written or an unwritten form, and that he had at least second-hand acquaintance with the teaching of St. John; but beyond that it does not seem to be safe to go. We appear to be left, therefore, with two hypotheses—one as to the meaning of the symbolism in Vision iii., and one as to the writer's knowledge of four written Gospels, each of which adds support to the other, but neither of which is established.

This by no means proves that the volume before us is wasted labour: it is a very valuable contribution to an inquiry which has hitherto received inadequate

¹ See the note in Stewart's edition of the *Ethics*, I. p. 145, Oxford. 1892.

* Possibly "walk in truth" (*Mand.* iii. 4) might be added.

treatment, and all students of the subject will be grateful to the writer for it. In a second edition the volume might be made still more useful, if supposed allusions to the Synoptic Gospels were classified, according as the passage in question is found in three, two, or in only one of these Gospels. An appendix tabulating the texts discussed, with a reference to the page on which the discussion is found, would also be very acceptable.

These remarks are offered with diffidence and reserve, in the conviction that only those who have devoted to the *Shepherd of Hermas* a far more minute and careful study than the writer of them has been able to bestow, are competent to form a trustworthy opinion on the subject.

A. PLUMMER.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT; an Essay on the Gradual Growth and Formation of the Hebrew Canon of Scripture. By HERBERT EDWARD RYLE, B.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, etc., Cambridge. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1892.

It is to be hoped that Professor Ryle takes too unfavorable a view of the State biblical knowledge when he writes in his preface: "Most students of the Bible know something about the history of the Canon of the New Testament, and about the process by which its limits were gradually determined. Few, by comparison, are aware that the Canon of the Old Testament passed through a very similar course of development." If they remain in such lamentable ignorance it will not be for lack of books to teach them better. Not to speak of the admirable chapter on the subject in W. Robertson Smith's *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, the last twelvemonth has brought us Buhl's *Kanon und Text des Alten Testaments* and Wildeboer's *Entstehung des Alttestamentlichen Kanons*, both revised German editions of works originally published in other languages—the former in Danish (1885), the latter in Dutch (1889). Professor Wildeboer's book is an exhaustive investigation which, for students, is not likely soon to be superseded. There was room, however, for a fresh English work on the subject; and Professor Ryle's comes opportunely to supplement Driver's *Introduction*, from which the formation of the Canon was excluded by the plan of the series to which it belongs.

The plan and method of the volume before us differ entirely from that of Wildeboer. The work of the Dutch scholar is rightly described in the title as "an historic-critical investigation;" the English scholar offers us a constructive presentation of the results of criticism. Professor Ryle stands openly on the side of the new school of Old Testament critics, though with some harmless reserves of his own. His plan leads him to discuss at greater length than would ordinarily be expected in a history of the Canon the chief points in the history of the Old Testament literature.

Hebrew literature existed long before the idea of canonicity was conceived—songs, laws, stories, official records, and prophecies were transmitted orally, fixed in writing, preserved at the sanctuaries and in prophetic circles. "It was not till the year 621 B.C., the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah, that the history of Israel presents us with the first instance of 'a

book,' which was regarded by all, king, priests, prophets, and people alike, as invested not only with sanctity, but also with supreme authority in all matters of religion and conduct." The "covenant" by which the Deuteronomic law was ratified made it the first canonic Scripture in Israel. This law-book (Deut. v.-xxx.) was already a half century or more old, having been compiled in the end of Hezekiah's reign, or the beginning of Manasseh's; but its distinctive features were unknown before the seventh century B. C. We must remember, too, that as long as prophecy continued to be a real power, the living word must have maintained its precedence over the written word, so that the canonicity of Deuteronomy meant much less before the exile than canonicity meant when Sacred Scripture was the only oracle of God.

To the Deuteronomy were attached, probably in the exile, the Book of Joshua—of course without the priestly element—and a redaction of the Jehovist-Elohistic compilation, which had been made by the union of JE some time before the beginning of the seventh century. In the exile also the Priestly Laws were brought together and written down, not in a systematic code, but in smaller collections, the oldest of which is the Law of Holiness.

The union of the Priestly Laws and Histories with the older Jehovist-Deuteronomic work was accomplished before the time of Ezra, whose Book of the Law was substantially our Pentateuch. The solemn ratification of this law marked the completion of the first Canon, which therefore dates from the latter half of the fifth century B.C.

The formation of the group of the Prophets (including the older historical books), having commenced not earlier than the year 800 B.C., was brought to a conclusion by the end of that century. Taking their place beside the Law, though not strictly upon an equality with it, these writings made with it the second Canon, "The Law and the Prophets."

The impulse which led to the addition to the Hebrew Canon of a third group of Scriptures may well have come in the religious revival of the Maccabæan times, from which period the youngest works in the collection, Daniel and the Maccabæan Psalms, date. The formation of the collection lies between 160 B.C. and 105 B.C., the death of John Hyrcanus. The right of some of these books to a place in the Canon was, however, not unchallenged; and the question was not finally set at rest until the Council at Jamnia, about 90 A.D., which may therefore be taken as the date of the authoritative sanction of the completed Canon, the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings. The point at issue in the con-

troversies of the Jewish schools was not whether the Antilegomena should be admitted to the Canon; on the contrary, it is presupposed that they already have a place in the collection.

As to the Hellenistic Bible, it is not a legitimate inference from the inclusion of the Apocrypha in the Septuagint, that the Alexandrian Jews acknowledged a wider Canon of Scripture than their brethren in Palestine; the evidence drawn from Philo and Josephus is conclusive against such a difference. The true explanation is rather that the Hellenistic Jews at the time the Greek version was made had no sharply defined idea of canonicity, except, of course, for the Law.

In a series of excursions, Professor Ryle discusses the alleged traditions about Ezra's connection with the formation of the Canon (iv. Ezra xiv. and its echoes); Elias Levita's invention about the Men of the Great Synagogue; and the Talmudic tradition, *Baba bathra* 14 f. (translation). He presents a tabular view of ancient catalogues of the Hebrew Scriptures; the original text of the most important testimonies; the names of the Hebrew Scriptures and their divisions, and of the Old Testament books. Indexes of Scripture references and of names and subjects complete the volume.

In matters outside the field of the "Higher Criticism" the accuracy of the book is not unimpeachable. We are told, e.g. (p. 238), that the division into chapters taken from the Vulgate was first introduced in the Hebrew Bible in the Bomberg Bible of 1521; and that "the division into verses, which appeared in the *Editio Sabbioneta* [sic] of the Pentateuch (1557), does not seem to have been applied to the whole Hebrew Canon before the edition of Athias (1661)." The Latin chapters are found in the Bomberg Bible of 1517-18 in folio, and presumptively—though I cannot verify this by actual inspection—in the quarto edition of 1518; see Elias Levita, Notice to the Reader, prefixed to his *Massoreth ha-Massoreth* (1538, ed. Ginsburg, p. 85—mis-translated by Ginsburg; cf. also the Introduction to his *Bachur* (1518). The division into verses underlies the accentuation and is found in all editions and codices. In the confused statement quoted above, Professor Ryle means not the division into verses, but the numbering of the verses in the margin—a very different thing. But even thus corrected he is wrong in every particular. The Sabbioneta Pentateuch of 1557 (not Sabbioneta! see De Rossi, *Annali edro-tipografici di Sabbioneta*, 1780; Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, II., 166 sq.) is commonly alleged as the first edition in which the verses were numbered. De Rossi, who is cited as authority for this statement, says more cautiously that it was the first, or one

of the first, in which a Hebrew numeral was affixed to every fifth verse (*op. cit.*, p. 20). It was not the first; the same method of numeration is applied to the whole Bible in the great Bomberg Bible of 1547-49. Consequently the numeration adopted cannot have been "borrowed from Robert Stephens' edition of the Vulgate of 1555" (*ibid.*).

The mistake about Athias is more remarkable. From the middle of the sixteenth century the custom prevailed of numbering every fifth verse by a Hebrew numeral in the margin. At Leusden's suggestion, Athias, in his edition of 1661, introduced Arabic numerals for the intervening verses (2, 8, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, etc.); see Leusden's own account, *Philologus Hebræo-Græcus*, Dias. III. Leusden says that such numbers had never before been affixed to any Hebrew text; but this assertion requires limitation, for in the Antwerp Polyglot (1569-72) every verse of the Hebrew text is designated by an Arabic numeral.

Nor is it in bibliographical matters alone that the author trips. The "tradition" that Ezra committed a copy of the Scriptures to writing and deposited it in the temple courts (p. 241) owes its existence to a confusion—which Professor Ryle is not the first to fall into—of *Ezra* with *Azara*, "temple precincts." *Kohleleth rabba* (hardly earlier than the eighth century of the Christian era) should not be cited in the same breath with *Megillath Taanith* as a witness to the early Jewish use of the number 24 for the books of Scripture (p. 190, n.). In the list of titles of Old Testament books (p. 294), *Ἀμμοσεφικωδεῖον* of Origen's catalogue (comp. *Sota*, 36 b.) is rendered "fifth part of Precepts"—a strange name for the Book of Numbers! The origin and meaning of the name must be clear to any one who reads Num. i., where the word *pequdim* recurs in every other verse from 21-48—in the census of each tribe—and in the sum total, vs. 48. It is the "Book of Musters" (lit. "of the men mustered, or enumerated"), an exact equivalent to the *Ἀριθμοί* of the Greek Bible.

Notwithstanding these defects—which, it is fair to say, lie largely in matters somewhat aside from the subject of the book—the volume may be commended to those who are in want of a popular sketch of the formation of the Canon from the standpoint of a conservative modern criticism.

GEORGE F. MOORE.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By JOHN H. KERR, A.M., Pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church of Rock Island, Ill. With an Introductory Note by Professor Benjamin B. Warfield, D.D.,

of Princeton Theological Seminary. Chicago and New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. xx., 383, \$1.50.

The growing interest in the study of the Bible is evidenced by the increase of helps for popular study, as well as by the larger place given to discussions of the several books in the pulpit. Mr. Kerr, a Presbyterian pastor, began to preach on the Gospels nearly ten years ago, and out of that early effort a volume has grown. It should be judged in accordance with its purpose and genesis. The purpose is to provide for the author (and other pastors) "a popular treatise on New Testament Introduction for uses of instruction" among the people of his charge. The genesis of the volume has already been indicated.

That a busy young pastor should make any original contribution to the scientific treatment of New Testament Introduction was not to be expected. Some questions often most troublesome for experts are therefore passed by in Mr. Kerr's volume. He expressly disclaims any attempt to set forth new and startling theories, and acknowledges his dependence upon others. He has mainly followed Dr. Gloag and Professor Warfield, his instructor in the Western Theological Seminary. The latter furnishes an Introductory Note to the book, which is dedicated to himself. The point of view is of course conservative, and both the author and his teacher take pains to intimate that the discussion of the human side of the New Testament does not imply any doubt of its being the inspired Word of God. Professor Warfield, in his note and the accompanying table, sets forth his view of the periods of New Testament literature, accepting certain lines of development, which he indicates with a good deal of force. To this view there seems to be only one objection (and to this it will be necessary to refer again)—namely, the improbable position assigned to Mark's Gospel, ten years after the two other Synoptics.

The book itself consists of nine chapters. In the first, entitled General Introduction, there is a brief reference to the Canon. In the second the Gospels in general are discussed; but the Synoptic problem is only touched upon, the theory of a common oral basis being accepted. The third chapter takes up the four Gospels *seriatim*. The usual array of witnesses is made, and the matter is well put for popular use. But the writing of the Gospel of Mark is placed in A.D. 68, while those of Luke and Matthew are put as early as A.D. 58. This is contrary to all internal evidence. If there is one Gospel among the three which gives strong indications of priority, it is that of Mark. Dr. Warfield's defence of the

canonicity of 2 Peter has led him to connect that epistle with the Gospel of Mark, and his pupil has closely followed him. But it is doubtful whether 2 Pet. i. 15 refers to a Gospel afterward written, and the fact that Peter uses the word "exodus" for "decease" is not convincing. Indeed, this view of the dates of the Synoptic Gospels seems to upset the theory of their origin advanced in the volume. If Luke wrote a gospel in 58 at Cæsarea, before Paul went to Rome, probably the Roman Christians used it before ten years elapsed. Yet Mr. Kerr says "there is little reason for doubting that Mark wrote this Gospel in Rome." Now, if Luke's Gospel is put as late as A.D. 68, the theory of a common oral basis might stand. But to suppose that Luke was in Rome years before with Paul, and that his Gospel was unknown in Rome, and especially unknown to Mark, whose narrative so closely resembles it—all this seems improbable. The origin of the Synoptics is involved in fresh difficulty, mainly to bolster up a notion about the connection of 2 Peter with Mark's Gospel. It is scarcely "conservative" to construct a theory on evidence as slight as this. The destructive critics habitually do so, but they ought not to be encouraged by Mr. Kerr.

The historicity of the Book of the Acts is of course defended, but nearly one half of the volume is devoted to the Pauline epistles, which are treated in their chronological order.

Two Roman imprisonments are accepted: Galatians comes before the two Corinthian epistles; Philipians is put last in the second group. The outlines are usually borrowed (with credit) from Gloag, Warfield, or Weidner. The Epistle to the Hebrews is discussed in a separate chapter, and the arguments for and against the Pauline authorship briefly stated. The bearing of the question on the theory of the Canon is not indicated. The Epistle of James is dated A.D. 45, and its author is *not* identified with James the son of Alphaeus. "Babylon" in 1 Peter is taken literally, and the valuable defence of 2 Peter by Professor Warfield is summarily stated, and the assumed relation to the Gospel of Mark again introduced. Jude is regarded as prior to 2 Peter, and made use of in the latter. The Johannine authorship of Revelation is of course defended, and its late date accepted. The author seems to incline to the spiritual theory of interpreting the Apocalypse.

The style of Mr. Kerr is usually clear. In his anxiety to give credit for his matter he cites too freely. Nor has he allowed himself to assimilate an extended literature on his subject. He quotes many authors, but, after all, he speaks mainly what he was taught as a theological student. As his

teacher speaks for him in the Introductory Note, so he throughout speaks for his teacher. Accordingly the modest volume, designed for popular use, becomes in the eyes of students a fair statement of the conservative positions maintained by the professor to whom it is dedicated. This will give added interest to the book. Mr. Kerr, however, would do well to make some corrections should a second edition be called for. The volume is well printed, and will doubtless serve its purpose for a large number of readers.

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CARDINAL MANNING. By ARTHUR WOLASTON HUTTON, M.A. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1892. 8vo, pp. viii., 260, \$1.

The history of the last four hundred years records the names of many men of the first rank who have left the Church of Rome for the Church of England. It contains only two really great names among those who have passed the opposite way. These are Newman and Manning. They were both conspicuous in character, attainment, and position in the Church they abandoned. They both reached the highest rank in the Church to which they went. But by far the greater of the two was Manning. Cardinal Newman was an episode in the course of the Roman Church in England—a brilliant, striking, romantic episode; but nothing that he did or said or wrote seriously affected its prospects. Indeed, it may seriously be questioned whether he did not, upon the whole, damage those prospects. His whole career left upon the mind of the English-speaking race the impression that Kingsley was right when in his famous controversy with Newman he asserted that "truth for its own sake has never been a virtue of the Roman clergy." It is true that for this assertion he was attacked by the priest of the Oratory, and in the fight which ensued was beaten clean out of the field. But Newman's victory was too easy. The bystanders saw that it was not because the victor espoused the better cause, but because he was such an incomparable master of fence that Kingsley could not stand before him. Newman followed all his life after an ecclesiastical ideal which did not exist and never has existed. He was able for a time to persuade himself and many others that the Church of England fairly represented it. Later he was able to persuade himself and a few others that the Church of Rome stood for the same ideal. But, in very deed, he alone remained deceived to the end. He will not long be remembered. He was a striking figure for awhile in the ecclesiastical history of the

English-speaking world. He grew more picturesque as he added year after year to an unusually long life. But the ideas for which his name stands are too subtle and finespun, not to say too disingenuous, to hold a place among the religious motives of our race.

Manning was a man of an utterly different type. He was seduced from the Church of his birth by different motives, and he was both far more welcome and far more at home at Rome. In the small volume before us Mr. Hutton has drawn in very clear lines the figure of the cardinal archbishop. He has done this all the better because he stands himself, apparently, outside both churches; but he possesses an intimate knowledge of them both. He will not speak of Manning's change as a "conversion," as a Romanist would do; nor as a "perversion," as an Anglican would do; but, as a civil observer from without, he calls it a "migration." This is the key to the spirit of the book. It does not fall in our way to rehearse its contents. The book itself is greatly condensed. It is enough to say that this little volume sketches in firm lines the figure of one of the greatest men, who was also one of the most potent forces in Great Britain during this century. He almost made Romanism respected in England. He succeeded in retaining the friendship and respect of those whom he forsook. He was so enthusiastically Roman and at the same time so uncompromisingly English that people almost came to believe there was no incompatibility between the two things. He gained for his Church the ear of the laborer and almost of the socialist. He was the first to see and to persuade the Curia that hereafter the occupant of St. Peter's chair must hold relations not with kings, but with peoples. He subordinated all human interests, all human sanctions, all human authorities to the Church, and thus became a *persona grata* to Pius IX., whose intimate personal friend he was for years. The key to his character and actions is contained in a pregnant sentence of his own: "*The alternative is either Rome or license of thought and will.*"

He was quite right; that is the alternative. Romanism means intellectual and moral obedience; Protestantism means intellectual and moral liberty. Newman was essentially an intellectual sceptic. He felt with regard to mental processes as Coleridge did about ghosts: "I don't believe in them; I have seen too many of them." And so by one arbitrary act of will he dethroned his own understanding, and set up in place thereof the principle of obedience in matters of faith. Manning was a sceptic concerning men's moral processes. He distrusted his own, and in consequence those of other men. And so

he became the example and apostle of obedience in conduct to an infallible *authority*. It may be fairly said that the new article of the papal creed owes its existence to Cardinal Manning. Certainly but for him it would not have been promulgated when it was; and had it not been done when it was, it may well be doubted if it would have been done at all.

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DOCTRINES AND GENIUS OF THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. By A. B. MILLER, D.D., LL.D., President of Waynesburg College, Pennsylvania. Nashville, Tenn.: Cumberland Presbyterian Publishing House, 1892. 8vo, pp. viii., 320.

This work has been furnished to the public in response to a request from the Board of Publication of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, the author being left free in the selection of his subject. The selection was determined, says the author, by a desire to produce if possible a plain and thoughtful book that would interest and profit the reader. He may well afford to congratulate himself on the successful accomplishment of his desire; for the book is plain and it is thoughtful, and the intelligent reader, for whom it is intended, will be both interested and profited by its perusal. The tone of the book well becomes its theme, being throughout calm and judicial, while its English is everywhere undefiled either by bad syntax, or bad rhetoric, or ugly controversial words.

Dr. Miller gives, in the main, a fair statement of the doctrines of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, at least in so far as the ground extends which the book traverses. The creed of a church, however, like the Bible, must be, to a certain extent, a matter of "private interpretation," and in estimating the value of any commentary on it, due allowance must be made for the author's "personal equation." This is illustrated in Dr. Miller's discussion of some of the doctrines of the Cumberland Presbyterian Confession, as also in some of his animadversions on what he regards as certain teachings of the Westminster Symbols. In the two cases respectively a good many Cumberland Presbyterians and adherents of the Westminster Symbol would agree with him, while a good many would not. But the author writes everywhere with the utmost courtesy toward those with whom he disagrees, and the book as a whole is of such strength and spirit as to produce upon most readers a wholesome impression. Dr. Miller, as do a great many others in these days, longs for doctrinal unity of statement on the part of the churches. "The great work now before the churches of this country," he

says, "and their solemn responsibility in view of it, demand, as it seems to me, that they candidly consider, and at once, whether in many instances alleged doctrinal differences are not entirely too unimportant to justify the division they occasioned and still perpetuate, and whether because of these divisions there is not great waste of spiritual energy and of material agencies, both so greatly needed in the solution of the problem of the evangelization of the rapidly increasing numbers who never enter our places of worship." Toward this longed-for unity the author ventures to think that he already sees some evidences of progress, as, for instance, the great multiplication of facilities for the study of the sacred Word, the vastly increased number of competent critics now devotedly giving their erudition and their powers of logic to the investigation of that word, the already close proximity to one another on the part of the evangelical pulpits, and the creed-revision movement, which is no longer a movement only in the air.

Nevertheless, the author is not an advocate of individualistic license. He is not one of the too numerous teachers of the public who apparently unduly depreciate the value of even a short creed. On the contrary, he thinks that it serves "a most important end," only it should be regarded as neither final nor infallible. The Church is an oak, and the creed is the urn in which it is planted; sooner or later the urn must break or the oak must die. "A creed is but a temporary halting-place in the march of mind, indicating a position in advance of any previously reached," in testimony whereof the author quotes an excellent passage from Bishop Butler's "Analogy," and another one from the Rev. John Robinson, pastor of the Plymouth Pilgrims. But the written creed has various values beyond the one here mentioned, as the author sufficiently shows elsewhere in his book.

Dr. Miller did not propose "to present in these pages a systematic commentary on our standards, but rather to give prominence to the statement and discussion of such doctrines as set forth our *system* of theology, and especially as that system is distinguished from what is popularly known as the Calvinistic system." We are inclined to regret that he did not draw more sharply and distinctly the line between Arminianism and Cumberland Presbyterianism. There is such a line, though it doubtless lies somewhere over in Arminianism, just as the other lies confessedly somewhere over in Calvinism. Dr. Miller's distinction between a creed and a doctrine is, the former is what one believes, the latter is what one teaches. In the case of an honest Church the two are the same. Cum-

berland Presbyterians so teach—that is, so interpret their creed—as to regard themselves as occupying theological ground which is neither wholly Arminian nor wholly Calvinistic, but partly both. The title of Dr. Miller's book constrains us to think that he should have written somewhat more on this aspect of his subject than he has. We think, however, that he does answer, clearly and fairly, honest inquiry in regard to the doctrinal difference between Cumberland Presbyterians and other branches of the Presbyterian family. For a brief but perhaps adequate survey of the ground on all its boundaries, the uninformed reader must resort to the late Dr. Richard Beard's book, "Why am I a Cumberland Presbyterian?"

Of the thirty-six principal topics in the Cumberland Presbyterian Confession of Faith, Dr. Miller treats the following: The Holy Scriptures, The Holy Trinity, The Decrees of God, Creation and Providence, the Fall of Man, Free Will and Divine Sovereignty, Redemption in Relation to the Heathen and those Incapable of Faith, Sin, Atonement, and Pardon. The author says that the legal aspects of the atonement—which he calls a "merciful provision"—"sprang wholly from God's sovereign grace," and that this legal aspect "is comprised in the fact that all the benign ends of God's moral government that could have been attained by the punishment of the transgressor can be attained through the sufferings and death of Christ as displaying God's disapprobation of sin and His supreme regard for holiness and for the happiness of His creatures." "Atonement," he says, "takes away no one's sins except in the sense (1) that God can justly and does forgive the sins of those who repent of sin and choose obedience, and (2) that it provides the gracious influences whereby the sinner may experience moral and spiritual regeneration if he submit himself to those influences. Pardon, justification, salvation, or the blessings which come to man through Christ by whatever word expressed, must mean in a general sense (1) deliverance from the penal consequence of sin by pardon, made morally possible through atonement, and (2) restoration to holiness and, thereby, to blessedness." As to the application of these doctrines, Dr. Miller rightly says that Cumberland Presbyterians teach that "all infants dying in infancy, and all persons who have never had the faculty of reason are regenerated and saved." "Cumberland Presbyterian doctrine makes the blessings of the Gospel available to all humanity—wide as the curse is the offered remedy." In every nation he that fears God and works righteousness is accepted of Him.

Dr. Miller writes throughout with his

mind's eye on the current theological discussions, in regard to which he is well posted; and he and the publishers have produced a book which is attractive in appearance and cannot fail to be interesting and instructive to many.

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THE SOTERIOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By WILLIAM PORCHER DUBOSE, M.A., S.T.D., Professor of Exegesis in the University of the South. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1892.

This book is very properly entitled. It is not, nor claims to be, an exhaustive system of Christian doctrine, but—the problem being the salvation of man—this salvation is carefully and fully defined, and its process and result exhibited. The work is speculative and dogmatic, yet mainly exegetical—i.e., the speculative ground of the dogma is first exhibited and defended, and thereafter supported and fortified by a very ample and subtle exegesis. It would not be possible, in our brief limits, to reproduce the argument; but it will well repay examination. While not exactly fitted for a text-book, yet the work can be read with profit by students of theology and by young clergymen whose theology is yet in the formative stage.

The author is evidently well aware of the present *status* of theologic science, and of what are its still debatable questions and of what are its crucial ones. The central point of his argument is the doctrine of the essential and complete humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ—a doctrine commonly admitted in terms, yet virtually impaired by a defective definition of that humanity. It, with its implications, is a truth very needful to emphasize in these days, not only as an antidote to a yet lingering though well-meant monophysitism, but as the true argumentative position to hold against all who deny the divinity of Jesus, supplying, as it does, the strongest argument for the latter.

Evidently the author loves the *truth* more than he values his identification with any systematic presentation of it hitherto, which is not and cannot be final. Hence he is fearlessly logical. He is not afraid to speak of our Lord as "a human person," since personality alone is what constitutes essential human nature; yet as carefully he avoids the theoretically Nestorian doctrine with which not all so-called Nestorians are chargeable. Also he admits in Jesus the metaphysical *impossibilitas peccandi*, and, likewise, the moral *possibilitas peccandi* (which last he does not explain away), yet does not claim to be able to reconcile the two. In our view there is no contradiction here, when all is rightly

thought, but we cannot now present our own method.

That the author subjects everything to speculative scrutiny is indicated by his remark that he believes the Scriptures because they are true rather than regards them as true because they are Scriptures.

He recognizes and supports the important doctrine that the redemptive work is first actualized in the person and the career of Jesus Christ, yet shows that our Lord is not merely a *sample*, but also a *cause*; and that the incarnation is ideally and actually completed only in the perfection of the entire organism of the new humanity (which, in our regard, is the true interpretation of the text, "Then shall the Son also be subject to Him who puts all things under Him," etc.).

In his exegesis the author is very thorough, and shows the result of his long self-training as a professor. This may be well seen in his chapter 8, wherein he examines the passages commonly adduced in support of the doctrine of *substitution*.

The analogy, and yet the distinction between man's natural birth (from Adam) and his supernatural birth (in Christ) are very clearly shown. By the former we receive our impersonal nature; by the latter, our true personality, with all that follows.

We have but little to suggest in the way of criticism. Some ambiguity may possibly be felt in his use of the word "spiritual," which he employs in the sense of *religious* as distinguished from *moral*, whereas, in our view, it should cover both. His use of the word "law" is sometimes confusing. At times it is identical in meaning with *idea*, again with *prescription* or *maxim*.

The only thing we have wished for in reading the book is that ampler justice might have been done to man's *physical* being as a part of the Divine idea of him. This would have required a still farther descent into speculative depths, indeed, yet we think that it would have modified, or rather completed, the author's doctrine of baptism. We think, too, that St. Peter's phrase, "Partakers of the Divine nature," may be made to cover larger ground than he makes it to mean—no other than the possession of the Divine attributes *quoad* the universe.

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RELIGION, par G. DE MOLINARI, Correspondant de l'Institut, Rédacteur en Chef du *Journal des Économistes*. Deuxième édition, augmentée d'un *aperçu de l'avenir des religions*. Paris: Guillaumin & Cie. (no date). 18mo, pp. x., 370, 3.50 fr.

M. de Molinari is an economist of repute, being editor-in-chief of the *Journal des Économistes*, and author of a long list

of economic treatises. The work before us has been received with marked favor, according to the author's testimony, which he is careful to fortify by a large body of extracts from press notices, which he reprints in the appendix. The work is evidently meant for a popular one, and it is written with a distinct aim. The title is not particularly descriptive. While a large part of the book is taken up with speculations and discussions as to the origin and nature of the religious sentiment and of religious systems, and the social and moral value of religion, the avowed aim of the author is to secure in France the absolute separation of Church and State, and, as a step in this direction, to secure the formation of a Society for the Economic Freedom of Cults. There is nothing fresh or striking about the author's views of religion. He seems to be an evolutionist pure and simple. This is evident alike from his discussions and from the range of authors from whose works he makes extracts in his appendix. He seems to be an earnest believer in the practical utility of Christianity in a pure and free form, without in any way committing himself to the supernatural origin of Christianity. He believes that the religious sentiment is the highest element of human nature, and that which differentiates man from the brute creation. He repudiates the idea that any amount of culture or advancement in civilization can supersede it. He maintains that the religious conceptions of men and the systems of religious thought and worship that they form for themselves are ever in accord with the degree of culture to which they have attained. Rude, uncultivated peoples are not able to rise above fetichism. With advance in wealth, culture, and social order, higher forms of religious sentiment and practice appear. In Christianity the best products of Hebrew and Greek thought are blended. In Christianity religion has attained to its most perfect development, though not necessarily to its final form. The essential elements of effective religion are belief in the existence of God (a personal God seems to be meant) and in the immortality of the soul—that is to say, belief in a God who rewards and punishes, and in a future life whose blessedness or misery depends upon the conduct of the present life in accord with or in opposition to the will of the Supreme Being. He maintains that religion, with such sanctions, has been a chief factor in the promotion of law and order and in the advancement of civilization, and that this fact has led inevitably to the union of Church and State. The author seems to be of opinion that each of the great religious systems of the world is adapted to the actual state of its constituents. The characterization of Christianity in comparison with other cults

is somewhat crude, but it is highly honorable to Christianity, differentiating it radically from even the highest forms of paganism.

The chief feature of the book is the application to religion of the principles of free-trade political economy. Protection and monopoly in religion are supported by the same arguments and are open to the same objections as protectionism and monopoly in commerce. The author compares France, Spain and Russia, as regards the efficiency of religion, with England, where dissent is tolerated and protected, and with the United States, where absolute religious liberty prevails, greatly to the disadvantage of the former. The arguments in favor of religious freedom and the separation of Church and State are perfectly familiar in America, and need not be enumerated here. That they should be effectively employed in France by a leading economic writer is certainly significant, and should be a source of satisfaction to all believers in voluntarism in religion.

It would seem that in France the separation of Church and State is at present advocated chiefly by atheistic socialists, whose aim is to destroy the Christian religion as an effete superstition that is oppressing the people. It is opposed, on the one hand, by liberals, who fear that separation of Church and State and the emancipation of the priesthood and of religious education from State control would render the priesthood more aggressive, enable the Church to accumulate property more readily, and in general give to the Church greater advantages than the State can afford to bestow. The Conservatives, on the other hand (including the clergy), fear that without State support and special privileges the Church could not maintain itself in vigor and efficiency, but would become one of a number of competing sects. In opposition to both parties the author insists that the effect of competition would be to prevent or to remedy all sorts of abuses, to so elevate the tone of religion and so increase its efficiency as to minister in the highest degree to the wants of the whole people.

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TWO PRESENT DAY QUESTIONS. I. Biblical Criticism. II. The Social Movement. Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, 1892. By W. SANDAY, D.D., LL.D., Dean Ireland's Professor of Exegesis. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1892. 8vo, pp. 72.

The character of these themes, and no less the distinguished scholarship of their author, demand for them a wide and thoughtful reading. The one word which

they both utter is *caution*. In the field of biblical criticism the author recognizes that progress has been making with great rapidity within the last decade mostly in the direction of acceptance of the newer views in the criticism of the Old Testament. And he urges that this rate of progress has been, to say the least, fast enough, while he implies that it has been too fast. A traditional view is in such cases of value, because it gives us something to hold to, while we are making the transition from the old to new opinions. It has the sanction of use, and it works in, as experience has shown, with our other beliefs.

This is the place to put in a very large interrogation point. The traditional view of the Bible does not fit in with our other beliefs, or at least there is room for serious doubt whether it does so fit. Biblical criticism is only a section of a great movement of religious thought, and the difficulty which this creates is, that the traditional view of Scripture is utterly out of gear with the whole mental habitude of one who is in that movement. There is involved in it the whole question of authority in religion, and that other question of the continuous presence of the Holy Spirit in the Church; and in regard to both these questions opinion, not to say widespread and serious conviction, has made the whole atmosphere and environment alien to the traditional view.

But the great objection to this advice about the rate of motion is that it is just this habit of mind which has put English scholarship at a disadvantage compared with the freer German thought. It is true, as Dr. Sanday says, that German scholars do make curious mistakes, owing to their haste for results. But the noble and enviable result is that they are pioneers in all important branches of study, leaving the rest of us the small task of criticism, where they create, and the unenviable glory of pointing out their minor errors.

No; the true word to speak to English scholars is not *caution*, but *thoroughness*. It is only in appearance that the Germans have set the pace so fast. In reality, their seemingly radical conclusions have been based upon a patient and massive scholarship of which England cannot boast. When once the foundations have been laid, the mind moves quickly. By all means let us have a school of English criticism, but don't let us say that its first task is to thresh out old straw.

In regard to the social question, the advice is of the same kind. The movement is admitted, but substantially Dr. Sanday's advice to the clergy is, "Keep out of it." It is not the province of Christianity to change or create social conditions, but to correct life within these conditions. The matter of slavery is cited as an example,

and it is shown that the writers of the New Testament give advice to both masters and slaves, but do not point out the wrong of the system. But when we take for our example the equally pertinent question of the relations of rich and poor, we find that the writers of the New Testament do take sides about that, leaving us to suppose that the reason why they did not take sides about slavery was simply that they had not come to that yet. And when we do come to that period in human progress when this question was up, then Christianity took a hand, and it was not the emancipationists who misrepresented her spirit, but the men who contended that it was outside of her province.

Dr. Sanday is right, however, in saying that we must discriminate between the province of the preacher and that of the economist and statesman in these matters. The business of the preacher is to show the moral evil of any system, and that of the economist or statesman to point out the remedies. It is in this latter part that the complexities and difficulties of the questions involved emerge. And the place of the evil in the present case is not individual action under the system, but in the system itself. Competition is at the basis of the present commercial system, and competition is contrary to Christian morals. The economic evil of it does not always appear, because competition may be on so nearly even terms that one man does not get an unfair advantage of another, although the interests of the two are in conflict. But when labor comes into competition with capital it is always at a disadvantage, and as a result goes to the wall. But the evil is with the system, not with the individual employer, who is himself so caught in the toils of a false system that fair treatment of his employes becomes an impossibility, unless he too would go to the wall. Christianity thus, in pointing out the moral evil of the system, becomes the friend not only of the laborer, but of the employer as well. And, as a general principle, wherever there is any moral evil in the social system, regulation of the moral conduct of the individual becomes an impossibility, and Christianity has to address itself therefore to the correction of the evil of the system. E. P. GORD.

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THE PRINCIPLES OF ETHICS. By BORDEN P. BOWNE, Professor of Philosophy in Boston University. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1892. 8vo, pp. xvi., 309, \$1.75.

The utterances of different writers concerning the principles of human conduct are a confused Babel. The sources of this confusion are mainly, according to Pro-

fessor Bowne, three : first, the introduction of irrelevant questions as to the psychological origin of our moral ideas ; secondly, the desire to deduce moral life from a theory instead of deducing moral theory from moral life ; thirdly, the failure to bring the abstractions of theory to the test of practice. Professor Bowne gains in every way by freeing himself at the outset from the incubus of revolutionary theories as to how our moral notions arose. This he does, in his usual vigorous fashion, in the Introduction. The ground is taken that the worth and truth of ideas must be tested by our present faculties and experience. "If we have moral insight, it is no matter how we get it ; and if we have no such insight, there is no help in any psychological theory." The rest of the book may be conveniently divided into two parts. In the first part the author critically develops his theories of fundamental moral relations ; in the second, he treats of their application in the individual, in the family, in society. In both there is a noteworthy endeavor to avoid the abstractions which have so frequently led to barren logomachies and unprofitable speculations. The result is to give to the treatise the special significance of being one of the most successful attempts yet made to unite the ethics of duty with the ethics of eudæmonism, and the method of intuition with the method of experience. The first three chapters are taken up with a trenchant criticism of the claims of the goods ethics, on the one hand, and the duty ethics, on the other, to represent a complete ethical theory. Few if any of the arguments are new ; they form, in fact, the usual stock-in-trade of the advocates of either system in attacking the other. But Professor Bowne has his own pointed way of presenting them. It is shown, as over against the abstractions of the ethics of duty, that an element of eudæmonism enters into every rational conception of a moral aim. Apart from reference to an end as a good, the categorical imperative is empty : it has little value in determining concrete acts, it exhausts itself in defining the motives of the agent. As over against the abstractions of the ethics of eudæmonism, it is shown that its claims amount either to a truism or else that it lacks the universality of a philosophical principle except when the good which it proposes as the rational end of action is a good the conception of which is determined by reference to a law. Thus "the duty ethics leads to the goods ethics, unless we are content to rest in a barren doctrine of good intentions ; and the goods ethics leads back to the duty ethics, unless we are content to abandon ethical philosophy altogether." What, then, is the ideal good which *should* be the aim of rational action ? The answer

which Professor Bowne gives is essentially that which Aristotle gave: "Conscious life in the full development of all its normal possibilities" (p. 69). But after Aristotle came the Christian consciousness and the formulation of its recognition of the absolute goodness of the subjective disposition by Kant. Professor Bowne seeks to be true also to this factor of the moral life. In the chapter on Subjective Ethics (chap. 4), we find the following emphatic propositions: "The duty and good desert of acting from good will, and the sin and ill desert of acting from an evil will, is the deepest law concerning the interaction of moral beings. . . . The law of good will . . . is unconditionally binding for all beings and for all circumstances, presupposing, of course, the general possibility of a moral existence. It is a law fit for weakness and power, for ignorance and knowledge, for earth and heaven, for the human and the divine. This law stands in its own right." Again, in another place he emphasizes the will to do right as the very centre of character: "Where it is present other lacks may be excused; and where it is absent nothing else can take its place." But this is only an aspect of the matter, after all. The will to do right is only the form of the moral good; its contents must be sought elsewhere, and the law of good-will itself is limited in its application by the ideal of human perfection. Now it is precisely at this point that our moral maxims fail us. The ideal of human perfection, whether we regard the individual or the species, is vague. The normal possibilities of humanity are not in all respects known. We have to fall back on experience and a divination of the direction in which the good for man lies. It is with the moral ideal just as it is with the cognitive ideal: each is understood only as it is realized.

The idea of development in morals is brought out in its various phases in the fifth chapter. Many of our actions are theoretically indeterminate; it is impossible to lay down rules to cover all cases. It is partly for this reason that the discussion of concrete moral relations in the last part of the book is confessedly of the nature of hints rather than an exhaustive treatment. The hints, however, are pregnant; but it is impossible to do more here than to call attention to the fact. Attention may also be called to the chapter on Ethics and Religion (chapter 7), in which it is maintained that while there is a relative independence of the two, so far as the discovery and formulation of ethical principles are concerned, the moral life itself implies and is sustained by the religious conviction that "the world is essentially rational and moral, and will finally be manifested as such."

It is to be regretted that an author so acute and discriminating as Professor Bowne usually is should assume at times a tone so self-confident and bitter in relation to views which he ridicules as to put himself quite out of the sympathy of his reader. The favorite expletives of his *odium philosophicum* seem to be "farce" and "rant." They occur several times in the course of the book, and indicate a temper not altogether judicious. It should be said, however, that the author's diatribes are directed against opinions and not against persons. But opinions can easily be manufactured; we should have been better satisfied that some of the views criticised by Professor Bowne were not inventions or caricatures if he had referred them directly to author and book.

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NOTES AND BRIEF REVIEWS, BY THE EDITOR.

The editor has received the following note:

"Among the many tributes which were paid to Tennyson after his death, both by the pulpit and by the press, the sermon which was preached by the Rev. Dr. J. H. Rylance, rector of St. Mark's Church, New York, is one of the most thoughtful and appreciative. It has been printed in a pretty little pamphlet, and published by Brentano, of this city. I am very much obliged to you for it.

"HENRY VAN DYKE."

If one wishes to learn of the method and success of missionary work in Japan, the book to be recommended is *An American Missionary in Japan*, by Rev. M. J. Gordon, M.D. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. xxiv., 276, \$1.25). It is a plain, straightforward, and intensely interesting account of the various phases of missionary life and experience, with an immense amount of information upon the work done and to be done. One can scarcely lay the book down before finishing all that Dr. Gordon has written, and even then it is with the wish that he had told more. It is a model book, and it will serve a good purpose to readers as a manual and to other similar writers as a model.

The Fleming H. Revell Co. (New York and Chicago) has recently published three books of exceptional interest upon missionary subjects. They are valuable additions to the literature of missions, and are worthy of wide circulation.

Henry Martyn, Saint and Scholar First modern missionary to the Mohammedans.

1781-1812. By *George Smith*, C.I.E., LL.D. With portrait and illustrations. (8vo, pp. xii., 580, \$3.) In spite of the fact that Sargent's life of Mr. Martyn has been reprinted frequently, and in spite of the fact that others have prepared memorials of this devoted servant of Christ, there was room for a more complete and exhaustive work, especially since the publication of additional material bearing upon the theme in hand. It is a matter of peculiar congratulation that the work has been undertaken by one qualified by residence, experience, and reputation, for the author of "The Life of William Carey" and of "The Life of Alexander Duff" needs no introduction to the public nor any commendation from us.

James Gilmour, of Mongolia: his Diaries, Letters, and Reports, Edited and Arranged by *Richard Lovett*, M.A. (8vo, pp. 336, \$1.75), is a labor of love in memory of a classmate. It is drawn from full sources of diary, correspondence, and reports to the London Missionary Society as well as from some printed articles contributed to various missionary journals. The former sources have enabled the editor to present not only the external and visible facts, but also the inner story of struggle, hope, discouragement and triumph. The author says truly of the writer of the well-known work "Among the Mongols" (1882): "He has set before this generation a noble example of absolute devotion to duty, of self-sacrifice that shrunk from no cost in the service of the Mongols and the Chinese, of steady perseverance in a hard pathway, even when the eagerly longed and prayed-for tokens of progress were not vouchsafed." The editor has done well to let Mr. Gilmour's story stand so largely in his own words, for it seems to bring us closer to the man, his spirit, and his work.

The Story of Uganda and the Victoria Nyanza Mission. By *Sarah G. Stock*. (12mo, pp. 223, \$1.25.) The story of James Hannington, the martyr bishop, and of Alexander Mackay, with their fellows and helpers, is too recent and too vivid to need more than mention to call forth interest. In the present volume we have a portrayal of what is indeed a "wondrous story" concerning the planting of the Gospel in "the marvellous country of Uganda." The tale here is all too brief to correspond to the interest and importance of the facts.

Christ and Our Country, by the Rev. *John B. Robins*, of the North Georgia Conference, is a book which is a sort of counterpart to Dr. Strong's "Our Country," and it is the purpose of the author to present "a hopeful view of Christianity in the present day." The work is already in its fourth edition. (See list of books received.) The author writes with enthu-

siasm and faith. He has thought much and pondered deeply upon his theme, and he has made a helpful book. Some of his chapters are headed as follows: Increasing Wealth not a Danger; Immigration not a Danger; The Needed Christianity of the Present; Christianity's Real Antagonisms. Mr. Robins does not blink the difficulties and discouragements, but at the same time he looks at the encouraging features, and thence draws hope and inspiration.

Two volumes of sermons have recently come to hand: *The Gospel of Gladness*, by *David James Burrell*, D.D., and *Divine Balustrades*, by *Robert S. MacArthur*, D.D. Both men are New York pastors, and they preach sermons which are eminently intelligible and practical. Their styles of composition are quite different, the one using short, quick sentences, while the other elaborates his thought in more rounded and pleasing phrase. The extent to which the pulpit has been affected by current critical discussions is evidenced by the fact that each of these volumes contain two sermons which discuss some of the results. Dr. Burrell takes extreme conservative ground, and roundly asserts some things which may be quoted in order to indicate his position. The title of a sermon is "Christ and the Bible; how They Stand or Fall Together." In it he says: "Thus the Bible is the complement and counterpart of Christ. The incarnate and the written Word are one—the binomial Word of God. . . . And whatever the Book contains, whether theological, ethical, or scientific is true, absolutely true." "It is only in the original that either the Incarnate or Written Word can be called 'inerrant.'" "We have the same reasons precisely for believing in the errorlessness of the original copy of the written Word as for accepting the sinlessness of the Incarnate Word. Both alike have suffered in 'transcription.'" We are treated to some minutiae in the same connection. "He [Christ] learned it [the Bible] *memoriter* when a lad, and received it as His 'infallible rule of faith and practice'—so received it without any twisting of language or qualification or mental reservation." In the first temptation Jesus is represented as saying: "For I remember what my dear mother taught me out of the Book—'Man shall not live by bread alone.'" Apparently the days of apocryphal additions to the word of Scripture has not passed by. Quite in contrast is the position of Dr. MacArthur. It is indicated when he says: "Our knowledge of the Bible is necessarily progressive. . . ." It "should be studied on scientific principles." It "asks no favors and fears no appropriate tests." Instead of saying that "the Bible is on trial," he turns the matter about and says that the

higher criticism "is itself on trial," a far better way of stating the position. "It is needless to oppose unverified theories; and it is wicked to cling to old prejudices when new truths are proved." "This criticism has done good just as far as it has discovered truth." With regard to "errancy," Dr. MacArthur says: "The Bible is absolutely authoritative on matters of our spiritual life and faith." "To insist on its historical and scientific inerrancy is to mistake its true design and controlling purpose."

The Call of the Cross. Four College Sermons. By Rev. George D. Herron, D.D. Introduction by President George A. Gates. (New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 111, 75 cents.) These sermons are excellent in conception and execution. They are pious without weakness, profitable and practical without rant, pointed without offence. We quote a single sentence upon which the eye has fallen upon opening the book by chance, and it is characteristic of a considerable part of the whole. "A religion that is occupied with no more than the saving of one's soul is not Christian, whatever else it may be. . . . Every moral victory of yours is a triumph for the race."

Two Northfield Sermons is the title of a little book by Dr. H. Clay Trumbull, Editor of the *Sunday-School Times*. (Philadelphia: Wattles, 1892, 12mo, pp. 53.) The subjects are "Moral Color-Blindness" and "Our Duty of Making the Past a Success," and they were delivered at the opening of the World's Students' Conference, at Northfield, Mass., in 1888 and 1892. They are bright with illustration, forcible in expression, lucid and occasionally colloquial in style: and these qualities are all used to enforce the lessons which form the burden of the discourses.

A Manual of Information Concerning the Episcopal Church. By Rev. George W. Shinn, D.D., Newton, Mass. (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1892, 12mo, pp. 182, 50 cents.) *The Episcopal Church*; its doctrine, its ministry, its discipline, its worship, and its sacraments. By George Hodges, D.D., Rector of Calvary Church, Pittsburgh. (The same, 1892, 12mo, pp. 95, 50 cents.) The difference in the titles of these books is indicative of the difference in their methods and contents. Dr. Hodges' book is in the form of sermons treating of the topics noted in the title-page, and it possesses the advantages and limitations incident to that mode of presentation. Dr. Shinn, on the contrary, has prepared a brief manual which covers all the points upon which the stranger or the uninstructed churchman may need information. It is clearly written, and it covers a great deal of ground. Besides, it is so arranged that

it can be used in the class-room. It is regretted that limits of space do not allow a longer notice of these two contributions.

Did a Hen or an Egg Exist First? Such is the title of a little book by "Jacob Horner." (See list of books received.) "My talks with a sceptic" is the sub-title. The argument is in the form of a dialogue in which the narrator has naturally the advantage. Many of the points made by scepticism, which are readily caught up by the average man, are dealt with, and it was with the intent of aiding such objectors to faith that the pages were prepared. The final outcome of it all is summed up as follows: "The scientists of the age have as yet given no valid reason for depreciating the great verities of the good old Book, and the Bible still remains an impenetrable rock."

Quakers in Pennsylvania is the title of a recent number of the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. The author is Albert C. Applegarth, Ph.D., but he has chosen a title altogether too broad for his subject unless he has presented here only four chapters from what is to constitute a larger volume. These subjects relate to customs, laws, the attitude toward the Indians and toward slavery. The eighty-four pages of text are entertaining and instructive, but they seem to embody the notes taken during a search for materials rather than the elaborated results of the search.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Adams, Myron. Creation of the Bible. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1892. Cr. 8vo, pp. v., 313, \$1.50.

Addis, W. E., M.A., of Balliol College, Oxford. The documents of the Hexateuch, translated and arranged in chronological order, with introduction and notes. Part I. The Oldest Book of Hebrew History. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. London: D. Nutt, 1893. 8vo, pp. xciv., 236, \$3.00.

Adler, Felix. The Moral Instruction of Children. [International Education Series.] New York: Appleton & Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. xlii., 270, \$1.50.

Aldrich, Aurette Roys. Children; their models and critics. New York: Harpers, 1892. 16mo, p. 158.

Applegarth, Albert C., Ph.D. Quakers in Pennsylvania. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Series X., viii.-ix.] Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1892, 8vo, pp. 64, 75 cts.

Bartlett, Edward T., Dean, and Peters, John P., Ph.D. Professor of the Old Testament Languages and Literature in the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School in Philadelphia. Scriptures, Hebrew and Christian, arranged and edited for young readers as an introduction to the study of the Bible. Vol. I. Hebrew Story from Creation to the Exile. Vol. II. Hebrew Literature. Vol. III. Christian Scriptures. New York: Putnam's Sons. 1886-1892. 8vo, 3 vols, pp. xli., 645; xli., 569; xlii., 601, set, \$5.00.

Bathe, Anthony, Rev. Editor. An Advent with

Jesus. London and New York : Longmans, Green & Co., 1892. 32mo, pp. vi., 152, 40 cts.

Bernard, Thomas Dehany, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of Wells. The Central Teaching of Jesus Christ. A study and exposition of the five chapters of the Gospel according to St. John, xiii. to xvii. inclusive. New York : Macmillan & Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. x., 416, \$1.50.

Boynton, George M., Secretary of the Congregational Sunday-school and Publishing Society. The Model Sunday-school. A handbook of principles and practices. Boston and Chicago : Congregational S. S. and Pub. Soc., 1892. 16mo, pp. 173, 75 cts.

Brand, James, D.D., Pastor First Congregational Church, Oberlin, Ohio. The Beasts of Ephesus. With an Introduction by Rev. Francis E. Clark, D.D., President United Society of Christian Endeavor. Chicago : Advance Publishing Co., 1892. Cr. 8vo, pp. 206, \$1.00.

Brann, Henry A., D.D., Rector of St. Agnes' Church. Most Reverend John Hughes, First Archbishop of New York. New York : Dodd, Mead & Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. 182, \$1. [Makers of America series.]

Bruce, Alexander Balmain, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis, Free Church College, Glasgow. Apologetic ; or, Christianity defensively stated. [International Theological Library.] New York : Scribner's Sons, 1892. 8vo, pp. xvi., 522, \$2.50 net.

Burrell, David James, D.D. The Gospel of Gladness. [Sermons.] New York : Amer. Tract. Soc., 1892. 12mo, pp. 318, \$1.25.

Case, Mary Emily. The Love of the World. A book of religious meditation. New York : Century Co., 1892. 12mo.

Cone, Jessica, Editor. Scenes from the Life of Christ, pictured in Holy Word and Sacred Art. New York : Putnam, 8vo, 65 photogravures, white and gold, \$2.50.

Cook, Albert S., Professor of the English Language and Literature in Yale College. The Bible and English Prose Style. Selections and comments. Edited with an Introduction. Boston : Heath & Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. lxx., 61, 55 cts.

Deems, Charles Force. My Septuagint. By —, Pastor of the Church of the Strangers, and President of the American Institute of Christian Philosophy. New York : Cassell Publishing Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. 308, \$1.00.

French, Ferdinand Courtney. The Concept of Law in Ethics. Thesis accepted by the Faculty of Cornell University for the Ph D. degree in philosophy. Providence, R. I. : Preston & Rounds, 1892. 8vo, pp. 51.

Fulton, Justin D., D.D. Charles H. Spurgeon, our Ally. Chicago : H. J. Smith & Co., 1892. Pp. 124, \$1.00.

Gore, Charles, M.A., Principal of Pusey House ; Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. The Mission of the Church. Four lectures delivered in June, 1892, in the Cathedral Church of St. Asaph. New York : Scribner's Sons, 1892. 12mo, pp. xii., 123, \$1.00.

Harrison, Alexander J., B.D., Rev. The Church in Relation to Sceptics. A conversational guide to evidential work. London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1892. 16mo, pp. xvi., 348, \$2.00.

Herron, George D., D.D. A Plea for the Gospel. New York : Crowell & Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. vii., 108, 75 cts.

Horne, Jacob. Did a Hen or an Egg Exist First ? or, My Talks with a Sceptic. Edited by James Crompton. New York and Chicago : F. H. Revell Co., no date. 12mo, pp. 96, 75 cts.

Jacoby, J. C., Rev., A.M. Around the Home Table. By —, pastor of the First Evangelical Lutheran Church of Nebraska City, Neb. Philadelphia : Lath. Pub. Soc. 12mo, pp. 307, \$1.00.

Johnson, B. W. The Christian International Lesson Commentary for 1893. St. Louis : Christian Pub. Co. 8vo, pp. 278, \$1.00.

Kellogg, S. H., D.D. The Genesis and Growth of Religion. The L. P. Stone Lectures for 1892, at Princeton Theological Seminary. New York : Macmillan & Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. xlii., 275, \$1.50.

Laidlaw, John, D.D., Professor of Theology, New College, Edinburgh. The Miracles of Our Lord. Expository and homiletic. New York : Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1892. Pp. 384, \$1.75.

MacArthur, Robert S., D.D. Divine Balustrades, and Other Sermons. New York and Chicago : F. H. Revell Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. 262, \$1.25.

Miller, J. R., D.D. The Every Day of Life. New York : Crowell & Co., 1892. 16mo, pp. 288, \$1.00.

Moeller, Wilhelm, the late Dr. —, professor ordinarius of Church History in the University of Kiel. History of the Christian Church, A. D. 1-600. Translated from the German by Andrew Rutherford, B.D. New York : Macmillan & Co., 1892. 8vo, pp. xii, 545, \$3.75.

Moulton, Richard G., A.M., Ph.D. The Literary Study of the Bible. Syllabus. By —, Professor of English Literature in the University of Chicago, etc. Boston : Heath & Co. Chicago : University Press, 1893. 12mo, p. 73.

Musick, John R. Saint Augustine. A story of the Huguenots in America. Illustrated. New York : Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. vii., 319, \$1.50.

Ries, Jacob A. The Children of the Poor. New York : Scribner, 1892. 8vo, pp. xi., 300, \$1.50.

Robins, John B., Rev., A.M., of the North Georgia Conference. Christ and our Country : or, A Hopeful View of Christianity in the Present Day. Fourth edition. Nashville, Tenn. : Publishing House of the M. E. Church, South, 1892. 12mo, pp. 141, cloth, 75 cts ; paper, 25 cts.

Rylance, J. H., D.D., Rector of St. Mark's Church, New York. A Tribute to Tennyson. New York : Brentano. 16mo, pp. 46, 25 cts.

Ryle, Herbert Edward, B.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. The Early Narratives of Genesis. A brief introduction to the study of Genesis i.-xi. London and New York : Macmillan & Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. x., 138.

Schaff, Philip, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Church History in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. History of the Christian Church. Vol. VII. Modern Christianity—The Swiss Reformation. New York : Scribner's Sons, 1892. 8vo, pp. xvii., 890, \$4.00.

Smith, George, C. I. E., LL.D. Henry Martyn, Saint and Scholar. First modern missionary to the Mohammedans, 1781-1812. With portrait and illustrations. New York and Chicago : F. H. Revell Co., no date. 8vo, pp. xii., 880, \$3.00.

Smith, Henry Preserved. Response to the Charges Presented to the Presbytery of Cincinnati by the Committee of Prosecution. Cincinnati : Robert Clarke & Co., 1892. 8vo, pp. 70, 50 cts.

Smyth, Newman. Christian Ethics. [International Theological Library.] New York : Scribner's Sons, 1892. 8vo, pp. x., 498, \$2.50.

Storrs, Richard S. Bernard of Clairvaux : The Times, the Man, and his Work. An historical study in eight lectures. New York : Scribner's Sons, 1892. 8vo, pp. xvi., 698, \$2.50.

Trumbull, H. Clay. Two Northfield Sermons: Moral Color-blindness : our duty of making the past a success. Philadelphia : J. D. Wattles, 1892. 12mo, pp. 53.

Tucker, William Jewett. Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. The New Movement in Humanity from Liberty to Unity. An oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Fraternity of Harvard University, June 30, 1892. Boston and New York : Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. 24, 25 cts.

Van Horne, D., Rev., D.D. Professor of Systematic Theology in Heidelberg Theological Seminary. Religion and Revelation. Dayton, O. : Reformed Pub. Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. vii., 102.

West, Andrew Fleming. Professor in Princeton College. *Alcun and the Rise of the Christian Schools.* New York: Scribner, 1893. 12mo, pp. 205, \$1.00. [The Great Educators. Edited by Nicholas Murray Butler.]

Weymouth, Richard Francis, D. Lit., Fellow of University College, London. *The Resultant Greek Testament*; exhibiting the text in which the majority of modern editors are agreed, and containing the readings of Stephens (1650), Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf, Lightfoot, Ellicott, Alford, Weiss, the Bala Edition (1880), Westcott and Hort, and the Revision Committee. With an introduction by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Worcester. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. xix., 644, \$3.00.

White, Lorenzo, Rev. *The Democracy of Christianity; or, Equality in the Dealings of God with Men.* New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1892. 12mo, pp. 307, \$1.25.

THE JANUARY MAGAZINES.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE for January contains: Frontispiece; Illustration for "The Unexpected Guests," drawn by W. T. Smedley; "The Old Way to Dixie," by Julian Ralph; "Proletarian Paris," by Theodore Child; "Horace Chase" (a novel), by Constance Fenimore Woolson, Part I.; "The Unexpected Guests" (a farce), by William Dean Howells; "The Romance in the Life of Hefty Burke," by Richard Harding Davis; "Pensions: the Law and its Administration," by Edward F. Waite; "The Refugees" (a tale of two continents), by A. Conan Doyle, Part I.; "The Story of the Other Wise Man," by Henry Van Dyke; "The Rejected Manuscript" (a story), by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward; "Why We Left Russia," by Poultney Bigelow; "Feline Amenities," by George du Maurier; "Tennyson," by Annie Fields; "Editor's Study," by Charles Dudley Warner; "Editor's Drawer," with introductory story, "The Prosecution of Mrs. Dullet," by Thomas Nelson Page.

The contents of **THE CENTURY** for January are: "Portrait of John Greenleaf Whittier," "La Grande Demoiselle," by Grace King; "The Great Wall of China," by Romyne Hitchcock; "A Winter Ride to the Great Wall of China," by N. B. Denny; "The \$1,000,000 Bank-Note," by Mark Twain; "The Lights o' London," by Frances Imogen Guiney; "The Reward of the Unrighteous," by George Grantham Bain; "Crusty Christopher" (John Wilson), by Henry A. Beers; "Whittier," by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps; "The Kindergarten Movement," by Talcott Williams; "The Child-Garden," by Richard Watson Gilder; "The Story of Millet's Early Life," by Pierre Millet; "An Illustrator of Dickens," by Arthur Alchin; "A Bridal Measure," by Thomas Bailey Aldrich; "The Cosmopolita City Club" (I. Why and How the Club was Organized), by Washington Gladden; "Benefits Forgotten," II. by Wolcott Balestier; "To Gileypand," by Elizabeth Robins Pennell; "Letters of Two Brothers" (Passages from the Correspondence of General and Senator Sherman), by W. T. Sherman and John Sherman; "Personal Studies of Indian Life" ("Politics and Pipe-Dancing"), by Alice C. Fletcher; "Sweet Bella Out of Tune," III., by Mrs. Burton Harrison; "Lethe," by Louise Chandler Moulton; "New Day," by Charles Washington Coleman; "The Mother," from a painting by Alice D. Kellogg; "Notable Women," I. (Dorothea Dix), by Mary S. Robinson.

The contents of **SCRIBNER'S** for January are as follows: "The Muse Urania," frontispiece, by T. A. Butler; "The Peary Relief Expedition," by Angelo Hellgrin; "Sonnets after the Italian," by John Hall Ingham; "Personal Recollections of Mr. Lincoln," by the Marquis de Chambun; "The Poor in Naples," by Jessie White V. Mario; "An Old Love-Letter," by Margaret Crosby; "The One I Knew the Best of All" (a memory of the mind of a child), by Frances Hodgson Burnett, Chapters I.-IV.; "Impressions of a Decorator in Rome" (First Paper),

by Frederic Crowninshield; "Experience," by Edith Wharton; "The Wanderings of Cochiti," by Charles F. Lummis; "Los Caraqueños," by F. J. Stimson; "Historic Moments: The Fall of Sebastopol," by William Howard Russell, LL.D.; "The Point of View" (The Historical Novel, Jokes by Acclamation, The Sonnet of Arvers).

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for January contains: "Old Kaskaskia," in four parts—Part First—Mary Hartwell Catherwood; "George William Curtis and Civil Service Reform," Sherman S. Rogers; "The Feudal Chiefs of Acadia," I., Francis Parkman; "To a Wild Rose Found in October," Ednah Proctor Clarke; "Diary of a Nervous Invalid," Edwin Lasseter Bynner; "The Russian Kumys Cure," Isabel F. Hapgood; "A Heart-Leaf from Stony Creek Bottom," M. E. M. Davis; "Cola di Rienzo," Harriet Waters Preston and Louise Dodge; "Penelope's English Experiences," in two parts—Part First—Kate Douglas Wiggin; "In a Wintry Wilderness," Frank Bolles; "Edward Augustus Freeman," John Fiske; "Shakespeare in 'Love's Labour's Lost,'" Sir Edward Strachey; "Reminiscences of a German Nonagenarian," E. P. Evans.

The contents of **LIPPINCOTT'S** for January are as follows: "A Pacific Encounter," Mary E. Stickney; "A Spanish Painter," Collin Campbell Cooper; "Humility," Ina Lillian Peterson; "An Old-Time Philadelphian" (portrait), Elisabeth Ballister Bates; "Gypsies and the Poet," W. L. Shoemaker; "In War-Time," M. E. W. Sherwood; "Across Dog Gap," S. L. Bacon; "An Actress and her Art" (portrait), Alfred Stoddard; "Bringing Home the Cows," Charles G. D. Roberts; "Folds and Fencing," Eugene Van Schalk; "Sweetheart, to You!" William H. Hayne; "If I Might Choose," Carrie Blake Morgan; "A Dictionary Session at the Academy," translated from Emile Bergerat by H. F. Machaning; "Men of the Day," M. Crofton; "Gossip of the Century," W. S. Walsh; "Recent American Fiction," Anne H. Wharton; "With the Wits."

The contents of **THE COSMOPOLITAN** for January are: Frontispiece from a painting by Sir Frederick Leighton; "The Making of an Illustrated Magazine," "Four Famous Artists," Gerald Campbell; "Japan Revisited," Sir Edwin Arnold; "Beauties of the American Stage," Joseph P. Read, William S. Walsh; "The Confessions of an Autograph-Hunter," Charles Robinson; "The English Laureates," R. H. Stoddard; "The Muses of Manhattan," Brander Matthews; "Grant Under Fire," Theodore R. Davis; "A Traveller from Altruria," W. D. Howells; "The Wheel of Time," Henry James; "To Those Coming," Edith M. Thomas; "Co-operative Industry," E. E. Hale; "The Lost Island," Louise V. Sheldon, E. J. Austen.

BOSTON, MASS., October 1 1892.

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Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index of Periodicals.

- A. M. E. R.** African M. E. Church Review. (Quarterly.)
A. R. Andover Review.
Bibl. Sacra. Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quarterly.)
B. Q. R. Baptist Quarterly Review.
Ch. Q. R. Church Quarterly Review.
C. M. Q. Canadian Methodist Quarterly.
C. P. R. Cumberland Presbyterian Review. (Quarterly.)
C. R. Charities Review.
C. T. Christian Thought.
Ex. Expositor.
Ex. T. Expository Times.
G. W. Good Words.
H. R. Homiletic Review.
L. Q. Lutheran Quarterly.
M. E. Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)
M. H. Missionary Herald.
Miss. R. Missionary Review.
N. H. M. Newbury House Magazine.
N. W. The New World.
O. D. Our Day.
O. N. T. S. Old and New Testament Student.
P. M. Preachers' Magazine.
P. Q. Presbyterian Quarterly.
P. R. R. Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
R. Ch. Review of the Churches.
R. Q. R. Reformed Quarterly Review.
S. A. H. Sunday at Home.
S. M. Sunday Magazine.
T. Th. The Thinker.
T. Tr. The Treasury.
Y. R. The Yale Review.
Y. M. The Young Man.
- Aggressive Christianity in India, G. F. Pentecost, OD.
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THE MISSIONARY REVIEW.

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Compiled by THE REV. GEORGE W. GILMORE, M.A.

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The Church of the Elizabeth River ; a Memorial of the two hundred and tenth anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church of Norfolk, Va., 1682-1892. By order of the Session. Richmond, Va. : Whitte, 1892. Pp. 80, 12mo, 25 cts.

Theologia dogmatica et moralis ad mentem S. Thomæ Aquinatis et S. Alphonsi de Ligorio necnon juxta recentiora Sedit apostolicæ documenta, accurate explanata auctoribus professoribus theologiæ seminarii Claromontensis et Societate Sancti Sulpitii. Editio sexta. Tomus secundus : Tractatus de SS. Trinitate, de Deo creatore, de Deo redemptore, de B. Virgine Maria, de gratia. Paris : Roger, 1892. Pp. 724, 18mo.

Thorold, Bishop of Winchester. A pastoral to the Diocese of Winchester. Winchester : Warren, 1892. Pp. 86, 8vo, 1s.

Timely Topics. Political, biblical, ethical, practical. Discussed by college presidents, professors, and eminent writers of our time. A series of specially contributed and copyrighted papers. 7x4x5 1/4, pp. 361. New York : Treat, 1892. Pp. 361, 12mo, \$1.50.

Torelli, A. Sul cantico dei cantici : congetture Napoli. Napoli : Giannini, 1892. Pp. xiv., 416, 8vo, 10 L.

Townsend, W. J. Madagascar, its Missionaries and Martyrs. London : Partridge, 1892. Pp. 163, p. 8vo, 1s. 6d.

Trucker, William Jewett. The New Movement in Humanity, from Liberty to Unity. Boston : Houghton, 1892. Pp. 24, 12mo, paper, 25 cts.

Uhlhorn, G. Die kirchliche Armenpflege in ihrer Bedeutung für die Gegenwart. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck, 1892. Pp. 57, 8vo, 1 mk.

Unversagt, T. Zeitgemässe Gedanken über Socialdemokratie, Christentum und Schule Leipzig : Drrr, 1892. Pp. 145, 8vo, 2 mk.

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Ward, Julius H. The Life and Times of Bishop White. New York : Dodd, 1892. Pp. 190, 12mo, cloth, \$1.00.

Weidner, Revere Franklin. Studies in the Book : Old Testament, 1st series, Genesis ; prepared for the use of the students of the Bible Institute, Chicago. New York : Revell, 1892. Pp. 140, 12mo, cloth, \$1.00.

Weiss, B. *Volksitten und religiöse Gebräuche. Eine kulturgeschichtliche Studie.* Bremen: Kühnemann, 1892. Pp. 54, 8vo, 1 mk.

Wells, J. (ed.). *Oxford and Oxford Life.* London: Methuen, 1892. Pp. 186, p. 8vo, 3s. 6d. [Papers by the editor and others.]

West, A. F. *Alcun and the Christian Schools.* London: Heinemann, 1892. Pp. 210, p. 8vo, 5s. [Great Educators series.]

Westcott, Brooke Foss, Bp. of Durham. *The Epistle to the Hebrews: the Greek text, with notes and essays.* 2d ed. London and New York: Macmillan, 1892. Pp. lxxxiv., 504, 8vo, 14s., \$4.00.

Wilberforce, Bishop. *Heroes of Hebrew History.* New ed. London: Allen, 1892. Pp. 336, p. 8vo, 5s.

Winckelmann, O. *Der Schmalkaldische Bund 1530-1532 und der Nürnberg Religionsfriede.* Strassburg i. E.: Heitz, 1892. Pp. xiv, 313, 8vo, 4 mk.

Witte, Jehan, le Baron, de. *Rome et l'Italie sous Léon XIII.; par le baron Jehan de Witte.* Paris: Chapeliez, 1892. Pp. vi, 524, 16mo, 4 fr.

Wüster, Frdr., Prof., Dr. *Die Geistesentwicklung des heiligen Aurelius Augustinus bis zu seiner Tode.* Paderborn: Schöningh, 1892. Pp. iv, 210, 8vo, 4 mk.

Wurm, Hermann Joseph, Dr. *Cardinal Albornoz, der 2. Begründer des Kirchenstaates. Ein Lebensbild.* Paderborn: Junfermann, 1892. Pp. xvi, 260, 8vo, 2.80 mk.

Wynn, W. *Theosophy: a criticism.* A lecture delivered at the Congregational School-Room, Altrincham, Bradford, Nov. 15th, 1892. A reply to Mrs. Annie Besant. Bradford: Brear, 1892. Pp. 30, p. 8vo, 2d.

Wysa, L. von. *Der neuere Katholizismus in seiner dogmatischen und praktischen Entfaltung und unsere Stellung zu demselben, nebst einer Reformationspredigt.* Zürich: Schultheiss, 1892. Pp. 3, 8vo, 1.20 mk.

Young Men's Christian Associations: a handbook of the history, organization, and methods of work: edited by H. S. Ninde, J. T. Bowae, and Burke Uhl. New York: Y. M. C. A., 1892. Pp. i, 448, 64, 12mo, cloth, \$2.00.

CHRONICLE.

(Glosses on the 20th of each month.)

See. 15. Thirty-third anniversary of the American Missionary Society in Philadelphia.

See. 21-24. "Continental Congress" of the Salvation Army in New York City.

Nov. 25. Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, decides to withhold its usual contribution to the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions.

See. 27. Meeting of the College of Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at Omaha.

Nov. 29-30. State Sunday-School Convention at Worcester, Mass.

See. 30. Annual meeting of the Episcopal Archdiocese of New York.

Dec. 3-8. National Prison Congress at Baltimore.

See. 13. Conclusion of the trial of Dr. Henry Preserved Smith at Cincinnati, for heresy. He was found guilty and sentenced to suspension. He will appeal.

Dec. 16. Consecration of the Rev. Lemuel H. Wells, Bishop of the (Protestant Episcopal) diocese of Spokane, Wash., at New Haven, Conn.

Dec. 18. Sixty-sixth annual meeting of the New York City Mission and Tract Society in the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City.

"Peace Sunday," observed at the request of the Universal Peace Congress, held in London, 1890.

Dec. 19-20. Meeting of the Federal Council of the Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip at the Marble Collegiate Church, New York City.

The Rev. J. Z. Tyler, of Cleveland, O., has been elected National Superintendent of the Christian Endeavor societies of the Christian (Baptist) Endeavor societies.

The Rev. E. P. Cowan, D.D., of Pittsburg, has been elected Corresponding Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Missions for Freedmen.

Professor Williston Walker has been inaugurated Waldo Professor of Germanic and Western Church History in Hartford Theological Seminary; Professor E. K. Johnson has entered upon his duties as Professor of Theology at Red Wing Seminary, Minnesota; the Rev. William P. Ten Broeck, of La Crosse, Wis., has accepted the chair of Ecclesiastical History in Seabury Divinity School, Fairbault, Minn.; and the Rev. George Adam Smith has taken the chair of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow.

The Rev. Marshall Lang, D.D., has been nominated as Moderator of the next General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and the Rev. Walter Morrison, D.D., as Moderator of the next English Presbyterian Synod.

The Rev. Thomas A. Tidball, D.D., of Camden, N. J., declines the bishopric of Yeddo, Japan; the Rev. Wilfrid Bird Hornby accepts his election to the bishopric of Nyasaland, Africa; and the Rt. Rev. Nathaniel Dawes will accept his election to the newly created See of Rockhampton, Australia.

The Pope has appointed Cardinal Serafino Vanutelli to the important and delicate post of Bologna. He has also elevated to the Cardinalate Dr. Kopp, Prince-Bishop of Breslau; and Dr. Krementz, Archbishop of Cologne. The most noteworthy action of the Pope this year is, doubtless, the appointment of Dr. Theodore Kohn to be Prince-Archbishop of Omutz, Austria. This post carries with it the Cardinal's hat. The noteworthy circumstance is the elevation of a convert from Judaism to so elevated a position in the church.

The Rev. D. M. Harris, D.D., is now the proprietor and editor of the *St. Louis Observer*, the organ of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

Professor Davison, of the English Wesleyan Methodist Handsworth College, has been charged with heresy and acquitted, the charges being founded mainly on his acceptance of the theory of the composite character of the Hexateuch, and the non-Davidian authorship of certain psalms.

The President of France, in recognition of the value of the services to that country rendered by the McAll Mission, has conferred upon Mr. McAll the cross of the Legion of Honor.

The Rev. Joseph J. Cheeseman, a Baptist minister, and formerly superintendent of the Southern Baptist Missions of Liberia, has been elected President of Liberia.

A new attempt is to be made to bring the Anglican Church and the Orthodox Church of the East (Greek Church) into closer relations, by the appointment of two clergymen at Jerusalem, to "exhibit tokens of that fraternal desire for union ... of which many members in both churches have so often spoken." The movement is under the direction of "The General Committee for the Defence of Church Principles in Palestine."

OBITUARY.

Austin, Right Rev. William Piercy (Church of England), D.D., Bishop of Guiana and Primate of

the West Indies, at Georgetown, Demerara, Nov. 9, aged 85. He was graduated from Exeter College, Oxford, 1829; ordained a deacon in Barbadoes, 1831; admitted to the priesthood, 1833; returned to Demerara, 1835; appointed Rural Dean of Esequibo, 1836; made Archdeacon of British Guiana, 1837; consecrated in Westminster Abbey first Bishop of Guiana, 1842, at the age of thirty-five; became Primate of the West Indies, 1838; appointed Prelate of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, 1891. He was known as the "Nestor of the Church," having celebrated his Episcopal Jubilee early in 1892.

Bullock, Rev. Joseph James (Southern Presbyterian), D.D., in Lexington, Ky., November 9, aged 79. He was graduated from Centre College, Ky., 1832, and from Princeton Theological Seminary, 1836; he was ordained and became pastor at Frankfort, Ky., 1837; became Superintendent of Public Instruction of Kentucky, 1839; agent for Domestic Missions, 1847; pastor at Walnut Hill, also principal of the Female Academy in that place, 1848-53; pastor of Second Church, Louisville, 1853; returned to Walnut Hill, 1855; pastor of Franklin Street Church, Baltimore, 1861; of Second Church, Alexandria, Va., 1870; of First Church, Alexandria, 1874; and Chaplain United States Senate, 1879-1884. He was elected Moderator of the Southern General Assembly which met in Baltimore in 1893.

Campbell, Rev. Samuel Minor (Presbyterian), D.D., at Minneapolis, November 17, aged 70. He was graduated from Auburn Theological Seminary, 1849; was ordained and installed pastor at Paris Hill, N. Y., 1850; became pastor at Danville, 1857; of the Westminster Church, Utica, 1858; of the Central Church, Rochester, 1862; took charge of the First Presbyterian Church, Minneapolis, 1881. He was a delegate to the Pan-Presbyterian Council at Edinburgh in 1878. Besides volumes of sermons, he has published "Across the Desert: A Life of Moses," and "The Story of Creation."

Hort, Rev. Fenton John Anthony (Church of England), D.D. (Cambridge, 1875), in Cambridge, November 30, aged 64. He was graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge, B.A., 1850, and M.A., 1853; was ordained deacon, 1854, and priest, 1856; fellow of Trinity College, 1852-57, and of Emmanuel College since 1872; was vicar of St. Ippolyts, 1857-72; Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Ely, 1871-73; Hulsean Lecturer in 1871; Divinity lecturer of Emmanuel College, 1872-78; Hulsean professor of Divinity in Emmanuel College, 1878-87, since that date Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. His fame will rest on his joint editorship with Canon Westcott of "The New Testament in the Original Greek. A Revised Text, with Introduction and Appendix"—the now famous "Westcott and Hort Text." Besides this monumental work he has written two learned treatises on "μοναρχία θεός," and "The Constantinopolitan and other Eastern Creeds of the Fourth Century," and numerous magazine and encyclopædia articles; he was also a member of the New Testament Revision Company.

Lavigerie, Charles Martial Allemand (Roman Catholic), Cardinal Archbishop of Carthage and Algiers, at Algiers, November 26, aged 67. He was educated at the Petit Séminaire de St. Nicolas, under the celebrated Abbé Dapanloup; was ordained to the priesthood, 1847; he became Professor of Latin at the École des Carmes, soon being advanced to the chair of Ecclesiastical History at the Sorbonne; he was appointed Bishop of Nancy, 1863; was transferred to the See of Algiers, 1867, being thus elevated to the Archbishopric, and was raised to the Cardinalate in 1892. The title of Primate of Africa was bestowed on him by the Pope in recognition of his charitable work for the Arabs and for his anti-slavery activity. He was also one of the men who did most in reconciling the Vatican and the French Government after the abolition of the monarchy.

Lundy, Rev. John P. (Protestant Episcopal), D.D., in Philadelphia, December 12, aged 89. He was graduated from the college of New Jersey, 1846 and from Princeton Theological Seminary, 1849

became pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Sing Sing, N. Y., the same year; entered the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1851; was ordained a deacon in that church, 1854; served several years as chaplain of Sing Sing prison; became rector of the Church of the Holy Apostles, New York City, 1859; resigned because of ill-health, 1865. His literary reputation rests on his "Monumental Christianity; or, The Art of Symbolism of the Primitive Christian Church."

Maurenbrecher, Karl Peter Wilhelm, D.D., Professor of History at Leipzig. In Leipzig, November 6, aged 54. He became Privatdocent at Bonn, 1861; was called as Professor of History to Dorpat, 1867; went from there to Königsberg, 1869; returned to Bonn, 1877, and thence was called to Leipzig, 1884, retaining this last professorship till his death. The most notable of his publications (in German) are "Charles V. and the German Protestants in 1545-55," "England in the Early Period of the Reformation," "Studies and Sketches of the History of the Times of the Reformation," and "History of the Catholic Reformation."

Scott, Rev. John W. (Presbyterian), D.D. (Augusta College, 1837), in Washington at the White House, November 29, aged 92. He was graduated from Washington College, 1823; spent a year in study at Yale College; was appointed Professor of Natural Sciences at his Alma Mater, 1824; was called to Miami University, 1828, remaining there till 1845 as professor; meanwhile he had been ordained a minister of the Gospel in 1832, and gave instruction from 1833 in ecclesiastical history in connection with Miami University; assisted in the founding of Farmers' (now Belmont) College, 1845; became head of a female seminary at Oxford; accepted professorship of Natural Sciences at Hanover College, 1860, supplying also the pulpit of Hanover Church; he was afterward engaged as supply in various churches in Ohio and Pennsylvania, and gave aid to various feeble educational institutions. From 1880 to 1889 he was an employee of the United States in the Pension Bureau, resigning that position when his son-in-law was inaugurated President of the United States.

Wordsworth, Right Rev. Charles (Episcopal Church of Scotland), D.C.L. (Oxford, 1853), D.D., (Edinburgh and St. Andrews), Bishop of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, at Edinburgh, Nov. 5, aged 86. He was graduated from Christ Church, Oxford, B.A., 1830, and M.A., 1834; was ordained deacon, 1834, and priest, 1840; was tutor for several years, during that time giving instruction to Mr. Gladstone and Cardinal Manning; was master of Winchester College, 1835-43; warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond, 1847-54; consecrated bishop, 1858. He was a member of the New Testament Company of Revisers, and has published a number of works of which may be mentioned "Christian Boyhood at a Public School," "On Shakespeare's Knowledge and Use of the Bible," "Outlines of the Christian Ministry," "Discourse on Scottish Church History," and "Public Appeals in Behalf of Christian Liberty."

CALENDAR.

Dec. 28-Jan. 4 Decennial Missionary Conference of India at Bombay.

Jan. 1-8. Week of Prayer. The Council of the Evangelical Alliance has suggested the following programme for the services: Jan. 1, sermons on "The Exalted Saviour's Gifts for Men;" Jan. 2, "Humiliation and Thanksgiving;" Jan. 3, "The Church Universal;" Jan. 4, "Nations and their Rulers;" Jan. 5, "Foreign Missions;" Jan. 6, "Home Missions and the Jews;" Jan. 7, "Families and Schools;" Sunday, Jan. 8, sermons on "The Promised Outpouring," and "The Plain Command."

Feb. 15-18. Sixth Annual Deaconess Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Cincinnati.

Feb. 16-17. Meeting of the Inter-Seminary District Missionary Alliance Convention at New Brunswick, N. J.

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THE SURVEY OF THOUGHT.

WELLHAUSEN ON THE MINOR PROPHETS.—The fifth volume of Wellhausen's *Sketches and Preliminaries*, containing the minor prophets, translated into German with notes, will be prized by students as a contribution of no small value to the textual and exegetical criticism of these interesting and important, but until recently underrated, monuments of ancient Hebrew literature. The first feature which arrests the reader's attention is the arrangement of these twelve prophetic tracts, which is evidently intended to be chronological. The volume opens with "the simple" Amos, "the choragus of the prophets of the Assyrian period." Next come "the original Hosea," "the rhetorical Micah," Zephaniah, Nahum, and Habakkuk. The group of post-Exilic prophecies is headed by the Book of Haggai, which is followed by Zechariah, Malachi, Obadiah, Joel, written when the Exile was in the distant past, and Jonah composed long after the time of the prophet whose name it bears, but before the commencement of the second century B.C. It must not, of course, be inferred from this arrangement that the whole of a book necessarily belongs to one period. Portions are repeatedly excised as interpolations, or are regarded as additions from another hand. The last eight verses of Amos, for example (ix. 8-14), are rejected on account of the utter unlikeness of their tone to that of the preceding verses. "Perhaps they were appended by a Jew of a later age, who removed the original close of the book because it sounded too harsh." The last chapter of Hosea also is supposed to contain very little from the pen of that prophet. The last six chapters of the Book of Zechariah are with most critics assigned to a later age than the preceding chapters. Dr. C. H. H. Wright, in the introduction to his well-known Commentary, included Wellhausen among the scholars disposed to assign the chapters in question to a date previous to the Captivity, but a brief footnote pronounces this an error. "I have never doubted," writes the German critic, "that these chapters were more recent than chapters i.-viii." These six chapters (ix.-xiv.) are assigned to more than one author, chap. xii., for instance, exhibiting a different style from chap. ix. The volume abounds—as could only be expected from the author's reputation—in interesting discussions and useful suggestions, a few of which we briefly summarize in the hope that these specimens may induce many to study the work for themselves. (1) The much-debated question which is forced on the attention of every careful reader of the first three chapters of Hosea—history or allegory—is examined in a long and striking note. The decision arrived at is in favour of the historical view, Wellhausen still believing with Ewald that Gomer bath Diblaim

was the prophet's actual wife. Like his predecessor, he attaches weight to the absence of symbolic meaning from the woman's name, but considers that of itself insufficient to remove the difficulty. The key to the solution of the problem is found in the supposition that Hosea recognized the Divine purpose in his domestic experience only after marriage. Gomer's character was quite unknown to him at first. After a time, however, he discovered it and began to realize that he had been acting under a Divine impulse. In his subsequent conduct he may have been consciously obeying a Divine command, but even that had a human emotion underlying it. Hosea could not leave off loving Gomer, and "the incomprehensible became comprehensible by the fact that Jehovah also could not leave off loving Israel in spite of all." This interpretation (which is similar to that of Canon Cheyne) is by no means free from difficulty, but it is unquestionably ingenious, and is very clearly and reverently presented. (2) The well-known prophecy of the Messianic age which is found (with some slight variations) both in the second chapter of Isaiah and the fourth of Micah is pronounced an interpolation in the latter book. The usual view, that both Micah and Isaiah took it from an earlier prophecy by some unknown prophet, is rejected on the ground that the unique position ascribed to Zion indicates a date subsequent to the fall of the kingdom of Israel. (3) The usual explanation of Nahum's reference to the fall of No-amon (iii. 8 ff.) as an allusion to the capture of the Egyptian Thebes by Assurbanipal, about 660 B.C., is questioned on grounds which will seem to many inadequate. One of the arguments seems to assume the impossibility of prediction in the absence of signs recognizable by merely human penetration. (4) Micah's famous prophecy about the coming glory of Bethlehem (v. 2) is given thus: "And thou Beth Ephrath (בית אפרתה being read for בית לחם אפרתה), smallest among the districts of Judah (יהודה) being prefixed to צור and the first להיות being omitted), from thee shall go forth the future ruler of Israel who went forth in the past in the days of old." (5) The curious passage in Zechariah about a sale for thirty pieces of silver, which is rendered as follows: "Cast it into the treasury, the precious price which thou wast worth to them" (xi. 13) is the subject of some very remarkable observations. The word היצור is declared to be equivalent to האוצר, the last syllable being perhaps incorrectly pointed by the Massoretes, with *..* instead of *..*, in order to make it possible for it to be interpreted "potter." A trace of this wavering between "potter" and "treasury" is found in the decision of the priests to cast the blood money not into the treasury, but into the potter's field (Matt. xxvii. 3-10). Wellhausen finds here an echo of the Messianic interpretation of the passage. (6) The text of the much controverted passage which is rendered in the English Bible: "They shall look unto Me whom they have pierced" (Zech. xii. 10), is regarded as probably defective. The vocalization of אל as the first person is inadmissible on account of the double עלי in the succeeding clauses, and consequently the את must be retained, as אלו אשר would not be

Hebrew. It is, therefore, probable that something has dropped out after the נש , or, as Wellhausen racily puts it, "that נש is a brand plucked out of the fire," and so the clause is translated: "They look on . . . whom they have pierced." The short notes consisting of only one or two lines each are also often very instructive. The three following are good examples: (1) *Sebaoth* as part of a Divine name "describes, not the stars or the Israelites, but probably the world and all that is therein, perhaps strictly the hosts of demons." (2) The expression, "between the heavens and the earth," is explained to mean "in the air; the Hebrews have no word for air." (3) On Malachi's strange allusion to the wings of the Sun of righteousness (Malachi iv. 2) Wellhausen writes: "Is Malachi thinking of the winged solar disc?" This comparatively small volume—for the text and notes occupy little more than 200 pages—must, of course, be read from the standpoint indicated on the title-page. The exegetical portion is not issued as a commentary, but as a collection of notes. To treat it as a complete exposition would, therefore, be manifestly unfair. Yet there is more valuable matter in these notes than in many bulky tomes. There is indeed much to provoke dissent. The textual criticism is not infrequently venturesome, the confidence with which verses or sections are ascribed to editors or interpolators is almost amusing, and there are occasional glimpses of what, in an adherent of the traditional view, would be called prejudice and dogmatism. But, allowing for all this, we have in these "Sketches" a veritable gold mine, from which laborious students will extract many a choice nugget of precious ore.

THE MYTHICAL ELEMENT IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.—Professor Schultz, in his *Old Testament Theology* (T. & T. Clark), gives an admirable description of the part played by legends, or, to use more technical language, myths, in the account that nations give of their early life before the period of written history. He says, "Wherever we see a nation stepping forth out of the darkness of the prehistoric age into the light of historical life, it invariably brings with it, as one of its most precious spiritual treasures, the national legend. How a nation originated; what its ancestors were like; how it first awoke and bethought itself of national glory—all this is not handed down by history pure and simple, for which such ages have neither opportunity nor motive, but is preserved in song, in proverb, and in story; and, being in this form handed on and enriched, this material is at last combined into a single whole by virtue of the poetic spirit in the nation—that spirit in which resides the mysterious motive-power that impels each people to undertake its own special task among the family of nations. . . . In legends, persons and times assume a superhuman character. Heaven and earth do not keep apart, as in a historical age. The laws of probability, chronology, and development retire into the background. But, above all, the chief figures become typical, the accepted models of the nation's character and of its task in history. Consequently, legend lets us look into the innermost

heart of a nation and watch the flow of those living springs from which its historical life wells up. Hence the perennial freshness of legend; hence the feeling of having to do with figures of flesh and blood, more real than those of history. Indeed, one never feels so much at home in history as in legend. One sits by the hearth in a people's home and listens there to the very breathing of its inner life." He says that we must hold that the people of Israel, like other peoples, preserved the memory of its earliest days in a mythical, and not in a historical form, unless we are to think of that people as crippled in one of the noblest attributes of nationality. We may accept this principle as, if not self-evident, at any rate eminently reasonable; while, at the same time, we hold that it is extremely difficult to make practical use of it in the endeavour to extract the historical kernel from its legendary husk. We take entire exception to the way in which Professor Schultz deals with the story of Samson. He denies that it has any historical basis. "The lion-slaying hero," he says, "who arms himself with rocks (*sic*) and overturns temples, and whose strength vanishes with his hair, is originally, you may be sure, no Hebrew Nazirite, but the Sun-god, whose locks are the rays of light in which lies the secret of his strength" (I., p. 114). On a later page we are surprised to find Samson spoken of as a Nazirite and a historical personage. "Samson is consecrated as a Nazirite to the God of Israel before his birth, and for his whole life-time, too, even his mother being required to abstain from wine and from everything unclean. . . . It was as a Nazirite that Samson expected superior Divine strength and a personal 'holiness'" (I., p. 161). It is for Professor Schultz, and not for us, to attempt to reconcile these apparently contradictory statements.

AZAZEL.—In the same book Prof. Schultz explains in a very luminous manner the strange ceremonies connected with the scapegoat or "goat for Azazel" (Lev. xvi., R.V.). On the day of atonement the congregation brings two goats for the purpose of atonement. For these, lots are cast at the door of the sanctuary, "one lot for Jehovah, and the other lot for Azazel." The one on which the lot of Jehovah falls is then slain as a sin-offering. The other they bring before God "to make atonement over it, to send it away for Azazel into the wilderness." Then, after the sins of the congregation have been confessed, this animal is made the bearer of all the sins of the now reconciled Israel, and is led away into the wilderness by a man who is thereby made unclean himself, and there it is let loose "in a solitary land." We must, therefore, think of some powerful being to whom this animal is assigned, and to whom it is sent with the now forgiven guilt of the reconciled people—not as a sacrifice, but as a symbolical representation of the fact that there is no longer any guilt in Israel. This being must be conceived of as strange and unholy. In the book of Enoch the name Azazel is found as that of one of the fallen angels, and he is represented as bound in the wilderness with iron chains of darkness. Prof. Schultz considers that the name is Aramaic, and that it designates an unclean and ungodlike power

which has its abode in the wilderness, in the accursed land outside the bounds of the sacred camp. He points out that this ceremony is no more contradictory of pure monotheism than is the doctrine of Satan or the doctrine of angels, and that it corresponds on a large scale with what is laid down on a small scale with regard to leprosy in a house (Lev. xiv. 1 ff., and 49 ff.). In the latter passage, when the leprosy in a house has been cured, of two pigeons presented as a sin-offering, the one is actually killed, the other, after being sprinkled with the blood of the sin-offering, is let go alive, as a sign that the uncleanness of the house has been taken away. In like manner here, after the great propitiation for the people and the sanctuary, one of the dedicated victims is sent away, laden with the sins of the people, to the powerful being who has his abode outside "in the world," beyond the holy land of mercy, not as a sacrifice, but as a proof that in the holy land there is no longer any unexpiated guilt. Consequently this animal, too, is unclean. He who has led it away must purify himself. It is a picture similar to that which the prophet Zechariah sees, when, after the acquittal of the high priest, and therefore of Israel itself, before the angel of Jehovah, the sin is carried away out of the pardoned land into Babylon, the land of sin (Zech. v.).

THE APOCALYPSE AND GOSPEL OF PETER.—In the *Journal de Genève* M. Sabatier gives an account of these two documents, discovered in Upper Egypt in the winter of 1886. The date assigned to these MSS. is some time between the eighth and twelfth centuries of our era, but they contain fragments of literature of a very much earlier period, of which we find mention in the writings of the Fathers, but which, in consequence of this fortunate discovery, are now brought to light for the first time. The *Apocalypse of Peter* had entirely disappeared. It is mentioned in the Muratorian catalogue of sacred books as occupying a place along with the Apocalypse of St. John among the canonical Scriptures of some of the Churches. Sozomen says that in his time it was still read once a year at the Easter festival in some of the Churches in Palestine. Clement of Alexandria knew it, and quotes from it. The pretty extensive fragment now discovered seems to be a portion of this lost Apocalypse. A phrase quoted by Clement is found in it, though the correspondence is rather in meaning than in phraseology. This is unfortunately the only help we as yet have for the identification of the new-found text. It opens with a conversation between Jesus Christ and His Apostles, who ask Him to call up before them the soul of one of the righteous in Paradise, in order that they may learn from him the condition of men after death. There follows a long and curious description of the happiness of the redeemed, and of the various punishments inflicted on the lost. Some of the latter remind us of the pictures drawn by Dante. Still more important is the fragment of the *Gospel of Peter*. This contains a narrative of the passion and resurrection of Jesus Christ, related in a style and manner very similar to those

of the Synoptic Gospels, especially to those of St. Mark and St. Matthew. Here and there we find legendary matter, but on the whole the book bears evidence of its origin in primitive oral tradition. It closely corresponds with the description given by Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, and Theodoret of a Gospel of Peter, in use in certain Churches of Cilicia, and much thought of by some Ebionitish sects. Eusebius says that a Bishop of Antioch, in A.D. 190, found it in certain districts of his diocese, and gave his sanction to the reading of it. After a time, when he found that it favoured Docetism and other heresies, he decided to prohibit its use. There can be no doubt that in the primitive Church the record of discourses and miracles of Christ was preserved in oral tradition and in the sermons of the first preachers. Gradually narratives were written down and came to be used along with oral tradition as a fund of information concerning the teaching and work of the Saviour. To this second period succeeded a third, in which the canonical writings sanctioned by the Church took the place of oral tradition, which was beginning to become legendary and apocryphal. The second of these periods, which may be reckoned from the fall of Jerusalem (c. A.D. 70) to the time of Marcus Aurelius (c. A.D. 160), was exceedingly fertile in literature of this kind, which had liberty to prevail because the authority of our four Gospels was not yet fully established. It is doubtless to this period that the newly-discovered Gospel of Peter is to be assigned. Its early date explains the facts of its wide diffusion, and of the trouble which the bishops had in suppressing it and in substituting for it the canonical Gospels.

DISCREPANCIES IN THE GOSPELS.—Many difficulties of various kinds surround the narratives of the stilling of the tempest, and the healing of the demoniac or demoniacs which the Synoptic Gospels relate as miracles that followed one upon the other (Matt. viii. 23-34; Mark iv. 35, v. 20; Luke vii. 22-39). Thus, St. Matthew gives the history of the journey across the lake with its incidents shortly after the Sermon on the Mount: St. Mark and St. Luke place it after the series of parables beginning with that of the Sower, recorded in Matt. xiii. St. Mark, indeed, specially says that it was on the evening of that same day on which these parables were spoken. Then, too, the first evangelist says that Jesus rebuked the disciples for their want of faith, and then stilled the tempest; the second and third evangelists reverse the order of events. Two demoniacs are mentioned in the first Gospel as having been cured on this occasion; only one is spoken of in the parallel narratives. There is also a difficulty with regard to the name of the place where the demoniac or demoniacs were; St. Matthew speaks of it as the country of the Gadarenes (R.V.), St. Mark and St. Luke, as that of the Gerasenes (R.V.). Altogether these variations or discrepancies, which result from the entire independence of the narratives, present difficulties which the skill of the ablest harmonists has not been able to solve. In an article in *The Churchman*, Prebendary Leathes endeavours to cut the knot by asserting that the three evangelists are not narrating the same incidents—

that the storm of Matt. viii. is different from that in Mark iv. and Luke viii. He lays stress upon the use of the word *σεισμός* by St. Matthew as indicating a different kind of storm from that described by *λαίλαψ ἀνέμου* in the narratives of St. Mark and St. Luke, and asserts that in the one case a decked boat was used and in the other an open boat. No proof, however, is given in support of either statement. But even if we were to admit the possibility of Christ's having twice stilled a tempest on the lake, it seems the height of improbability to suppose that the casting out of the evil spirits and the destruction of the swine described by St. Matthew are not the same incidents as those recorded by St. Mark and St. Luke. St. Matthew does, indeed, speak of *two* demoniacs, while the other evangelists speak only of one; but surely a more plausible explanation of the discrepancy can be found than in the supposition of two distinct miracles at different times. St. Matthew may have been an eye-witness, and may be telling us what he himself saw; St. Mark and St. Luke, who received their information at second-hand, may have been told only of one demoniac, the circumstances of whose case were specially remarkable. It can hardly be maintained that two totally different places are named as the scene of the miracle, as it is highly probable that the "district" (*χώρα*) of the Gerasenes included Gadara and its environs. So that St. Matthew in all likelihood uses a more special appellation, St. Mark and St. Luke, a broader one, for the same place. The explanation of the discrepancies given by Dr. Leathes raises more difficulties than it allays.

PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN MORALITY.—In his book *Against Dogma and Free-Will* (Williams & Norgate), Mr. H. Croft Hiller finds in the sayings of heathen moralists nobler teaching on the subject of the forgiveness of enemies than in the writings of St. Paul, and says that it is a proof of ignorance, or of deliberate intention to mislead, to base any argument in support of the moral superiority of dogmatic teaching on the assumed moral degeneracy of Athens, Sparta, or Rome. "Compare," he says, "such sayings as these:— 'It is eminently humane and a clear sign of a truly generous nature to bear the affronts of an enemy when you have a fair opportunity to revenge them. For if a man sympathizes with his enemy in his affliction, relieves him in his necessities, and is ready to assist his sons and family if they desire it, any one that will not love this man for his compassion, and highly prize him for his charity, must have, as Pindar says, a black heart made of adamant and iron' (Plutarch). 'Some one is angry with you. Provoke him in return with kindnesses. . . . Some one has struck you. Withdraw. . . . A great mind that truly respects itself does not revenge an injury' (Seneca). 'Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head' (Rom. xii. 20). Which of these sayings manifests the genuine Christian spirit, that which promises the heaping 'of coals of fire' on your enemy's head, as an ultimate revenge for your present act of clemency, or any of the others? Such com-

parisons made, not only of the sayings, but of the doings of Pagan, with those of professedly Christian, men, clearly show that human nature has not been altered one jot by dogmatic religion." Mr. Hiller would have made his case stronger if he had quoted from heathen writers of the pre-Christian period, as it is possible that both the authors referred to had become acquainted in some indirect way with the teaching of Christ, of which their words remind us. But even if it would be clearly shown that the morality taught by Plutarch and Seneca was quite unaffected by Christian influences, the question would still remain to be asked, Has our critic given the right interpretation of the words of the Apostle which he places in such an unfavourable light? If the gratifying of a revengeful feeling is assigned as the motive of forgiving an enemy, what can be the meaning of the Apostle's next words, "Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good?" We think the explanation which Godet gives of the passage is the correct one. "There is here a stroke of delicate irony directed against those who would cherish in their hearts a desire of avenging injuries done them: 'You wish to take vengeance? Well, this is a way in which God permits you to do so: heap benefits upon your enemy, and by so doing you will fill him with a wholesome feeling of shame and regret for the wrong he has done you; and you will kindle in his heart the fire of gratitude in the place of the fire of hatred.'" But "strokes of delicate irony" are thrown away upon some matter-of-fact minds, as the present instance proves, in our opinion. A sense of humour would, we think, have enabled Mr. Hiller to understand St. Paul better.

CHRISTIAN THOUGHT.

THE CHURCH AND THE LABOUR PROBLEM.

BY KEIR HARDIE, M.P.

MANKIND always responds to earnestness, and thorough-going sincerity cannot fail of its purpose. Were it otherwise, there were no immutable principle of righteousness in the universe. The realization of a truth so proclaimed may be long delayed; but to doubt its ultimate triumph is to deny the existence of God. In like manner, half-heartedness, lukewarmness, is repellant. Who has not experienced the irritation and the chilling influence of the man who, having a message to deliver, whittles it down and explains it away till its power to move the heart and influence the judgment is gone? Of all places, the pulpit of the Christian Church is where temporizing with wrong is least defensible; and yet I know no place wherein it more abounds. Were it not so, there would be neither social nor labour problem in our midst. Christ's teachings are clear and unmistakable. With Him, life was everything. He refused to interfere in the miserable squabble of the two brothers over the sharing of their goods; to the rich young man the irreducible minimum of His demand was, *Sell all that thou hast. The rich*

had had their portion here, and were to weep and howl for the misery awaiting them. The early Christians practised this teaching, as is shown in the opening chapters of the Acts; and St. Paul preached it in the axiom, "he that will not work, neither should he eat." If there is scepticism in the land to-day (and who shall deny it?), the half-heartedness of the pulpit is far more responsible for it than all the destructive criticism of the canons of Scripture ever penned. This is, doubtless, a hard saying; but it is true.

The title of the question under discussion bears eloquent testimony to the estrangement of the Church from the every-day life of the people. Why should there be any necessity for discussing the relation of the Church to social questions? Do not social questions affect the welfare of the people at every point,—certainly not excluding the spiritual? And what can the relation of the Church be but one of antagonism to everything which comes between man and his highest development? But for the apathy of the Church, there would be no social question to discuss. The Church has been content to follow the lead of the world in magnifying material greatness. It has bowed the knee to Baal, and reserved its seats of honour for the successful man, careless of the means by which he accumulated wealth, so long at least as he escaped the meshes of the law. One of the most prominent Nonconformist laymen of recent years, a princely giver to the Churches—he has since gone to his reward—was an employer of some hundreds of girls, many of whom, having no friends able to help them, were driven to prostitution to eke out the scanty amount he allowed them as wages. This fact was well known to many of the leaders of the Church, but was sternly frowned down by those who shared the proceeds of, and, by their guilty silence, the responsibility for his crime. He died a millionaire in all the odour of sanctity. Such conduct is condoned, if not justified, on the plea that the business of the Church is "primarily to save souls," and that ministers do not possess sufficient knowledge of the facts to justify them in interfering between employers and employed. Surely, within the scope of this definition of the "business" of the Church the case of the poor girls referred to, and of others in like plight to-day, should find some place.

As I conceive it, Christianity has no concern with trade or commerce. A late bishop of the Church of England said that Christianity could not be applied to the affairs of Government. So much the worse, say I, for the nation. The code of ethics which cannot be applied to the aggregate life of the community we call the State should not be applied to the lives of the individuals who compose the State; or if it is applicable to the individual, there must be something wrong with the constitution of the State which prevents its application. So, too, with business. If there is a relationship between employer and employed to which the principles of Christ's teachings cannot be applied, there must be something amiss. Is trade greater than the soul, or commerce than the body? Is the modern form of Christ's query about meat and raiment.

I know that it is little short of heterodoxy, if anything, to literally apply

the words of Jesus to the worldly affairs of to-day, and it is at this point where the Church and the Labour movement "each take off their several way."

Would Christ have admitted the owners of slum property among His disciples? We are all agreed that insanitary one-roomed houses, where the ordinary decencies of life are impossible, and immorality is a natural growth, are bad and condemnable. But are we agreed on the treatment to be meted out to the owners of slum property? I, a rough impulsive man of the world, would not remain a member of any club which admitted to membership his Lordship the Marquis of Salisbury, who was convicted the other day in a London police court of letting property unfit for human habitation. Will the Church of England, of which I believe Lord Salisbury is a communicant, make an example of the illustrious sinner by expelling him?

It is the duty of the Church, says Dr. Blaikie, to "contend with sin in every form." These are brave words, and one naturally turns expectantly to find how they are applied. In the paragraph headed *The Eight Hours Bill*, some insight is given. The compound of bad political economy, and vague generalization, and unwarranted deduction, contained in the paragraph is worthy of the political casuist. The young strong compositor, we are told, is not to be hindered from selfishly working as many hours as he pleases, even when he knows that by so doing he entails loss of work on some older and therefore less physically competent workman. Is it consistent with Christian teaching for the young and the strong to aggrandize themselves at the expense of the aged? Why does Dr. Blaikie instance approvingly the case of the young strong man without insisting on the Church inculcating the doctrine of brotherhood, and insisting that the strength of the strong shall not be used to the injury of the weak? This seems the only logical relation which the Church can entertain towards such a case. Dr. Blaikie's whole argument makes for expediency, forgetting that the Ten Commandments do not admit of such, and that "thou shalt not steal" forbids the young strong compositor from robbing his own father, it may be, of the opportunity of earning a living.

If it be assumed that the amount available for distribution in the shape of wages is a fixed quantity, then the assumption that the greater the number of recipients the less there will be as the share of each, is correct. Before walking off under this comfortable assumption, the Church has a prior duty to perform. As the repository of the national conscience, and the expounder of the law of God, it must first ascertain whether the distribution of wealth is in accordance with the principles which govern the kingdom of God. Whether, in fact, the most successful men, in the worldly sense, are not those who are most destitute of the Christian graces. The cunning, unscrupulous man stands the best chance of securing the lion's share of this world's goods, as the career of the late Jay Gould and others like him abundantly proves. Is the system which permits the ruin of hundreds and the impoverishment of thousands for the aggrandizement of one detestable individual a system which can commend itself to the Christian Church?

Barely one-third of the wealth produced goes to the producers. The men who own land and capital receive, not because of services rendered which are paid for separately, but in virtue of owning these necessities to production, nearly one-half of all the wealth produced in Great Britain. The average income per adult male of the working class is £45, and of the class which derives its income from rent and interest, £1,700. Is it part of the Christian creed that not only must the worker be content with his miserable pittance of £45, but ten per cent. of his fellows must go idle, and starve in consequence, lest by being employed they should trench on the £1,700 of the landlord or capitalist? This question of the distribution of wealth lies at the root of the social problem. Christ and His disciples and Apostles faced it in their day; and on the same or similar lines the Church to-day must face it also. When the wealth which is produced year by year is being distributed more or less equitably among the workers, it will be time enough to consider whether the "iron law of wages" is ordained by God, or a device of man's imagining. Under such conditions it will be found that the greater the number of people employed, the greater the produce of wealth, and the better for all concerned. The fact—for it is a fact—that such is not the case to-day demonstrates how far we have strayed from the path of rectitude in the matter of distribution; and only the mental blindness, which unquestioning acceptance of things as they are induces, could prevent a sane person from seeing this.

I lay it down as a broad unchallengeable Christian principle that any system of production or exchange which sanctions the exploitation of the weak by the strong or the unscrupulous is wrong, and therefore sinful. The Church theory concerning great worldly possessions is that they are held in trust to be administered by their possessors for the alleviation of poverty and misery. The parable of the good Samaritan is the favourite illustration in this connection. Was not the Samaritan neighbour to him that fell among thieves, and is not the command, Go thou and do likewise? If this sort of reasoning is to hold good, it is a condonation of robbery by violence. What if the good Samaritan had turned out to be the robber, and had only given ten per cent. of the proceeds towards providing the wine and oil, and the hotel accommodation? Would that have been a fulfilling of the law and the Gospel? That is strictly analogous to the case of the employer who to-day makes money out of his workers, and then gives handsomely to all sorts of charitable schemes. Would it not be more in keeping for the Church to insist that the robber must first stop his depredations before his aid on behalf of his victims be accepted? The laws of right and wrong admit of no compromise. If wrong be done, veil it as we may, evil will result. My plaint is not so much against poverty, but the deterioration of character, the servile acquiescence in degrading conditions, the loss of spiritual power which are strongly marked characteristics of the present day, and which the economic conditions now prevailing necessarily entail. Dr. Blaikie admits half-heartedly that the workers are underpaid. What he is careful not to state

is that this is so because the rich are overpaid. He deprecates the confiscation of land and capital because such would be an "enormous wrong" done to the rich. Why is he not equally emphatic about the enormous wrong now being done to the poor through the fact of land and capital being privately owned? It is so always, and in every case. If the necessities of life for the poor can only be obtained at the sacrifice of the luxuries of the rich, then the poor must go without. All we seek to deprive the rich of is the opportunity of living in idleness. They would still have the opportunity of honestly earning their bread. It is this which Dr. Blaikie says the Christian Church will never consent to.

I do not claim any monopoly of virtue for the working classes. They are, as others are, what they have been made by their surroundings and life conditions. But I do protest emphatically against the assumption that they stand in special need of having the surplus graces of the intellectual classes bestowed on them. It is this insulting spirit of patronage, overt or covert, which makes the clergyman stand in the mind's eye of so many of the workers as the type of all that is canting and unreal. The "labourer" got no "lift" when Jesus, born of working-class parents, worked for His living. The worker needed no "lift" in the sense here implied. Strange that Dr. Blaikie does not say what a knock-down the idle rich got when Jesus became a "member of the labouring class." That would be to insult the rich, and the rich won't stand being insulted. It is only the poor voiceless worker who can thus be insulted with impunity. The worker none the less is having his revenge. If he cannot voice his resentment, he can enter his dumb protest, and this he does by not attending Church.

The drift of this article will, I hope, be sufficiently plain. The whole tendency of Church teaching is toward the assumption that the working man is an inferior creation who stands in need of being elevated. I don't say that preachers openly formulate this as part of their creed, or are even conscious of it. It is one of those latent currents of thought, common to all men, and resulting from imbibing opinions which have for long been accepted unquestioningly. The poor sin openly, and in the light of day. Their weaknesses are not hidden under a cloak of respectability, nor do they use religion "just for a screen." They are accustomed to the hard, stern realities of life, and are not versed in the arts of concealment. Make the application of Christianity to present-day life a reality, and none will support it with more zeal than the workers.

The relation of the Church to the social question, then, is the relation of Christianity to humanity. Our industrial system to-day breeds strife between man and man, and puts nation at war with nation. It makes Brotherhood an impossibility; and how can men believe in the Fatherhood of God unless they have for its correlative the Brotherhood of man? Our industrial system develops the sordid and avaricious side of human nature, puts a premium on rascality, and ruthlessly tramples underfoot all that is best and most godlike in mankind. It introduces the worship of Mammon

in its most hideous forms. I do not rail against individuals, but condemn the system. Jay Gould and Andrew Carnegie are as much the product of the times as the poor loafer who has no work to do and doesn't want any. Both are victims of circumstances and objects of pity, and, of the two, I think the millionaire's the worse case. He is ruined, not only for time, but, if we are to believe the New Testament, for eternity, even though his way to the pit be paved with the fulsome adulations of the Christian Church. The meaningless, aimless, empty life of the rich cannot be other than a burden; and who can wonder that it results in that muddy morality of which we occasionally get glimpses in the divorce court? The sordid, grasping desire for riches in the middle classes of society is destructive of all large, free life, or noble aspirations after higher things; while in the ranks of labour life is too often a mere struggle for existence—a hand-to-hand fight with poverty, which ends only with life itself. It is for the Church to head the crusade against the system which produces such fruits. It may be that a faithful stand on this question would drive many away. Better that than have their blood on the skirts of the priest's garment. "Will ye also go away?" said Jesus sorrowfully to His disciples, when the multitude on the outlook for loaves and fishes, and not understanding His teaching, took their departure. If the Church emptied at first it would fill again, and its filling would mean the coming of God's kingdom on earth.

The first duty of the Church to the social question is to understand it. This done, then to denounce fearlessly and in unmistakable language whatever causes are producing suffering, and next to aid in building up a system founded on righteousness, the operation of which would predispose men to true living and faith in the goodness of God. If the principles of true reform be proclaimed by the Church, their application need be a matter of no moment, and whether in the form of an Eight Hours Bill or the compulsory acquisition by the nation of land and capital need not concern us. If true instruction be faithfully given, God in His own way will bring it to fruition. With or without the aid of the Church the present industrial system must, in the nature of things, come to an end and give way to a better. If the Church assume her rightful place, hers will be the honour of shaping and guiding the forces which are working the change. If, however, she temporizes and indulges in the fatal indecision which characterizes the article of Dr. Blaikie, she too, as presently constituted, will be moved out of the way to make room for a religious organization more in touch with the spirit of the times. For I believe the democracy to be at bottom deeply and devoutly religious; but theirs must be a religion which can inspire and enthuse the soul to noble deeds, and which, while telling of a life that is to come, will insist primarily on the fullest development of the life that now is, and which will make impossible the wrongs which, like a canker worm, are eating the life out of the people. The religion of Jesus Christ is more than sufficient for all this, though it will first require to be purified from the ceremonial and meaningless forms and phrases which pass muster for it to-day, and be freed from the perverted views of life which theology has so long proclaimed in its name.

BIBLICAL THOUGHT.

THE BOOK OF EZRA AND THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

By REV. PROF. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

FOREMOST among the monuments of the ancient East which modern research has discovered and deciphered are those of Assyria and Babylonia. Inscribed in cuneiform or "wedge-shaped" characters, they have revealed to us in the most unexpected way the history, the religion, and the social and intellectual life of the inhabitants of the two great powers which for so many centuries controlled the destinies of Western Asia. Pages of past history have been recovered which seemed to have been lost for ever; and the men whose names and deeds are recorded in the Old Testament have begun, as it were, to speak to us with their own lips. We are no longer dependent on the doubtful tales which the classical writers have to tell us about kingdoms which had passed away before they wrote, and about peoples whose languages and literature they did not know. The documents we now hold in our hands were written before Greek or Roman literature existed, and are in the majority of cases contemporaneous with the events they record. The heroes of the Bible are ceasing to be mere names, mere figures belonging to a world that is dead and forgotten; once more they are being clothed with flesh and blood, and are becoming living personalities, whose words we can listen to, and whose thoughts we can understand. Tiglath-pileser and Sennacherib, Cyrus and Darius, are speaking to us face to face; we can now read the story of Sennacherib's campaign against Hezekiah in the words of the baffled invader himself, and can trace the motives of the policy which led Cyrus to grant deliverance to the Jewish exiles in Babylonia.

It is needless to point out what an important bearing such discoveries must have upon the study, the criticism, and the understanding of the Old Testament Scriptures. At a time when the text and meaning of the Hebrew Scriptures are being investigated with a minuteness and microscopic exactitude unknown before, and when a hostile criticism has been doing its utmost to disintegrate the documents contained in them, to bring down their composition to the latest possible period, and to throw discredit upon their historical statements, the testimony of the monuments is of especial importance. They are witnesses whose authority may indeed be ignored for awhile by the critics, but cannot be overthrown, and sooner or later the conclusions of criticism, however dogmatically expressed and fortified by great names, will have to be confronted with them. If these conclusions are opposed to the evidence of the monuments, they will have to be rejected or recast.

On the other hand, where the results of criticism are confirmed by the same monumental testimony, their opponents will equally have to confess that they have been wrong. The literature of the Old Testament has hitherto stood

alone. The ancient East had bequeathed to us nothing of the same age and character with which it could be compared. Now all this is changed. The libraries of Egypt, of Babylonia, and of Assyria have yielded a mass of literature, some of which goes back to the remotest antiquity, while a good deal of it covers the same period as the books of the Old Testament. The character of this literature resembles that of the Old Testament Scriptures, so far as their purely literary or historical side is concerned, and the records it contains touch in many points those which are contained in the Hebrew Bible. The Hebrew Bible, therefore, is no longer isolated; it is no longer necessary to study it by and through itself alone. On the contrary, its background has now been lighted up on all sides; references and allusions hitherto obscure have been made clear, and its annals have been supplemented and explained. Many of the views and assumptions, consequently, which we have hitherto held in regard to Old Testament history will have to be modified in accordance with the more perfect knowledge of to-day. They were due for the most part to the defectiveness of the material with which we have to deal, and with the increase of our knowledge must necessarily be altered and improved.

The history of Cyrus is an example of the changes which monumental discovery has obliged us to make in our conceptions of ancient history. We had been taught by the classical writers that Cyrus was the founder of the Persian Empire, that he was a Persian by birth and an adherent of the Zoroastrian religion, and that his ancestral kingdom was that of Persia. The language of the Old Testament seemed to confirm such statements; at all events, it contained nothing which seemed to contradict them.

But the last few years have witnessed the discovery of certain cuneiform texts which necessitate, at all events, a considerable modification in our views of the nationality and religion of Cyrus. These texts are three in number: one of them is an inscription of Cyrus himself; the second, an inscription of Nabonidos, the last king of Babylonia; while the third is an annalistic account of the rise of Cyrus and his conquest of Babylonia, which was compiled shortly after the latter event.

From these documents we learn that Cyrus was not originally a king of Persia at all. He and his immediate ancestors were kings of Anzan, a city which had come to take the place of Shushan or Susa as the metropolis of Elam. Even in the days when powerful kings had ruled at Shushan the country of Anzan had formed a principal part of their dominion, and a cuneiform tablet, which has come from the library of Nineveh, tells us expressly that Anzan and Elam were convertible terms. It was not until after the conquest of Astyages, "king of the Manda" or "Nomads," in B.C. 549, that Cyrus obtained possession of Persia; and he appears with the title of "king of Persia" for the first time in B.C. 546, eight years only before his conquest of Babylonia.

But though Cyrus and his immediate ancestors had been kings, not of Persia, but of Anzan, he traced his descent from a Persian forefather.

He was the great-grandson of Teispes, and Teispes belonged to a princely Persian clan. It would seem, however, that Teispes had conquered Anzan at a time when the decay of the Assyrian empire left Elam at the mercy of the first invader (see Jer. xlix. 34-38); at all events, Teispes is the first who receives the title of "king of Anzan," and it is to him that Darius, the son of Hystaspes, as well as Cyrus, traces his descent. As Darius further says in his great inscription on the rock of Behistun that eight of his family had been kings in two lines, Sir Henry Rawlinson is probably right in thinking that, while the elder branch of the family migrated to their new kingdom in Elam, the younger branch, of which Hystaspes and his son Darius were the representatives, continued to rule in Persia. In this case, Cyrus will have re-united the divided power.

There is a passage in the Prophecies of Isaiah which receives an explanation from the newly-found inscriptions. In chap. xxi. 2, the prophet calls upon Elam and Media, and not upon Persia and Media, to go up and besiege Babylon. Elam was the name under which Anzan was known to the Semites, and the prophecy is therefore in exact accordance with the statements of the monuments. We may even fix its date as referring to the period when Cyrus was not as yet king of Persia.

The name of "Media," however—if, indeed, this is the original reading—shows that among the neighbours of the Babylonians the "Manda" or "Nomads" had been confused with the "Madá" or "Medes." The Madá were Anzan clans who, in Assyrian times, inhabited the mountainous country between the eastern frontier of Assyria and the Caspian Sea, and in whom we may see the ancestors of certain Kurdish tribes; the Manda, on the other hand, were a nomad people who had overrun the old kingdom of Ellipi, where they had established their capital at Ekbatana, the modern Hamadan. It was of these Manda that Istuvegu, the Astyages of the Greeks, was king. As a certain "Teispes, the Kimmerian," is called a Manda by Esar-haddon, it is possible that the Manda of Ekbatana were of Kimmerian origin; however this may be, we now have the express testimony of the monuments that the Manda and the Madá or Medes were not the same people.

But the similarity of names soon led to a confusion between the two, not, indeed, in Babylonia itself, but among the foreign neighbours of the Babylonians. In Jer. xli. 28 the Medes, under their several "kings," and in alliance with Ararat and the other kingdoms of the north, are distinguished from the Manda of Ellipi, who acknowledged but one sovereign, and were conquered and absorbed by the king of Anzan or Elam; but it was not long before the distinction was forgotten, and in the writers of Greece and Rome the Manda of the cuneiform texts are transformed into the Medes. The ravages committed by the Manda in Western Asia, to which reference is made by Nabonidos, become, in like manner, "a Median empire."

If Cyrus were not originally king of Persia he cannot strictly be called the founder of the Persian Empire. This title ought to be reserved for Darius Hystaspis, who was of pure Persian descent, and who re-conquered

and was the first to organize into a compact whole the loosely-connected Empire of Cyrus. But the title of "founder of the Persian Empire," given to Cyrus, is too deeply imprinted upon history to be easily obliterated, and so long as we remember what his empire actually was no great harm is done by retaining it.

It is otherwise with the belief that Cyrus was a Zoroastrian in faith. This belief has left its mark upon the exegesis of the Old Testament, and has coloured the interpretation given by commentators to many passages of the Bible. References to the Zoroastrian dualism which divided the government of the universe between the two co-equal powers of good and evil have been found in the Book of Isaiah, and the permission granted to the Jewish exiles by Cyrus to return to their own land, and to rebuild their temple, has been supposed to have been prompted by sympathy with their monotheism. But all such theories must give way before the evidence of the inscriptions which were drawn up under the eyes of Cyrus himself. In the so-called annalistic tablet which relates the history of the conquest of Babylon, we are told that when the wife of Nabonidos died, shortly after her husband's overthrow, Cyrus allowed her to be buried in royal state. "Kambyses, the son of Cyrus," not only "conducted the burial in the temple of the Sceptre of the World," he also offered "free-will offerings" to the Babylonian god Nebo ten times the usual amount, and sacrificed "before Bel-Merodach" to ten times the usual amount. Cyrus in his own inscription claims to be, like the previous rulers of Babylon, the devoted servant of Bel-Merodach, the patron-god of the city; it was Bel who had given him the sovereignty, and had conducted him to Babylon. "Merodach appointed a prince who should guide aright the wish of the heart which the hand upholds, even Cyrus, the king of the city of Anzan. . . . Merodach, the great lord, the restorer of his people, beheld with joy the deeds of his vice-gerent who was righteous in hand and heart. To his city of Babylon he summoned his march; he bade him also take the road to Babylon; like a friend and a comrade he went at his side. . . . Without fighting and battle (Merodach) caused him to enter into Babylon; his city of Babylon he spared; in a hiding-place Nabonidos, the king, who revered him not, did he give into his hand. . . . Bel, who through trust in his power raises the dead to life, who benefits all men in difficulty and fear, has in goodness drawn nigh to him, has made strong his name. . . . Merodach, the great lord, enlarged my heart. . . . Merodach, the great lord, established a decree; unto me, Cyrus, the king, his worshipper, and Kambyses my son, the offspring of my heart, and to all my people, he graciously drew nigh." After this comes the prayer: "May all the gods whom I have restored to their own cities intercede daily before Bel and Nebo that my days be long, may they pronounce blessings upon me, and may they say to Merodach, my lord: Let Cyrus, the king, thy worshipper, and Kambyses his son [accomplish the desire] of their heart." The inscription finally concluded with an account of the offerings presented by Cyrus to the temples of the Babylonian deities.

These are not the words of a monotheist or of a devout believer in Zoroastrian dualism. They stand in marked contrast to the language of Darius in his inscriptions at Behistun and elsewhere, or of his son Xerxes at Persepolis and Van. "The great god is Ormazd," they say, "who has created this earth, who has created this heaven, who has created mankind, who has granted blessings to mankind, who has made Xerxes king." "The great Ormazd, who is greater than all gods, who has created the heavens and the earth, and has made man, who has given every blessing to mankind among living beings, who has made Darius king." It may be that the professed devotion of Cyrus and his son to the conquered deities of Babylonia was inspired by motives of political expediency, but it would never have been professed at all had they not believed that those deities had a real existence. A worshipper of "the great Ormazd," the creator of all things, would never have allowed another god to stand beside him, much less to take his place; to Darius or Xerxes the words of Cyrus, "Merodach appointed a prince, even Cyrus"; "Merodach, the great lord, established a decree: Unto me, Cyrus, the king, his worshipper, he graciously drew nigh," would have seemed nothing short of blasphemy. Cyrus, in fact, must have been a polytheist, with as little reluctance as the polytheist usually felt to acknowledge the supremacy of the divinities which belonged to the country of his adoption. The rule of his immediate ancestors in Elam had doubtless brought with it a forgetfulness of the pure Zoroastrian faith.

In the inscription in which Cyrus declares that along with the throne of Babylon he has succeeded to the worship of the Babylonian deities, he gives us an explanation of the political reasons which led to the return of the Jewish exiles. Nabonidos, the last king of Babylon, had endeavoured to centralize the state religion of Babylonia in the capital, Babylon, and for this purpose to destroy or discountenance the local cults practised in the various cities of the kingdom. In this he resembled Hezekiah, of whom the Assyrian Rab-Shakeh said that he had taken away the high-places and altars of the country, and had "said to Judah and Jerusalem: Ye shall worship before this altar (only) in Jerusalem." Nabonidos had similarly despoiled the ancient shrines of Babylonia of the images of their local gods, and had carried them to the great temple of Bel-Merodach at Babylon. Naturally, the proceeding had aroused hostile feelings on the part of those whose interests were bound up with the maintenance of the local cults; the action of the Babylonian king was regarded as irreverent and impious, and a strong party was formed against him, which assisted Cyrus in his conquest of the kingdom. After the defeat of the Babylonian army on the banks of the River Nizallat, the subjects of Nabonidos revolted; Sippara surrendered to the forces of Cyrus, which entered Babylon "without fighting and battle," while Nabonidos fled in the vain hope of escaping the conqueror. The annalistic chronicle adds that immediately after the arrival of Cyrus in Babylon "the gods of the country of Babylonia, whom Nabonidos had transferred to Babylon, were restored to their own cities."

Cyrus thus came forward as the representative of the decentralizing party in religion, of those who held to the old polytheistic belief that each separate city and tribe had its own special divinities which could not fitly be worshipped anywhere else. A necessary consequence of this was to extend the principle of decentralization beyond the limits of Babylonia itself. The various populations who, like the Jews, had been transported to Babylonia were allowed to return to their own lands, together with their gods. Cyrus tells us how he "restored the gods who had dwelt within" the distant cities of the empire "to their places, and founded (for them) a seat that should be long enduring; all their peoples," moreover, he "collected, and restored their habitations."

It will be seen, then, that the restoration of everything that was needful in the existence of the local cults formed a necessary part of the policy which allowed the exiles in Babylonia to return to their own lands. If the Jews were permitted to return to Palestine, it was in order that they might re-build the temple of the God of their fathers; and though, unlike their fellow-captives, they had no images of divinities to carry with them, they took back all that they could, the sacred vessels which "Nebuchadnezzar had brought forth out of Jerusalem."

So far as the Jews were concerned, the policy pursued by Cyrus was, from a worldly point of view, a wise one. Experience had doubtless shown the conqueror how dangerous might be the presence of a disaffected element in the population of Babylonia, while gratitude would bind the returning exiles closely to his service. He would have in them a faithful and devoted garrison in a part of the empire which was open to attack from Egypt, and where, therefore, a garrison of the kind was particularly important. He had been their deliverer from the bondage of Babylonish captivity, and they were not likely to forget the fact.

We are now in a position to understand the first chapter of the Book of Ezra. We are there told that "in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia" he issued a proclamation permitting the Jewish exiles to return to Jerusalem, and there rebuild the temple of the Lord. The statement must have been derived from the Babylonian annals, since the proclamation was issued, not in the first year of Cyrus as king of Anzan or king of Persia, but as king of Babylon. Numerous contract tablets exists, written in Babylonian, which are similarly dated by the years of his reign as king of Babylon. By his conquest of Babylon Cyrus had become the heir of the rulers of the great empire of Western Asia, the successor of Nabonidos and Nebuchadnezzar, and it was therefore natural that in his dealings with his Babylonian subjects he should date the beginning of his reign with his accession to the Babylonian throne. The title, "king of Persia," however, is one which is due to the usage of that later period when the book of Ezra was written; in contemporaneous documents the phrase is never employed; we find in them only the titles "king of the world" and "king of Babylon." It was not until Darius had established and organized the

Persian empire that Cyrus came to be regarded as, like him, specifically a king of Persia.

It has often been debated whether or not Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel were one and the same person. With this debate, however, the decipherer of the cuneiform inscriptions is not concerned. It is sufficient for him that both names are of Babylonian origin. Zerubbabel is Ziru-Babili, "the seed of Babylon," a name which of itself testifies to his birth in Babylonia. The origin of the first syllable in the name of Sheshbazzar has recently been pointed out by a Belgian scholar. It represents the Babylonian Samas, or, as it was pronounced, Shawash, the whole name representing the Babylonian Samas-bil-utsur, "O Sun-God, protect the Lord!" That the name of a heathen divinity should have entered into that of a Jew may seem at first sight surprising; but it does not stand alone. Esther, for instance, is the name of the Babylonian goddess Istar. Mordechai is the Babylonian Marduká, "devoted to Merodach," and Abed-Nego must be corrected into Abed-Nebo, "servant of Nebo." Mithredath, on the contrary, the treasurer of Cyrus, has a purely Persian name. It is that of the famous Pontic king Mithridates, and signifies "given by Mithra," Mithra being the deity whose visible representative and symbol was the sun.

THE PROBLEM OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

1.—THE CODEX CHISIANUS.

By REV. J. E. H. THOMSON, B.D.

To discussing any of the numerous questions connected with the Book of Daniel it is a necessary preliminary to settle the text. It is easy to see that arguments for the authenticity of the Book of Daniel, or against it, stand on an insecure basis so long as the fundamental question of what Daniel really is remains unsettled. No one needs to be told of the relative fixity of the Masoretic text of the Old Testament from the second century A.D. We do not, however, know anything of the methods followed in fixing the text, or what fundamental distinction lay at the root of the K'ri and the K'thib. There is nothing really to disprove the suggestion of Dr. Robertson Smith that the Masoretes used two manuscripts famous, or, so to say, consecrated in some way possibly by having been used by some noted rabbi, and that for some reason they *wrote* always in accordance with the one, and *read* always in accordance with the other. Of course, in making this statement, we do not forget such reverential changes as יְהוָה for יְהוֹה, or whatever was the vocalization of the quadriliteral name, and the other changes due to ideas of propriety. Yet the divergences preserved to us in this way are comparatively few and relatively unimportant.

The famous Septuagint translation is of very great importance in regard to the text. One very important difficulty, however, has to be met, namely that the text of the Septuagint itself is a matter of discussion. Yet, even with

all its defects, a great deal can be done by a right use of the Septuagint. It has to be borne in mind, however, that the different books were not translated at the same time. The story of Aristeas indicates the truth to have been that the Law was first translated, then the prophets, and then the Hagiographa. All the parts of the Jewish Canon seem to have been translated when the translator of Ben Sira came into Egypt, which certainly could not have been later than 132 B.C. While the later form the story of these translations sometimes assumed indicated that they had been united into something like a canon, the fact that Origen was unable to find part of some of the books in the Septuagint translation suggests the thought that the Septuagint existed in separate books. In the case of one of the books, two versions have been preserved in the collection which formed the Greek canon. The Apocryphal book of Esdras is a compilation from the last chapters of Chronicles, the canonical Ezra, and Nehemiah, with a story probably of Hellenistic origin thrown in—a story that shows traces of two recensions, which have been combined.

In regard to Daniel, we have two versions, one published in our ordinary Septuagint, but attributed to Theodotion on the authority of Origen and Jerome. The other is preserved to us in one manuscript, the *Codex Chisianus*, and represents the text which Origen regarded as that of the Septuagint.

In order to understand fairly the relationship in which these two versions stand to each other, we must, in the first place, look at the relation in which Theodotion stands to the rest of the Septuagint. He is not, as Aquila and Symmachus, an independent translator, but rather the editor of the Septuagint. His effort, if we may judge from the fragments that have come down to us, has been to conform the Greek as much as possible to the Hebrew.¹ It is little likely, then, that he would translate Daniel *de novo*. If, then, the differences between the Daniel of the *Codex Chisianus* and the Daniel of Theodotion are so great as to imply an independent origin, we shall be forced to regard it probable that behind the Daniel of Theodotion there was an earlier Septuagintal Daniel. This view has been ably maintained by Dr. Gwynn in Smith & Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, art., "Theodotion." Dr. Gwynn gives a number of references to the Book of Revelation, which prove, he maintains, that the writer of the Apocalypse was acquainted with Daniel in a version like that of Theodotion. I am not quite so much impressed with those passages singly. One of them, Rev. ix. 20, compared with Dan. v. 23, is wanting in the Chisian text, but if the Apostle John was acquainted with the Masoretic text, he might easily translate for himself. Cumulatively, however, the import of these coincidences of phrase is considerable.

On the other hand, we have direct evidence of another version

¹ As an example, take Isa. liii. 2, "For he shall grow up before Him as a tender plant and as a root out of a dry ground," in the LXX. this is rendered ἀνηγγελλαμεν ὡς παιδιον ἐν ἔσπρῳ αὐτοῦ ὡς ῥίζα ἐν γῇ διψώσῃ. In Theod. it is καὶ ἀναβήσεται ὡς θήλαζον ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς ῥίζα ἐν γῇ διψώσῃ. The latter clause of Theod. is identical with the LXX.

being in existence in early times, which is represented by the Chigi text and by the Syriac of Bugati. The fact that Origen regarded it as the genuine Septuagintal Daniel is a point the importance of which cannot easily be over-estimated. The information of Jerome seems to some extent to have been secondhand. The palmary proof of the existence of the Chisian Daniel are the quotations in Justin Martyr and Tertullian. In the first there is a long passage in the dialogue with Trypho (xxxi.) which is mainly derived from the Chigi. It differs from it in some points, and in these it mostly coincides with Theodotion. The passages in Tertullian are individually shorter. The existence of two distinct versions of Daniel in ancient times seems indubitable.

The second of these versions seemed totally lost, but came to light in an unexpected way. Fabio Chigi, who, on being elected Pope as Alexander VII., had come under a promise to abstain from the nepotism of previous reigns, after a few years reverted to the old ways and built a palace in the Piazza di Colonna for one of his nephews, whom he had brought from Siena to found a Roman family. In furnishing this palace for him the Pope presented him with an old manuscript of the ninth century; it contained a portion of the Old Testament. This happened somewhere about 1660. For more than a century this manuscript remained unexamined, or, at all events, unappreciated, till the librarian, observing the difference there was between the Daniel in this manuscript and that in the ordinary Septuagint, published this version of Daniel in 1772. Some eight years afterwards Bugati, the librarian of the Ambrosian Library, Milan, found a manuscript of the Syriac version of Daniel by Paulus Tellensis. This Syriac version confirmed the authenticity of the Chisian Codex.

The question now has to be discussed, What is the relation of these two extant versions to each other, and to the ordinary Masoretic text? That the one is not directly dependent on the other hardly needs proof. It is involved, in fact, in the further question of the relation in which the Chigi version stands to the Masoretic text, for Theodotion and the ordinary Masoretic text are in fairly close agreement. The question really resolves itself into this: Does the Chigi represent a totally different Hebrew and Aramaic original of Daniel from the Masoretic; or is it deduced from the Masoretic simply by additions and omissions, so that it may be regarded as a paraphrase of the Masoretic text, while Theodotion is a genuine translation?

This latter position is maintained by Dr. Gwynn with great learning and ingenuity in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary*, art., "Theodotion," already referred to. His theory is that some Jew during the Maccabean struggle produced this paraphrase in order to encourage his countrymen. Another object was to produce a version in better Greek. He thinks that it is to be paralleled with the Apocryphal Esdras. The suggestion is indeed hazarded that the writer of the one is the writer of the other. Further, the numerous additions made to Daniel are credited solely to the Chigi version. In this view he is followed by Dr. Salmon

To any one acquainted with the writings of either of these scholars their opinion carries great weight. In matters of scholarship, however, authority cannot count for much; authority must be supported by evidence. While it may be maintained with some plausibility that some of the prophecies, as they appear in the Chigi version, are more favourable to the Jews than in the Theodotian, *e.g.*, viii. 10; while, according to the Theodotian rendering of that passage, which agrees here with the Masoretic, the little horn being exalted to heaven, casts the stars thereof to the earth, and trample them underfoot.

καὶ ἐμεγαλύνθη ἕως τῆς δυναμέως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,
καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ τῆς δυναμέως,
καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ συνεπάτησεν αὐτούς.

In the Chigi he is thrown down from heaven, after he has exalted himself there, by the stars.

καὶ ὑψώθη ἕως τῶν ἀστέρων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,
καὶ ἐρράχθη ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστέρων,
καὶ ἀπὸ αὐτῶν καταπατήθη.

On the other hand, some omissions and additions are made that can have no such purpose. It seems difficult to see on what ground it is maintained that the Greek is better. To take the first verse of the first chapter of the Chigi, ἐπὶ βασιλείῳ Ἰωακείμ ἔτους τρίτου, it seems hardly possible to maintain that to be better Greek than the rendering in Theodotion, ἐν ἔτει τρίτῳ τῆς βασιλείας Ἰωακείμ βασιλέως Ἰούδα. The difference seems rather to be due to different texts. The Chigi seems to have read in the Hebrew, עֲרֵי־הַיָּרֵךְ, instead of the Masoretic, עֲרֵי־הַיָּרֵךְ. If we take the first verse of the second chapter, it is as difficult to see any desire for better Greek in the differences. In the Chigi we have συνίβη εἰς ὁράματα καὶ ἐνύπνια ἔμπροσθεν τὸν βασιλέα; it seems difficult to see that to be better Greek than ἐκπνέσθη Νεβουχοδόνοσσορ ἐνύπνιον; neither is good. The additions, such as the Song of the Three Hebrew Children, and Susanna and the Elders, and Bel and the Dragon, are not peculiar to the Chigi; they are to be found in Theodotion. In regard to the Song of the Three Hebrew Children, the Greek is nearly identical in the two versions, and differs considerably from the style of either the Chigi or Theodotion; it is more Hebraistic. One point to be noted is that while in the body of the chapter the three are called by their Babylonian names, in the song they are named by their Hebrew designations. In regard to the other two additions, it ought to be remarked that the textual difference between the Chigi version and that in Theodotion is very considerable. This would indicate that these portions were not brought into connection with Theodotion from the Chigi, but were independently added. Moreover, there is the following note at the end of the twelfth chapter of Daniel:—"Daniel, according to the LXX., has been copied from an exemplar, having this subscription, 'Copied from the Tetrapla, with which it has been collated.'" This would seem to prove that the LXX. Daniel had

not these two additions as given in the Tetrapla. The probability seems, then, to be that these additions to Daniel were floating about among the Jews, and as they related narratives connected with the characters in the Book of Daniel, they were added to it.

If the writer of the LXX. version made omissions and additions, there must have been some pervading motive which may be traced. In ordinary circumstances the tendency of a *falsarius* is to make additions to the text before him, and these most frequently assume the character of rhetorical amplifications. When omissions are made there is either some doctrinal bias or some notion of propriety at work. The only way to discover which of the two versions, the Chigi or that of Theodotion, is relatively the more primitive, is to compare some portions together.

For the sake of comparison, let us take in the first place the chapter in the Aramaic section of the book, where the difference between the two versions is most striking—that is chap. v., which gives an account of Belshazzar's feast. The Chigi version is, "Baltasar the king made a great feast to his companions, and he drank wine, and his heart was lifted up." In Theodotion we read, "Baltasar the king made a great feast to thousands of his lords, and drank wine before the thousands." No one, we think, will deny that the second is the more rhetorical of the two. In the Chigi there are three verses prefixed which contain variants of three passages in the chapter; in regard to the first verse this variant is still less rhetorical:—

"Baltasar the king made a great feast at the dedication of his palace, and bade two thousand men."

When we proceed to the second, third, and fourth verses, we shall find similar symptoms of rhetorical modification in the Masoretic text as compared with that behind the Chigi:—

"And he spake to bring the vessels of gold and silver of the house of God which Nebuchadnezzar his father brought from Jerusalem, and to pour out wine in them for his companions. And they were brought, and they drank in them, and blessed their idols made with hands, and the God eternal they did not bless who had power over their spirits."

Let us compare this with the Revised Version, with which Theodotion is in fair agreement:—

"Belshazzar whiles he tasted the wine commanded to bring the golden and silver vessels which Nebuchadnezzar his father had taken out of the temple which was at Jerusalem, that the king and his lords, his wives and his concubines, might drink therein. Then they brought the golden vessels that were taken out of the temple of the house of God which was at Jerusalem, and the king and his lords, his wives and his concubines, drank therein. They drank wine and praised the gods of gold and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone."

For the last verse there is a variant:—

"In that day Baltasar was lifted up with wine, and boasting himself in his place, he praised all the gods of the heathen, the molten and the graven, and to God *moa* high he gave not praise."

There can hardly be any dispute that the Chigi version, in regard to these three verses, is at once the shorter and the less rhetorical. One element is added in both the Chigi and its variant which is wanting in the Masoretic, "And they did not bless the God Eternal who had power over their spirits," or, as the variant has it, "And to God most high he gave not praise." Yet this clause must almost necessarily have been here, as in verse twenty-third of the Masoretic text there is an evident reference back to it.

The fifth verse presents, also, a variant in the Chigi. In what may be regarded as the text it runs thus :—

"And in that very hour there came forth the fingers as of the hand of a man and wrote upon the wall of his house, upon the plaster over against the light opposite the king Baltasar, and he saw the hand-writing."

The variant form is shorter :—

"And in that night there came forth the fingers as of a man and wrote upon the wall of his house, upon the plaster opposite the lamp."

And to this is added immediately the variant which supplies the place of the 28th verse, omitted from the Chigi text. The Revised Version reads :—

"In the same hour came forth the fingers of a man's hand and wrote over against the candlestick on the plaster of the wall of the king's palace, and the king saw the part of the hand that wrote."

Between these three versions there seems but little difference, only that in the Masoretic MS. "house" becomes "the palace of the king" (in Theodotion, τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ βασιλέως). The addition *ὡσεὶ* to the Chigi in both forms is probably due to the desire to make it clear that the appearance was supernatural.

The Chigi version of the sixth verse is :—

"And his visage was changed, and fears and suspicions excited him. Then the king hastened and rose up and saw that writing, and his companions about him boasted."

Whereas the Revised Version runs thus :—

"And the king's countenance (marg., brightness) was changed in him, and his thoughts troubled him, and the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another."

It is evident that the Chigi translator has analyzed רָעִינִי into φόβοι καὶ τρόμοι; but the differences in the latter portion of the verse go much further. The Chigi version is too vivid for the work of an ordinary *falsarius*; in fact, the latter portion of the verse in the Masoretic recension looks exceedingly like an expansion of the symptoms of fear. One would be inclined to suggest that the end of the sixth verse ran, קָם מִלְכָּא, כְּהֵל לְמַחְזָא כְּתֻבָּה וְהָרָו מִשְׁתַּחֲוִי סוּבְרִיָּה, and that קָם was misread into כְּהֵא, and כְּהֵא was vocalized כְּהֵל, and the clause dropped out as really occurring later. If הָרָו had the ם inserted at the end, we can easily appreciate the readiness with which the reader would turn it into חֲרָצָה, and change מִשְׁתַּחֲוִי into מִשְׁתַּחֲוִיָּה. In that case, his pleonastic description of the king's fear would be to hand;

and he would be rid of the seemingly unmeaning but really highly picturesque addition, "and his companions boasted themselves about him."

When we proceed to the seventh verse, we find the difference between the Chigi text and that handed down to us by the Masoretes is not great. The Chigi reads:—

"And the king cried with a great cry that they should call the diviners, the sorcerers, the Chaldeans, the magicians, to tell the interpretation of the writing; and they came in to look at the sight and see the writing, and they were not able to make known to the king the interpretation. Then the king made commandment, saying, Any man who shall show the interpretation of the writing, he shall put on him a purple robe, and put round his neck a golden chain, and authority shall be given him over a third part of the kingdom."

The Revised Version is:—

"The king cried aloud to bring in the enchanters, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers. The king spake and said to the wise men of Babylon, Whosoever shall read this writing, and show me the interpretation thereof, shall be clothed with purple, and have a chain of gold about his neck, and shall be the third ruler of the kingdom."

The difference as will be seen is slight—probably there was a slightly different reading in the Chigi Hebrew of the first clause; it is much more Hebraistic than the Masoretic. In the last clause there has been a difficulty in regard to *חֲבִיב*

In regard to the eighth verse the only essential difference is that while in Theodotion those called to interpret the inscription are called "All the wise men of Babylon," in the Chigi version the different classes are enumerated. In this the Masoretic would seem to be the more primitive.

In the following verses the differences between the two versions are much more important. The Chigi rendering of the ninth and tenth verses is this —

"Then the king called the queen about this sign, and showed to her how great it was, and that no one was able to tell to the king the meaning of the writing. Then the queen reminded him concerning Daniel, who was of the captivity of Judea, and she said to the king, He was a man of understanding and wisdom exceeding all the wise men of Babylon; and a Holy Spirit is in him, and in the days of thy father the king he showed to Nebuchadnezzar thy father wonderful interpretations."

The rendering of the Revised Version we subjoin:—

"Then was King Belshazzar greatly troubled, and his countenance was changed in him, and his lords were perplexed. Now the queen by reason of the words of the king and his lords came into the banquet house: and the queen spake and said, Oh king, live for ever: let not thy thoughts trouble thee, nor let thy countenance be changed: there is a man in thy kingdom in whom is the spirit of the holy gods; and in the days of thy father light and understanding and wisdom, like the wisdom of the gods, was found in him. And the king Nebuchadnezzar thy father, the king, I say, thy father, made him master of the magicians, enchanters, Chaldeans, and soothsayers; forasmuch as an excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding, interpreting dreams, and showing of dark sentences, and dissolving of doubts, were found in the same Daniel, whom the king named Belteshazzar. Now, let Daniel be called, and he will show the interpretation."

No one will deny that the second is much longer and more rhetorical than the former. In the one case the queen mother is called in and consulted, whereas, in the Masoretic text, she comes in of her own accord "to the banquet house," and volunteers her opinion. The description of Daniel's qualifications in the latter case has evidently been subjected to a process of expansion. The contrary supposition that the process has been one of condensation can scarcely be maintained, for there is no motive discernible to occasion this shortening of the narrative.

Whereas according to the Masoretic text to be found in the Authorised and Revised, when Daniel comes in, Belshazzar addresses a rhetorical account of all he had heard of him, and is answered by Daniel in a speech equally rhetorical, but not so courteous. Compare that with this terse narrative :—

"Then Daniel was brought in to the king. And the king answered and said to him, O Daniel, art thou able to show me the interpretation of the writing? and I will clothe thee in purple, and I will put a chain of gold about thy neck, and thou shalt have authority over a third part of my kingdom."

The verse that follows in the Chigi really corresponds to the twenty-fifth verse of Theodotion's version and of the Masoretic recensions :—

"Then Daniel stood before the writing, and read it, and thus he answered to the king, This is the writing: it hath been numbered; it was reckoned; it hath been taken away; and the hand which had written stood, and this is the interpretation of those (words)."

Then follows a verse which interrupts the connection, somewhat like in character to the omitted verses :—

"Thou, O king, madest a feast to thy friends, and drankest wine, and the vessels of the house of the living God were brought to thee, and ye drank in them, thou and thy lords, and ye praised all the idols made with the hands of men; and the living God ye did not praise, and thy breath is in His hand, and thy royalty He gave it thee, and thou didst not bless Him, neither praised Him."

That this verse interrupts the flow of the sense is obvious, coming in as it does between the declaration of the words and the statement of their meaning. However, they are found in Bugati's Syriac. The Chigi now proceeds :—

"This is the interpretation of the writing: The time of thy kingdom is numbered, thy kingdom ceaseth; it hath been cut short and ended, thy kingdom is given to the Medes and the Persians."

There are considerable differences between this and the Masoretic text, and differences that are difficult to explain. It seems clear that the writer of the Chigi version must have had a different Aramaic text before him. It is not unnatural that as the words *Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin*, were Aramaic words, the translator should put down the meaning rather than the words, yet the meaning he gives is not the plain literal meaning, but the symbolic meaning given by Daniel. In that case the words might be reckoned a redundancy, and so left out.

The following verse agrees generally with the Masoretic:—

“Then Baltasar the king clothed Daniel in purple, and put a chain of gold about his neck, and gave him authority over the third part of his kingdom.”

The last verse, as we reckon it, differs materially. In the Chigi what is said is:—

“And this interpretation came upon Baltasar the king, and the kingdom was taken from the Chaldeans and given to the Medes and the Persians.”

The last verse, according to the Masoretic, is, as we all remember, “And that night was Belshazzar king of the Chaldeans slain.” It is impossible to deduce the one reading from the words of the other; there has been deliberate substitution of one phrase for another. Had the Jews been given to accurate estimation of probabilities, we might have thought the Chigi readings had been the supplanter, but the epigrammatic completeness of the short sentence in the Masoretic text has a rhetorical ring about it. Certainly, on the assumption that the Chigi reading is correct, the events of the night are not crowded in the inconceivable fashion they are according to the Masoretic text.

While a study of the fifth chapter gives the idea on the whole that the Chigi version represents a more primitive text, if we pass on to the sixth chapter the phenomena are reversed. Whereas in the fifth chapter the Chigi was the shorter and the Masoretic the longer, in the sixth chapter it is the Chigi that is the longer while the Masoretic is shorter on the whole. In the first three verses the Chigi is shorter, but the fourth and fifth verses are very much longer. In the Chigi these two verses are as follows:—

“And Daniel was clothed with purple, and was great and honoured before Darius the king, because he was had in reputation, and was understanding and prudent, and there was an holy spirit in him, and he prospered in the affairs of the king which he did. Then the king determined to put Daniel over his whole kingdom, and the two men whom he had set along with him, and the one hundred and twenty-seven satraps. And when the king determined to place Daniel over his whole kingdom, then the two young men took counsel with themselves, saying to each other, when they found neither sin nor transgression against Daniel concerning which they might accuse him to the king, and they said, Come let us set up a decree in regard to ourselves that no man should make a request or offer a prayer to any god for thirty days, save only of Darius the king, otherwise he shall be put to death—that they might injure Daniel in the eyes of the king, and that he be cast into the den of lions. For they knew that Daniel prayed and made supplication to the Lord his God three times a day.”

If we now return to the Revised Version as representing the Masoretic text, we find the passage much briefer:—

“Then the presidents and the satraps sought to find occasion against Daniel as touching the kingdom; but they could find none occasion nor fault; forasmuch as he was faithful, neither was there any error or fault found in him. Then said these men, We shall not find any occasion against this Daniel, except we find it against him concerning the law of his God.”

In comparing these two versions, the Masoretic as the shorter is the preferable. We need not go over the whole of this sixth chapter, the

phenomena presented throughout the chapter are similar to those in the five verses in the beginning. Other chapters show precisely similar characteristics.

From all this the natural deduction is that the Hebrew-Aramaic text from which the Chigi version was made was different from the Masoretic text. And further, that they were independent of each other, but dependent on a common text much shorter than either. A curious proof of the independence of the two originals and their common dependence on an earlier recension is found in the name of the Chief of the Eunuchs. In the Masoretic text the name is אֶבְיָזָר. This becomes in Theodotion *Ἀσφανεξ*. The Chigi has *Ἀβιέδρι*, or *Ἀβιέζερ*. These two names, Abiezer or Abiesdri on the one side, and Ashpenaz on the other, cannot be derived either from the other. The first of these occurs in Judges vi. 11 and viii. 2, in Hebrew אֶבְיָזָר or אֶבְיָזָר, the second being the patronymic. The second, to appearance, is modelled in אֶבְיָזָר, Gen. x. 3. The probability is that we have to do here with a case of a common habit people have of changing a foreign name into a form that shall convey a definite meaning to their minds. If we may take a somewhat undignified example, the sailors who in the beginning of this century served in the *Bellerophon* always called it the *Bullyruffian*. Numerous examples of the same thing will occur to every one. It is evident that while neither has been modified from the other, both have been derived from a common source. Lenormant on this principle has suggested the original name to have been אֶשְׁתָּר, which he regards as equivalent to *Assa-ibni-zir*. "Ishtar has formed the germ." The process that has taken place in regard to this name has, in our opinion, taken place in regard to the whole book.

But further, from the fact that the aberrancies take one form in one chapter and another form in another, while there are sections in which the deviations are unimportant, it would seem as if the various sections existed in separate leaflets before they were gathered together, and that each of these leaflets had a special history and treatment. The main difficulty in maintaining that view is the fact that both the Chisian Daniel and the Masoretic have in the main the same leaflets. If we further imagine this collection made early, and the leaflets still being carried about, then additions made to any stray leaflet would be added to the corresponding section in the collection.

Another phenomenon has to be noted. There are several cases of two readings having been combined in the Chigi. In chap. iv., verses 3, 4, and 5 seem to be different reading of the same passage, "I slept upon my bed, and behold a lofty tree springing out of the earth, and its appearance was great, and there was not another like to it; its branches were thirty cubits in length, and underneath its shadow all the beasts of the earth took shelter, and in it the birds of the heaven made their nests; and its fruit was much and good, and it supplied all living creatures; and the appearance thereof was great, and its head approached even to the heaven, and its extent was even to the

clouds filling the space beneath the heavens; the sun and the moon were in it, they dwelt and gave light to the whole earth." The junction of the two readings here combined is the phrase, ἡ δρᾱσις αὐτοῦ μεγάλη, repeated from the beginning of the passage.

There are several other passages that show efforts at combination, but the investigation of them would transcend the limits of our article.

If some competent critic would restore to us the probable text or texts behind the Chigi, and comparing his results with the Masoretic recension give us the probable original Daniel, he would confer an incalculable benefit on Biblical scholars.

One thing is evident, if both the Hebrew and Aramaic text, from which the Chigi translation and the Masoretic text have, independently, been so much changed and modified, the Hebrew and Aramaic will have many tokens of recency which are not to be attributed to the work in its original condition. Even when we direct our criticism merely to those parts whose connection with the primitive work is evidenced by their occurrence in both recensions, we are not quite safe to assume that the passage as we have it represents the Book of Daniel as it was first written. The interpolators might easily have been at work even before the divergence began between the two recensions.

On the other hand, if we are able to prove a general antiquity of style in Daniel, it carries us all the further back.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE HEBREW MONARCHY.

I.—LAND.

BY REV. PROF. W. H. BENNETT, M.A.

THERE is at present a growing tendency to appeal to the Old Testament for guidance in modern social questions, and in the face of this tendency we should realize as clearly as possible the social conditions of the times of the religious leaders and teachers of Israel. We are confronted at the outset by a paucity of information, but this is not great enough to hinder us from obtaining a few important results. It is necessary also to lay down some principle as to our use of the legislation of the Pentateuch. As far as the Hebrew monarchy is concerned, this legislation is the ideal of the reformer, and not the picture of actual working arrangements. We are, however, warranted in assuming that the ideal was suggested by the actual conditions of life, and that the authoritative establishment of the Pentateuch gave Divine authority to principles which had long been widely recognized as desirable standard of conduct, and which had exercised considerable influence over actual life. A good English landlord governs his conduct in the matter of remission of rents and granting of leases by a standard which is not legally binding upon him. A writer, in dealing with the English land system, would be misled if he should ignore this fact and take as his typical landlord the

acred Shylock, who always insists on his legal pound of flesh. In fact, the ideal standard which public opinion expects from any respectable man is far more important than the mere legal minimum of decency and honesty.

We begin with "land," because adequate opportunity to use land is in some ways a more fundamental condition of a satisfactory life than even personal freedom; or rather, perhaps, because, apart from such opportunity, what is called personal freedom is a vain and empty delusion.

This principle is thoroughly accepted by the theory and practice of the Old Testament. It is no great exaggeration to say that, at any rate under the early monarchy, freeman and landowner were in Israel, as so often elsewhere, synonymous terms. The Old Testament knows nothing about landlord and tenant, and rent of land. Its characters from the time of the Conquest, as far as we know their circumstances, are land-holders from Nabal and Barzillai down to Naomi and Jeremiah. The legislation in all the various codes assumes that the free Israelite will have land. In the Decalogue it is assumed that the Israelite possesses cattle. In the Book of the Covenant, Exodus xx. 20—xxiii. 33, in Deuteronomy, in Leviticus, it is assumed that the persons addressed are possessors of cattle, fields and vineyards, and olive-yards.¹ This fact, that for the most part the Israelite citizen was *ipso facto* a landowner, is too fully recognized to need further illustration. As Wellhausen says, "Throughout this period agriculture and gardening continued to be regarded as man's normal calling; the laws contained in Exod. xxi.-xxiii. rest entirely upon this assumption. To dwell in peace under his vine and under his fig-tree was the ideal of every genuine Israelite. Only in a few isolated districts, as in the country to the east of Jordan and in portions of Judah, did the pastoral life predominate. Art and industry were undeveloped, and were confined to the production of simple domestic necessities." A very good illustration of the close connection between the possession of land and personal freedom is found in Gen. xlvii. 18-26², where the Egyptians sell themselves and their land to Joseph, it does not seem to occur to them that they should sell their land and retain their own freedom. Passing from these ancient times to our own days, Prof. Robertson Smith speaks of "secluded parts of the Semitic world under a half-patriarchal constitution of society, where every freeman is a small land-holder."

It is at once obvious that the possession of land by almost every freeman is not consistent with absolute property in land on the part of the holder. Unless restrained by actual law or ancient custom or strong pressure of public opinion, necessity or selfishness would often induce men to sell the land away from their children. And, as a matter of fact, a large landless class always arises under the system of absolute private ownership of land. The theory of land tenure in Israel recognized no such absolute

¹ Exod. xxiii. 11; Deut. xxvi; Lev. xix. 9, 10.

² In xlvii. 21. instead of "he removed them to the cities," read with LXX. and Vulgate, "he made bondmen of them."

ownership. There is reason for believing that, as in other primitive communities, the land was the property rather of the family than of the individual. The account of the division of the land in the Book of Joshua speaks constantly¹ of a division "according to their families." The various regulations as to the sale of land all tend to keep it in the family. The Jubilee Law (Lev. xxv. 8-17), that land sold should revert to its owner at the end of each period of fifty years, is really a provision in favour of the family, rather than of the individual seller, who would often be dead before the Jubilee arrived. Whatever may be the date of this law, and however little practical effect it may have had, we may fairly regard it as an expression of a principle prevalent during the monarchy, that land cannot be alienated from the family. Besides the sale and purchase of land, there is another familiar method by which land passes from one family to another and becomes aggregated into large masses; namely, the marriage of female heirs into other families. This is guarded against in the Pentateuch in the regulation concerning the heiresses of Zelophehad, who had no sons (Num. xxvii. 1-11, xxxvi. 1-12; Josh. xvii. 3-4), whereby, as the A.V. heading quaintly and clearly puts the matter, "The inconvenience of the inheritance of daughters is remedied by marrying in their own tribes, lest the inheritance should be removed from the tribe. The daughters of Zelophehad marry their father's brother's sons."² The references to land in the prophets also indicate that the above laws embody the principles of the religious teachers of the monarchy. Thus Micah ii. 1, 2, "Woe to them that devise iniquity, and work evil upon their beds! When the morning is light they practise it, because it is in the power of their hand. And they covet fields, and seize them; and houses, and take them away: and they oppress a man and his house, even a man and his heritage." Here, as in the case of Naboth, the iniquity is not so much the violence as the violation of the sanctity of the heritage, the family possession. We may remind ourselves, as an illustration of this sanctity, of the story of the Sultan, who, rather than appropriate the house of a poor widow, spoilt by an ugly excrescence the sweep of his magnificent city walls. So again in Isaiah v. 8, "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no room, and ye be made to dwell alone in the midst of the land." Most instructive of all is the scene in Neh. v. 1-13. The nobles and the rulers had taken advantage of the necessity of their poorer brethren to get possession of their fields, vineyards, oliveyards, houses, and children by the methods, and doubtless, also, on the terms, by which usurers take advantage of the extremity of their clients. And Nehemiah contended with them, and held a great assembly against them, and denounced their doings, and exacted an oath that they would restore the land, and uttered a solemn curse against any one who should fail to do so.

It is curious that the one exception to the Law of Jubilee is "a dwelling-house in a walled city" (Lev. xxv. 29); but this fact has no real bearing on modern discussions as to unearned increment; the assumption underlying the

¹ Josh. xviii. 11, and *passim*.

² Cf. Ruth iv. 5.

exception is, that the term "dwelling-house" implies that the owner lives in it.

We see, then, that the holder of land was denied one essential feature of absolute ownership, the right of free and complete sale. His ownership was also limited in other ways. Holding not for himself alone, but also for his family, he was bound to keep the land in good condition by leaving it fallow every seventh year (Lev. xxv. 1-7.) Tithes were claimed from him for the benefit of the poor, and the support of the worship of the state sanctuary.¹ The poor had certain rights of gleaning in cornfields and vineyards. The corners of the harvest field, the fallen fruit of the vineyard, were to be left for the poor (Lev. xix. 9, 10, xxiii. 22); and again (Deut. xxiv. 20, 1), "When thou beatest thine olive-tree, thou shalt not go over the boughs again . . . when thou gatherest the grapes of thy vineyard, thou shalt not glean it after thee; it shall be for the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow." These laws are an attempt to retain for the landless and impoverished classes some rights in the land.

While we may fairly assume that the above principles exerted great influence over the life of the monarchy, we cannot determine with any accuracy how far actual practice conformed to the theory. Even in early times we read of men like Nabal and Barzillai with very great possessions, though it is noteworthy that both belong to the more nomadic and less settled parts of the country. The Carmel of Nabal is not the well-known mountain, but a district in the south of Judah. Moreover, there are many indications that as the monarchy became somewhat civilized, large estates were gathered by fraud, violence, venal decisions of judges, and no doubt also by fair purchase. In the Northern Kingdom especially the frequent dynastic revolutions must have afforded welcome opportunities for wholesale confiscations. Saul himself claims to have given to his favourite Benjamites, "every one of them," fields and vineyards.

We may summarize our information on the subject thus: The general tendency of primitive arrangements was to make every freeman a landholder, the land being, so to speak, entailed in the family, and being regarded as the means of support not only of the actual holder, but also in a secondary and less degree of his poorer relations and neighbours. The principles of these arrangements were, no doubt, frequently violated on a large scale by those who had the power and inclination to do so; and the influence of these principles tended to decline with the growing complexity of life under the monarchy. On the other hand, they were always regarded as the social ideal and Divine order for Israel, the prophets supported them with all the weight of their influence, and they were ultimately embodied in the Authoritative Divine Law in the Pentateuch.

¹ Lev. xxvii.; Num. xviii.; Deut. xii.

EXPOSITORY THOUGHT.

TYPES OF SERVICE.

JOHN xii. 1-8.

By REV. PROF. J. IVERACH, D.D.

WE assume that the event here recorded by John is the same as that recorded by Matthew and by Mark. The coincidences of time and place and incidents are too marked to permit any other conclusion. Important additions are certainly made by John. From him we know who Mary was. She was the sister of Lazarus "who had been dead, whom Jesus raised from the dead." John also places this act of hers in its proper historical setting. He establishes a close relation between her deed of adoration and the great, loving work of Jesus in raising Lazarus from the dead. It was, in part at least, Mary's thanksgiving for that act of loving power. Martha, too, had her act of thanksgiving, as we shall see. But neglecting other things, our present purpose is to show what forms our loyal service to the Lord Jesus Christ may most properly take. We found on this passage, as here we have distinct types of service corresponding to distinct types of character. True service is rooted in the personality, is the proper outcome of the temperament, character, and disposition we have received. Our personal, loyal service ought to be as well-marked and individual as are our faces. Martha cannot serve as Mary served, nor Mary as Martha. But the light is always attended by shadow. The qualities which fit us for true personal, special service may become the occasion of our greatest danger, and may lead us to the most disastrous results. Our greatest strength lies very close to our greatest weakness. And what fits us for great and efficient work in the kingdom of God may also, when misused, lead us to betrayal, treachery, and rebellion to the Lord Jesus Christ. In this narrative we have Martha and Mary finding out and rendering to the Master the service appropriate to them. We have also Judas, a man of splendid faculties in many ways, through these same faculties sinking to the level of a betrayer and a thief.

Six days before the Passover Jesus came to Bethany. Then they made Him a supper, and Martha served; but Lazarus was one of them that sat at the table with Him. Martha served. It was her way of adoration and of praise. The right and proper way for her. How true and how consistent are the notices of Martha and of Mary which we find in this and in Luke's Gospel. She was, in the earlier Gospel, cumbered with much serving. Her heart was in her household work. There was at one time, indeed, a risk that this devotion of hers to the business of the household might overmaster her, and cause her to think it the one thing needful. The loving rebuke of the Master saved her from that danger. But she manifests the same prevailing disposition and tendency all through. In the house of mourning she cannot sit still; she must be up and moving about. So she was the first to hear of the arrival of Jesus at the outskirts of the village.

No sooner had she heard of His coming than she went to meet Him. Feeling the sorrow of bereavement keenly, she yet was able to give her sorrow words, and Jesus could comfort her with words, and lead her thoughts upwards by successive steps until she could give expression to her trust in the words, "I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God which should come into the world." Ever active and energetic, she could not rest even in the house of mourning. It is quite characteristic of her to find it recorded of the supper they made Him at Bethany, that Martha served. And a right good way of service it was. It was work done from the heart, and for the sake of the Master. One is glad in these days of ours, when the sacredness of common life and common work is being thrust into the background by sacred seasons and special services, to find words like these in the record of the Gospel story. For Martha's service is in very truth a heavenly ministry; such words as these show us how to make our "drudgery divine," and transfigure our common life with the light of heaven. Our ordinary, everyday work may be made acts of worship, and the workshop, the mine, or the study may be consecrated by deeds of service which will make them like the house of God, and as the gate of heaven. Martha's work, no doubt, was in the beaten path of ordinary observance. There was nothing in it to attract notice of any kind, favourable or otherwise. She could find full scope for her thankfulness and devotion in such service. The danger for her was, lest she should think what was sufficient and right for her was the adequate measure of the service which others owed to Christ. Like all of us, she was likely to look coldly on those who could not serve in her way. But the work of Martha, good and true, and indispensable as it was and is, will not suffice for every one.

It could not suffice for Mary, who must find some other way to utter what is working in her heart. She who had sat in quiet, earnest stillness at Jesus feet, and heard His word; who, surrounded by the mourners, sat in the house of mourning, in a sorrow so intense as to find no relief in word, or sigh, or tear; she who, when she met with Jesus, could utter only one single cry and fall prostrate at His feet in utter abandonment of sorrow, whom He could comfort only by the silent sympathy of tears, could not express her gratitude for His love and mercy in Martha's way. She must find a way of her own. No words could express the deep devotion of her heart. "Then took Mary a pound of ointment of spikenard, very costly, and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped His feet with her hair: and the house was filled with the odour of the ointment." These intense, brooding natures do things which to others seem very strange; and yet it seemed to her, and in very truth was, the only right and proper thing for her to do. She had brooded over the wondrous grace and mercy and love of Jesus, and specially of that crowning deed of love, the raising of Lazarus from the dead; she had thought of the way by which she might express her gratitude, until no way seemed open to her, except to take her most precious possession, her alabaster box of very precious ointment, and, in one outburst of love and gratitude,

break it, and pour it out on His feet. So intent is she on this purpose, so preoccupied with this one thought, that she forgot herself, her shrinking nature, her retiring habits, and boldly, unconscious of the presence of the disciples, and of their cold, critical looks, she moved through the house to the accomplishment of her object. She saw Jesus only. She felt no other presence. Had she thought of them, or had she known the reception that awaited her act, she would not have had the courage. She would have shrunk from such an act of daring originality.

Martha's service was of no unusual kind, encountered no opposition, and met with no criticism. But Mary's service could not escape criticism. No act of the kind ever did. As long as Christian work is on the old lines and in the old ways there will be little opposition. It is, of course, true that work on the old lines is good, and right, and indispensable. But it is also true that for some the old ways do not suffice. The emotions of love and gratitude must find an outlet, and often finds it in an unexpected way. It must, however, pay the penalty. From the Church and from the world comes the cry of Utopianism, enthusiasm, fanaticism. "To what purpose is this waste?" said Judas, and in this sentiment he had the sympathy of the disciples, for it is said "they murmured against her." With all respect to the critics, be they malevolent critics like Judas, or only mistaken ones like the disciples, it is to people of such daring originality, of such intense, pervasive love, that the world and the Church are most deeply indebted. Such criticism was no doubt freely passed during those 120 years while Noah was building the ark. There would doubtless be a good deal of laughter, and mockery, and scorn in that Eastern land when Abraham announced his intention of setting out on an unknown path, to an unknown way. Bold common sense would make merry over the absurdity of his action in going forth, "not knowing whither he went." Scorn and laughter, not unmixed with wonder, no doubt, prevailed in Pharaoh's court, when Moses, who was brought up on the steps of the throne, forsook Egypt, braved the wrath of the king, and cast in his lot with his enslaved and oppressed kinsmen. The same scorn, mockery, and laughter pursues every one who ventures to leave the common beaten track of former service. No good or great work has ever yet been done without encountering such opposition.

It is to be observed also that those whose life mark new eras in the history of the Church, and whose work open out new paths in which the feet of succeeding generations may safely tread, are themselves unconscious, for the most part, of the newness of their work. They have lived a high, sacred life, apart from their fellows. They have sat at Jesus' feet and heard His word. They have meditated on His ways in the watches of the night. As they muse the fire burns, their thoughts and desires take definite form and outline, and they come forth to their fellow-men, their hearts aflame with the glow of a mighty purpose of love. The work they have in hand is not theirs. They are constrained thereto by the love which burns within them. They must speak the message. they must do the work. They find they can

do no otherwise than take up the alabaster box of a precious human life and pour it forth in an act of prolonged service to the Master. Nor are such aware of the reception with which they are likely to meet. They are so engrossed with the thought of their work that they can think of nothing else. Mary did not think of the disciples. She only thought of Jesus and His love.

And she was amazed, shocked, and for a time full of trouble, at the reception accorded to her deed of thanksgiving. For a little while she seems to have felt the paralysis of doubt. Could it be possible that she had done a foolish deed, and wasted what might have been put to profitable use? As long as she kept looking at the faces of Judas and the other disciples her doubts and troubles must have continued. They did not understand the impulse which moved her, nor the great thought of consecration which inspired the deed. But the Master understood, and appreciated the beautiful heroic action. Love is justified of her children, and the self-sacrifice of Mary is accepted by the Lord. She raises her eyes in troubled inquiry to see the face of Jesus, and the trouble flees away. She hears the words which reproved their censure and accepted her deed of service. Nay, she found she was wiser, more far-seeing than she had intended to be. She meant to give expression to her deep gratitude and love; she found that her action fell in with the great Divine purpose of love, and was part of the Divine plan.

Thus we are to receive the impulse which is to guide us, not from the Church nor from the world, but from the Head of the Church, from long and living fellowship with Him. And we are to look for the approval of our service, not in the faces of the disciples nor of those who are onlookers, but in the face of Him who loved sinners and gave Himself for them. The service which wins His approval may meet with cold condemnation from all others. No doubt that is a time of utter pain, misery, and self-distrust when the light of common day is poured on our cherished schemes, and our thoughts are subjected to the stern ordeal of suspicion and criticism; yet the strength which comes from communion with God will sustain us, as it sustained Mary, and the words of approval which the Master speaks will more than compensate for all obloquy and suspicion. We labour as in His presence, and labour that we may win His approval.

Mary's act called forth the sneering opposition of Judas, and the thoughtless disapproval of the others. "Why was not this sold for three hundred pence and given to the poor?" Judas knew the money value of things. He was quick at mental arithmetic. The short interval that elapsed while Mary was walking to the place where Jesus reclined, and while she broke the alabaster box and poured the ointment on His feet, was quite sufficient to enable Judas to appraise the value of the box and its contents. It was worth three hundred pence, a year's wages for a working man. It might have been given to the poor. "This," John adds, "he said, not that he cared for the poor; but because he was a thief, and had the bag, and bare what was put therein."

Judas wished to have the handling of the money. Some of what was in the bag had already stuck to his fingers. This was the true reason of his objection, but the other disciples joined with him in disapproval because of the newness and strangeness of Mary's action.

The same ethical law meets us in Judas as met us in the characters of Martha and of Mary. For there can be no doubt that it was some special fitness which led to the appointment of Judas as treasurer to the little band. He was a business man, apt at figures, understanding almost intuitively the business relation of things. Nor is it difficult to understand how the quick, intelligent man of business should degenerate till he became a traitor and a thief. He would quickly become conscious of his own superiority, would despise the unbusiness-like simplicity and trustfulness of his companions, and grow more proud and confident in himself as the years passed on. His business faculty would overmaster him, become his idol and his master, draw will and heart and conscience into its service, and gradually transform the free personality into a business machine. Then would come impatience with all unbusiness-like proceedings, attempts to cajole, or threaten, or hoodwink the others, so that things might go on in a way to satisfy the man of business. Thus he might be led on step by step until the power of self-guidance passed out of his hands into the hands of the prince of this world, and Judas betrayed his Master.

It is the same lesson that is read here in Martha and in Mary; there in Judas. For the splendid business faculty of Judas might have been as useful to the Church of Christ as were the impetuous forwardness of Peter and the fervent love of John. Had it been like theirs, subordinated to the will and conscience, or ruled and controlled by fervent love to the Master, then no doubt the name of Judas would not have been the thing of terror which it is. The faculty which might have been of unspeakable service was the cause of his ruin, and of the great wrong he strove to do to the Master and His cause. We should miss the awful ethical lesson which lies in the character of Judas if we did not see that there lurks near each one of us a similar danger. Those qualities in which we excel mark out for us the line of our greatest service and the line of our greatest risk.

THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

ANTIOCH, THE BIRTHPLACE OF "CHRISTIANITY."

By REV. PROF. H. R. REYNOLDS, D.D.

A social difference which for a time was held in abeyance among the ranks of these "believers," "disciples," and "brethren," led to the conference upon them by their enemies of a new name. A moment subsequently arose when the Hebrew believers passionately asserted that their "open secret" was a privilege to be jealously restricted to themselves or to those

outsiders who had become incorporated with the religious commonwealth by sacramental observance. "A great company of the priests became obedient to the faith." A flash of light convinced the minds of numerous Jews that Jesus, though He had been crucified and slain by them, despised and rejected by the chiefs of the nation, was nevertheless a fulfilment of a widely-spread Messianic hope. The idea of a great conqueror and ruler of men who should arise among the inhabitants of Palestine, had reached the eye and ear of Roman poets and historians, and was then looked at by them in much the same languid form as the appearance of the Mahdi of the Mohammedan faith is now regarded by the people of Western Europe. The Samaritans and the synagogues of the dispersion had given currency to the expectation. The poetry of Daniel and the fourth book of Esdras, and the book of Enoch, had supplied a special religious character to the anticipation, but this was not the prevailing sentiment. Belief in the Messiah was a common characteristic of the majority of this scattered but invincible and indestructible nationality. Antioch was one of the three most celebrated cities of the Roman Empire. There all the ideas, customs, and merchandise of the East came into sharp collision with Greek thought and Roman power. The splendour of its architecture, the extent of its schools and libraries, the solemnity of its temples and synagogues, its pomp and its learning, its politics and its licentiousness, made it one of the most luxurious, opulent, brilliant, and influential centres of the Roman Empire. There was a considerable garrison or body-guard of picked Roman legions always ready for emergencies. The very fragment from the Acts of the Apostles to which we have referred shows that the Roman society resident in Antioch must, from some causes now unknown, have been brought into contact with these "believing" Jews, these "brethren" of Jesus, these "disciples" of the New Master. For the most part, if the cities of Rome, Alexandria, or Cyrene had been examined, no special temptation would have been conspicuous to give these people any particular *soubriquet*. They must have had simply the character of a Jewish sect or school. As Hillel and Schammai had groups of followers who treasured the tradition of earlier Rabbis, and gloried in their esoteric doctrine, so this new enthusiasm and doctrine would be simply regarded as some incomprehensible Haggada, Halacha, or Midrash with which strangers could not intermeddle.

We must not forget, however, that in Rome, Alexandria, Thessalonica, and Corinth, nay, even in obscure cities like Derbe and Lystra, the Jews had established themselves. Under the slopes of Mount Prion at Ephesus, and along the river banks in proximity of great cities, the Jewish synagogue or the simple *prosencha* had been built, where the laws of Moses, the prophetic hopes and the spiritual wisdom of Israel were "read every Sabbath day." These scattered communities aimed at proselytism. Sea and land were compassed with the hope of making a single convert. The special privilege conferred in imagination upon the neophytes induced a vast number of "Gentiles" to seek information and guidance from these Jewish teachers.

A distinct class of earnest, or at least curious, inquirers, without any further concession than that supplied by their presence, were accustomed to worship God, and express reverence for the simplicity and august grandeur of the Hebrew Creed. The tradition of the Divine Unity held by the Jews through many centuries impressed their imagination more than the ingenious speculations of the popular sophists, and transcended the rhetorical interpretation and allegorical exegesis inflicted on their own classical poetry and religious mythology. So it came to pass that around every Jewish settlement in Cyrene or Cyprus, on the seaboard of Syria, in Tarsus and Antioch, a marvellous soil had been prepared in which the seed of this new faith might be sown. Those "who feared God and wrought righteousness" were rapidly impressed by the new ideas that began to prevail of the Divine character, of the Divine accessibility, of the possibility of pardon for moral offences, and a burning hope of eternal life. They found themselves beguiled or attracted to a full admission of the teaching of Jesus, and were willing to accept the main truths held about Him by the converted or convinced Jews. Seeing that in every such settlement, or at all events in many of these Jewish communities, Gentiles must soon have far outnumbered the Jews themselves, consequently perplexity and even jealousy arose in the minds of the original believers. The movement among those who "feared God" excited the attention of many who were in no sense adherents of Judaism. A multitude of Gentiles turned to the Lord without any preliminary training in the Jewish synagogue. For several years the process went on apace, and even Jerusalemites of proved integrity and loyalty to both the ancient faith and the new light could not but feel a sacred thrill of joy "when they saw the grace of God" and found that "the door of faith was opened to the Gentiles." The communities thus loosely compacted demanded places and opportunity for common recognition, and for mutual intercourse and united prayer. In sheltered places of the great piazzas of Antioch, in gardens around Byblus, they probably met for worship. Throngs were seen by the side of the river Orontes, washing in the sacred waters, sometimes breaking bread and drinking wine together, entirely possessed by a mysterious but common impulse. A strange abnormal excitement seemed to possess them. A communistic fervour induced them to share their belongings with each other. Every man seemed to reveal a unique self-forgetfulness. Moreover, multitudes were almost beside themselves with joy. They sang jubilant words. They saluted each other with affection and confidence. They even buried their dead with shouts of gladness.

The Proconsul of Syria might have seen them with wonder as he rode to the shrine of Apollo, or to his seat on the Bema. They were continually swollen by some trade guild from Tarsus, or even by knots of Roman soldiers with or without their centurion. What did it all mean? Were these groups of Jews plotting some new scheme of fanatical mischief? The reply might easily have been that the Jews are only a minority of the assembly. Nor did they look half so happy and contented as the Greek

traders or Roman soldiers who had joined them. "Why are the temples deserted to-day?" The answer came, "Everybody has gone to this gathering of these Jewish 'disciples' of an unseen Teacher." The day is a very great day with them, they are singing hymns to Jesus who was crucified by Pontius Pilate ten years ago, as if He were a God, and declare that He Himself is with them. The Roman officers failed to understand the principle or link of this new brotherhood. However, the chief centre of the perplexing phenomenon obviously and involuntarily disclosed itself. Jews, Greeks, Romans, and Antiochenes were constantly using one word. The crucified Teacher who had perished in a wild tumult ten years before was called by them their *CHRISTOS*. It was widely known that all the Jews of the empire expected the coming of an Anointed King, Captain, and Prophet, who would lead them in triumph and make their ancient fortress-city the throne of a new Augustus. The temple of Herod was approaching completion, and neither the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, nor that of Theseus at Athens, nor that of Capitoline Jupiter at Rome exceeded it in splendour. The Greeks, who joined heart and hands with the Hebrews, had merely translated into their common tongue the Aramaic word *Messiah*, and spoke also of their *Christos*.

The puzzle must have been deep, because it was understood that the Jews had crucified Jesus with malicious nauseous professions of peculiar and abnormal loyalty to Tiberius. "We (said they) have no king but Cæsar." "If thou let this man go, thou art no friend to Cæsar." It was confidently believed that they would do the like again, if one claiming to be their expected Messiah were to adopt the purely ethical and non-political lines of the said Jesus. The depositions of Pontius Pilate, with which a governor of Syria would probably be familiar, proved that he had tampered with justice, and in cowardice had yielded to a clamour that he could not silence; that he could discern no political aims whatever in the humiliated prisoner at his bar; and, further, that the conversation that passed between Jesus and himself was strangely inconsistent with the ordinary contents of a state paper. Moreover, the chief priests and Roman officials certified the death and burial of the malefactor, and the former were irate and vehement in their assertion that the death of a slave and traitor was inflicted on him. One can almost hear the natural inquiry—"What do you mean by the delirious fancy of these people that they have Jesus still shrouded in some mysterious centre of their fellowship? If this *Christos* is in Antioch or spirited away to the Sabine hills, we must put our best detectives on the scent, capture and crucify Him over again." But the difficulty presented itself, that He, according to these people, was in Cæsarea as well as in the Jewish temple, in Tarsus and Alexandria as well as at Antioch, and at the same time too! It transcended every specimen of sorcery or second sight that had ever been heard of. It was found that Cornelius of the Italian *Speira*, was as convinced of this fact as any one of the mad fanatics. Such an awkward fact might excite much alarm, lest an outbreak of this "wretched superstition" should take a form that would disturb the peace of the city.

It is scarcely to draw upon imagination to say that the chariot of Vibius Marsus and the body-guard of the governor may easily have been brought to a halt by a dense knot of these strangely happy-looking men, out of whose foreheads the wrinkles of care seemed smoothed, and from whose eyes fear had vanished. "There (Marcellus may have said to Vibius) do you hear that chant they are singing in a musical whisper?"

"I can distinguish nothing except the one word 'Christos.'"

He listened again, and the words "*Christos egegetai ek nekron*" was now audible enough, as the group turned at right angles to the piazza, and the Proconsul of Syria continued his progress amid the salutations of the passers-by.

Now, the condition of feeling in Antioch was different from that which prevailed in Judæa. A moral portent had been wrought in Upper Syria. The irreconcilable hostility between Jew and Greek on all religious ideas seemed to have suddenly subsided, at least for the present, as if by some magic touch. Jews and Greeks formed a religious brotherhood. All who joined their ranks appeared fanatical in the strength of a common centre of attraction, connoted by this one name. The nucleus of a new and universal religious movement blazed in the focus of this nebulous mist of happy light. The blending of hostile elements, the brotherhood of Roman soldiers and Jerusalem priests, the union of the upper classes with their slaves at a common feast, was so startling, so novel, so puzzling a phenomenon, that the Roman part of the society of Antioch gave it a nickname, and called the strange people *Christiani*. (The Greek form for such a *soubriquet* would have been *Christeioi*, the Latin form *Christiani* becomes noticeable and significant.) This name of power became current in human speech, to denote a unifying force, a binding and blending of inveterate animosities in a potent conception which, though it might suffer subsequent disintegration, became the watchword of new conceptions of God and man, the symbol of a new brotherhood, the dawn of a new philosophy, the beginning of a new heaven and a new earth.

THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF CREATION.

I.—CREATION AND EVOLUTION:

(1) THE ORIGIN OF THE PHYSICAL UNIVERSE.

By REV. J. D. ROBERTSON, M.A., B.Sc.

WHEN looking up at the galaxy of constellations in an evening sky, or listening to the winds, or firmly treading the solid earth, we naturally ask ourselves whence came these things. Christian theology says they have been created by God, natural science that they have been gradually evolved from a homogeneous cloud-like mass of highly attenuated atoms under the unequal action of force. Are these answers contradictory? Do they mutually exclude each other, or is there room for the creative activity of God working in and through those slow processes of evolution.

This question of the origin of things is nearly as old as man himself. It must have come up in one form or another during the very childhood of the race. For men as men are never content to accept the mere impressions of outward things. They must go beyond or beneath them. As soon as ever their chief bodily wants are supplied, and the pressure of appetite lessened, there arise in all developing minds those inquiries which are the beginnings alike of theology and science.

We find them, for example, among primitive men. They gaze upon the purple-tinted mountains that surround their dwellings, and wonder—who piled up these against the sky? who dug a channel for the mighty waters, or swathed the hills in mists? The invisible powers which agitate the leaves of the forest, and carry the rain or snow against their faces—what are they? Who causes the sun to make his daily round through the heavens, or directs the flying clouds and forked lightnings? Who set agoing the nightly procession of lights overhead? Who alters the size and shape of the moon? What makes single stars shoot ever and anon through the sky like sparks from an unseen forge? These are some of the things which awaken the interest and engage the attention of early men.

Now the answers to such native questionings of the soul are to be found embodied in the cosmogonies or theogonies of all the different races of mankind, and before we consider how far evolution and creation are reconcilable a review of the history of their respective doctrines will be necessary. Theories of creation had passed through all the essential stages of development before science (in the modern acceptation of the term) began to be. The unity of God must precede the conception of the unity of nature and the birth of natural science.

As might be expected, these early cosmogonies are of very varying worth and validity. At first they are little more than legendary stories of the origin of the earth and the heavens. After the lapse of ages, and much conflict and development of opinion, they grow into those immense and highly articulated theologies, philosophies, and cosmologies which we know. The earliest read like the most artless of our fairy tales; the latest, to be even comprehensible, require considerable intellectual culture and highly developed powers of abstraction and generalization. But this is only what we have a right to expect. If there has been evolution in things, there must be also evolution in men's thoughts about them. Progress along these lines will be measurable by increasing complexity and comprehensiveness in the conception both of the creative power and the creative method. The successive changes in men's thoughts about the power at work in creation are best registered by their outgrowing, in turn, fetichistic, polytheistic, and dualistic beliefs. Whereas all the notable improvements in men's thinking about the method or process of creation are mainly the result of advances in natural science. Both, however, act and interact the one upon the other, and the combination of both lines of investigation is necessary for the construction of any tenable doctrine of the origin of things.

Proceeding upon this plan, the first type of cosmogony we have to consider is the fetichistic. Under its influence the world of nature is figured as the abode of countless spirits. Stream and grove, hill and valley, earth and sky, are peopled with these unseen beings. Animating the external objects in which they reside, they are the causes of motion and change in them. Though screened from human view, they are the real producers of all natural events, but especially of those which are exceptional or have inscrutable antecedents. As fickle in mind and inconstant in temper as their worshippers, they establish a reign of caprice in nature ; and so it comes about that the world of primitive man is like the fairyland of our childhood, where out of nothing anything may come, and return again to its native nothingness. The relations and transformations of external nature are endowed with all the spontaneities of the human spirit and life.

With such simple and rudimentary religious beliefs, anything worthy of being designated a theory of creation can scarcely be expected. There is apprehension of changes, but little or no comprehension of them. There are mythical accounts of the origin of particular objects like the sun, or the moon, or the earth, but no effort to explain the beginning of the world as a whole. At such a stage of mental and religious development no conception of a universe was possible, and therefore no attempt to account for its origin. For any such comprehensive and coherent generalization we have to await the advent and development of polytheism.

The transition from fetichism to polytheism is easy and almost imperceptible. No hard and fast boundary line can be drawn between them. When the lower disappears before the higher type of belief it does not entirely die out. It slowly sinks into a subordinate position and functions in the less enlightened and progressive sections of society. It may even be questioned whether fetichism ever utterly vanishes from the minds of the uncultured among non-Christian peoples.

On the basis of the polytheism long ago current among the Hindoo, Chinese, and Japanese races in the East, and among the Gothic races in the West, we have much higher orders of cosmogonies evolving. The simplicity, meagreness, and particularism of the lower is superseded by the richer, more elaborate and massive doctrines of the higher type. Moreover, there begins to appear some consciousness of the necessity for a wild kind of coherence between cause and effect, as well as herè and there a broken gleam of insight into the obscure processes of natural change and development.

Probably we are not mistaken in holding that there are elements common to all polytheistic cosmogonies ; but, at any rate, in those to which we have alluded, there are common characteristics which still survive under changed forms and in new relations. One of these is that at the beginning of things there was chaos—a primeval era when matter was as yet dark, and formless, and void. This primordial matter became first a kind of vast world-egg in the midst of which a creator-god sat brooding. Afterwards

this colossal world-egg is pictured as cleft in the middle; the upper and concave half rises to form the heavens, the lower is the earth. The seeds of light, with which the waters and inchoate earth are impregnated, represent the spiritual principle in its germinative and world-forming activity. Under its originating and directing influence the worlds are fashioned into the forms we see.

After the primary act of creating the raw material, the work of further developing this proceeds by a process of "eduction" or generation—we might almost say fermentation. To some extent the heavens and the earth may be spoken of as self-generated. For though the generative principle is deified, the deity who creates is but one among many, and it would seem that he finally disappears in his work, or survives only in the wonderful results which he brings about. In addition to this, the distribution of divine activities over a great variety of particular gods is an insuperable obstacle to any all-embracing conception of the origin of the whole of finite existence. Each deity is a more or less independent centre of life and energy, and there is no security that the one will work in relation to the other. Only when the creative power is conceived as one and absolute can we be certain that the various circles of being hang together in ultimate unity, and that the successive acts of new creation are developments the one of and for the other.

When we compare the highest and purest polytheistic cosmogonies with those of the dualistic religions, we become conscious of many superiorities in the latter. The crudities and intellectual imbecilities that disfigured the former are largely absent in the latter. With the discarding of the grotesque beliefs and strangely distorted deductions, there is the adoption of more refined and subtle doctrines. The acute perceptions of natural fact and the visions into the heart of things that sparkled in the older mythologies like diamonds in a dust-heap, these are carefully treasured and wisely used in the new.

The best of the dualistic cosmogonies are the Persian, Chaldean, and Etruscan. Whether tested by their implicit conception of the creative power or the creative method, the changes observable are distinct evidences of progress. The number of the gods has been reduced to two, the god of light and the god of darkness. From each of these there proceeds emanations. The mingling of these opposed emanations results in the formation of worlds. Through the strife and struggle for existence of each there is the birth of finite existence. According to the non-Persian hypotheses, the same result is accomplished in a more peaceful way by the parallel development of both principles. This is the dualistic doctrine of what is known as the primary or first creation.

Its account of the secondary or mediate origin of the content of existence surprises us by the number of new and fertile ideas which it introduces. The heavens and the light, the waters, the earth, the trees or vegetable life, the animals and man, are all presented as a series of emanations following

in graded succession from lower to higher. After the appearance of each, there ensues a kind of heavenly holiday or interval of rest and rejoicing in celebration of the completion of another period of Divine activity.

High as are the dualistic doctrines in comparison with those upon which they supervened, they, in turn, are supplanted by the still higher conceptions of monotheism. The good makes way for the better. The process of disintegration begins with those elements in the theory which are weakest and run counter to the ever-growing mind and moral nature of man. The duality of the creative power, and its representation under the materialistic figures of light and darkness, were fatal to the continuation of their ascendancy. For if the earth and the heavens are regarded as effluxes from the Divine nature, the necessary implication is that they are of the same substance as Deity, and the spirituality and supremacy of the creative power are imperilled. Some more adequate answer is required if human progress in the conception of the creative power is not to be prematurely arrested.

This we have in the Hebrew monotheistic cosmogony. It remedies the defects of preceding theories and supplies what in them was lacking. Its chief account of creation is to be found in the first chapters of Genesis, one of the books in the sacred Scriptures both of Jews and Christians. At first sight we may be more struck by that which it has in common with the dualistic hypothesis, the general order and succession in the Divine activities. These coincidences are sufficiently striking, and they produce upon unbiassed minds the impression that some of the materials out of which both accounts have been woven must have been derived from kindred sources. This should enhance rather than detract from the authority of the monotheistic doctrine. For if a revelation of truth is designed to be final within its own province, surely it should gather up within itself all that was true and good in the speculations which preceded it, and then inform these and the new material with so Divine a spirit and power that they shall for ever serve as infallible aids to the moral and spiritual life in man. This is the evident purpose of the inspired writer or compiler, and who shall say that he has not succeeded to perfection?

But the differences in the dualistic and monotheistic accounts of creation are more remarkable than their identities. The more closely we study this concrete cosmogony of the Hebrews, the more are we impressed with its unique excellences and Divine sagacity. These become apparent when we test it either by its explicit conception of the creative power or its implicit deliverances upon the creative method. The first superiority is that which is by far the most important for the purpose in hand, and it is also the more conspicuous and indisputable.

The unity and spirituality of the creative power are brought vividly before us. The Eternal stands outside of and above the heavens and the earth as their Creator and Lord. By the free activity of His personal will all things were brought into being at the first, and His relation to them is that of absolute to dependent existence. He needed not that a primordial

something should be given Him upon which to begin His creative work. Within His own being there is an all-sufficiency both of power and wisdom even for the production of a universe.

In sublimity and true grandeur of conception this far surpasses all previous representations of the Godhead in His character as sole originator of finite being. The outline given at the same time of the method of creation appears meagre, and, to the modern scientific spirit, unsatisfying beside this magnificent and splendid revelation of the spirituality and sovereignty of the Creator. But before hastily endorsing such a judgment we must bear in mind the supreme ends of this dramatic psalm of creation. The exclusive aims are the moral and religious edification of men and a glorious inauguration of that work of human redemption which is the continuation in the kingdom of grace of the Divine creative activity begun in the lower kingdom of nature. Hence we need not timidly shrink from, but gladly welcome, its scanty rays of Divine light upon those vast and mysterious processes which are necessary to the evolution of millions upon millions of suns and systems within the boundless area of creation. We theologians must imitate the wise reserve of revelation in regard to things outside our range of truth, and like it, too, concentrate our energies upon those Divine verities which can alone minister to the preservation and evolution of the soul in man.

But whilst doing this, and whilst we rise to the full height of our spiritual conception of the Creative power, let us remember at the same time the largeness of our heritage of Divine truth as to the creative method. The doctrine of the Divine transcendence dominates the Old Testament, but the complementary truth of the Divine immanence is everywhere taught in the New. Let us realize all that this implies and suggests; and while it is seen to contradict a merely external or magisterial relation of God to His world, it teaches positively the identity of the creative with the redemptive principle; so that the same Logos or eternal heart and mind which in Christ is supreme in the kingdom of grace has been ever at work also in the kingdom of nature. The world of nature is one product of His creative love; the world of grace is another. He bears the whole universe of being upon His bosom, and cares for worlds in thousands as tenderly as a mother for her infant children.

(To be continued.)

CURRENT AMERICAN THOUGHT.

THE INTERMEDIATE STATE. By Rev. W. F. ULERY, A.M., Greensburg, Pa. (*The Lutheran Quarterly*).—Man is a twofold being, consisting of body and soul. The body is the visible part, the medium through which the soul acts on the outer world; the soul is the animating principle which gives life, power, and effectiveness to the

body. The union of the body and the soul by the decree of God makes man a living being. The separation of body and soul is natural death; the separation of the soul from God is spiritual death. When our friends die we ask, Where are their spirits now? Neither reason nor philosophy can answer satisfactorily. The Word of God does not give as full information as we desire. It does not attempt to prove that there is an intermediate state: it takes that for granted. But the place and manner of this state are veiled in mystery. It is not necessary that we should know the exact position in space of the place of waiting during the middle state.

In the Hebrew Scriptures, *Sheol* is the word used to designate the place of the dead. It occurs sixty-five times in the Old Testament; and, with two or three exceptions, is translated *Hades* in the Septuagint. In the English Version it is sometimes translated "grave," but usually "hell." Its classic meaning is "hidden world where the spirits of men dwell." *Hades* occurs eleven times in the A.V. of the New Testament; ten times in the R.V. We understand that each soul is carried into the spirit-world and will remain there until the resurrection. Both the righteous and the unbelieving dead will be carried into the spirit-world. The descent of Christ into Hades, and His ascension therefrom, have redemptive value which has not been sufficiently estimated by the Church (see Eph. iv. 9, 10). By His descent into hell, and by His work of redemption and triumph there, Jesus has changed the entire nature and character of the future life of His people.

But the question of supreme interest is this—What is the condition of the soul in the Intermediate State? That the soul is an intelligent, thinking being, whose faculties are in no wise suspended by its separation from the body, we reasonably conclude. Christ says that the spirits of the deceased patriarchs and prophets are not dead, but *living*. The soul, free from the disabilities and limitations imposed upon it by the infirmities of a sinful body, will be more active and far-reaching in its search for knowledge, and more successful in its attainments of results in wisdom and mental power, than in the present organization. The dead in Christ are at rest from the worry, wear, and work of time, and enjoy infinite bliss with Christ in Paradise; yet they are not idle. As there is great activity, there will be corresponding development. The souls of the redeemed, though in a state of blessedness, are still aspiring to higher degrees of knowledge and greater advancement in holiness. "They are waiting and looking toward the complete emancipation and perfect redemption of the whole man, when, in the resurrection at the last day, soul and body shall be again united, and man, fully redeemed, with a pure spirit in a perfect and glorified body, shall enter into the full communion of Christ."

What, then, is the Intermediate State to the unbelieving and ungodly? A condition of unrest and unhappiness—a vestibule of hell. The future life will be a reproduction of this present life; for men will be judged in the future according to the deeds and opportunities in the present life. What is to become of the millions who have gone down to Hades without any knowledge of Christ? This author thinks that the Apostle Peter aids us in answering this question by the very disputable passage, 1 Peter iii. 18-20. He takes it as a declaration that "the infinite love of Christ which has been revealed to us in time has also stretched over into eternity, embracing those who were in the bonds of Hades. We understand this text to mean that Christ's presence brought light to the spirits in prison, showing them the sinfulness and loss of their life in the flesh, and revealing to them motives for a life of holiness to God in the spirit." This view is supported by the authority of the early Fathers; but our readers are familiar with these as fully given in the late Dean Plumptre's valuable work on *The Spirits in Prison*. The testimony of

some American and German divines is also given by this author. Dr. Briggs says: "This passage makes it plain that Jesus, during His three days of death, went to both sections of the middle state, and preached the Gospel to the dead as He had preached it to the living." Dr. Herman Cremer says: "It is Scriptural to believe in the possibility of conversion in the realms of death." Dr. Friedrich Ahlfeld and Dr. John König hold the same opinion; and also the following well-known commentators—Bengel, Olshausen, Alford, Meyer, Stier, Gerlach, Rieger, and Julius Müller.

There is an Intermediate State. All the souls of the departed are now in this state, awaiting the resurrection of the body at the last day. As there is no salvation out of Christ, and as no soul can know and accept Christ without a revelation, every soul must have the Gospel preached. If Christ is not revealed to men in time, He may be made known to them in eternity. The souls of those, whether children or adults, who have died in ignorance of Christ and His Gospel without any fault of theirs may come to the knowledge of Him in the future world. And we may thus look for the fulness of salvation in the end of the world, at the consummation of all things, when Jesus Christ will be made all and in all.

The author's theory has a certain attractiveness, but it rests upon a very limited and very disputable Scripture basis; and it involves admissions of which the advocates of purgatorial fires can take full advantage.

HUMANITY OF THE SPIRITUAL LIFE. By THOMAS P. BAILEY, Jun., Ph.D., South Carolina (*Christian Thought*).—Christians usually say that there is unfathomable mystery in the Christian life, that the communion of the soul with Christ is a unique something that transcends all other human experience. Those who are not Christians mistrust psychical phenomena isolated from their experience, and suspect Christians of being dupes of their own subjective states. This writer proposes the following thesis: "The spiritual life is the perfection of the True, the Beautiful, and the Right in the natural life; it results from the need of the absolute in human experience; it is initiated by an intrinsic appreciation of Christ's character, and by a subordinating of the will unto that of the Father, even as did Jesus, by searching for and striving to exemplify Truth, Harmony, and Right."

We are all familiar with Faith, Hope, and Love in human life and character. We have faith in the persistence in character of the Worthy—Truth, Beauty, Right. This faith leads us to hope for the fruition of character. In order that we may have this Faith and this Hope we must Love. Love leads to an enlargement of the self, often to a re-moulding of the character. Love is the spiritual æsthetic, that is, the beloved person affects you in an inexplicable way, just as mysteriously as the manner in which a wonderful harmony touches you. A person's self must affect me if I am to love him. The more the character fills a spiritually æsthetic need, the deeper our love for the person.

We believe in the persistence of the True, the Right, the Beautiful in character, despite the human inconsistencies, imperfections, distortions. We hope for the triumph of the absolutely worthy. If you have never had such faith and hope, you have never really loved. A dearly-beloved friend impresses his personality upon us in a way that ordinary knowledge and insight know nothing of. The faith that comes of such internal, spiritual love-knowledge is such as cannot be shattered.

Although imperfect in character ourselves, we all appreciate perfection. Human nature that lies above the plane of mere physical satisfaction has need of perfection in Truth, Beauty, Right. And these in abstraction satisfy only the strong souls of earth; but they are not the loving souls, and thus not the helpful ones, not the truly living characters. For there is no true living without true loving. What, then, do

we need? Heroes? Yes, but we cannot love the self-sufficient hero. We want our hero to be of us, and yet above us. He must think, and feel, and suffer, and enjoy, as we do. Yet he must not sin and fall, or drift, as we are ever doing. He must be a religious hero; he must grasp the unity and harmony of the world in thought and feeling, and show that unity and harmony in his life and example, so that he will draw all men unto him, as beauty draws our eyes to itself. And he must think and feel, and do all that the Universe asks of him.

Our Hero has come. The Lord Jesus was tried, and failed not. He never fails now. He was not conscious of sin. No one convinced Him of sin. No one can. All acknowledge Him to be a perfect hero in truth, in right, in beauty. Study Christ before you attempt to discuss the "mysteries of religion." The mysteries of religion are the mysteries of character. The union of the Christian with Christ, this peace in doing the Father's will—truly, it is a mystery. But all love, all spiritual union, all soul-peace, are mysterious. You do not call it a mystery when you love your friend and unswervingly trust him; when perfect love brings perfect peace; and yet you see something mystic (some say superstitious) in this union with God through Christ—the knowledge of the Unknown through the known. An absolute spiritual friendship, a sacred communion with Christ, childlike obedience to a Father He reveals; love and gratitude because of the Gift—our elder Brother. All these we find implicit in "ordinary" human experience.

There is mystery in Christianity, but it is a mystery of the absolute; just as the mystery in human, "natural," love and faith and hope is a mystery of the relative, that we believe to partake of the nature of the absolute. In Christ's union with the Father we find the relative become wholly absolute.

Why cannot we see that the mysteries of religion are the mysteries of life; that our spiritual communion with each other is the imperfect likeness of our union with the Father through a realization of the Spirit of Jesus? He felt that all but sin was right, because all but sin was God's; He was sure that sin would be vanquished; He puzzled not over God's purposes, but did His will. He feared and suffered as we ever will on earth, but He asked for strength, as we must ask; He claimed to be nothing of Himself, as we are nothing; His prayers were always answered; He was strengthened, and He was calm in His strength. God will give us strength and calm and peace if we ask while doing His will. Let us begin by loving one another, even as Christ loves us, so that the world will see that we are Christ's; that Christ is God's. Let us take to heart the truth that our relations to our fellow-men are sacred; that the human love, not including in itself faith and hope, is not true love at all. Your love to your fellows is as much a part, a vital part, of your religion as your communion with the Father through the Son.

We can begin the spiritual life by loving and trusting whatever is worthy in character. Let us not be sceptical about the absolute in man; let us search out and believe in the good that is in our brother; let us help to make the right, the true, and the beautiful arise in their might within him, so that they may rule his heart and character. Then will he listen to us when we tell him of Christ and the kingdom.

CHRISTIAN ESCHATOLOGY. By Prof. R. J. COOKE, D.D., U. S. Grant Univ., Athens, Tenn. (*Methodist Review*).—Christianity alone is teleological. It alone—and therein is it widely differentiated from all ethnic religions and modern competitors—has a future for humanity, and is therefore the religion of progress. New Testament eschatology is not simply a widening of Old Testament doctrine of last things; it is in many respects an entirely new revelation. The eschatology of the prophets culminated in the day of Messiah; beyond that they never looked. His coming was

the end of the world, the inauguration of the endless age. The New Testament doctrine of last things is still Jewish, in terms, emblems, and figures, and in those forms of thought which are the costume of final events. Hence, the Christian mind of every age must translate these ideas into its own conceptions, reaching for the real as it can behind the drapery, and the accidents, of form. And Christian eschatology must be studied from the standpoint of redemption. According to modern anti-Christian sociologies, there is set before man no higher destiny than that which may be worked out by the uniform operation of physical law. There is no meaning in history: it is a purposeless ocean-swell of human endeavour, an eternal alternation of development and decay. But Christianity cannot thus look upon the world's life. No event is without significance or relation, near or remote, to the triumph of faith. The Word of God is the ground of eschatology, and not human reasoning, or the fitness of things, or modern socialisms religiously phrased and projected on the future.

The doctrine of last things embraces death, the future state, the millennium, the second coming of the Lord, resurrection, final judgment, and consummation. From a scientific standpoint death is the necessary result of physical law. From the standpoint of religion it is the result of sin, and therefore is something not originally inherent in human nature. Both are undoubtedly true. While man was not created to die as he now dies, death had in human nature potential existence in the elementary constituents of his organism. The potential became the actual in the subjection of the person to sin, which has made death for man what it now is. Death is an enemy which must, in the very nature of things, be destroyed if humanity has any future in which all its powers, intellectual and spiritual, shall have unlimited scope.

That death is not the end of all is not provable outside of revelation. Arguments for human immortality, based on metaphysical, psychological, teleological, analogical, or cosmical grounds, cannot be accepted as proving the immortality of the soul; and the same must be concluded of the so-called theological, ethical, and historical proofs. The Christian idea of immortality is not the bare notion of continued existence which some imagine the doctrine of evolution will sustain. Nor is the pantheistic idea of the conservation of the individual life in the Infinite, which Schleiermacher affirmed to be the immortality of religion, the Christian immortality. It rises above all mere continuity of soul substance in its affirmation of the uninterrupted persistence of personal self-consciousness in eternal blessedness or its opposite, and of the completeness of the individual. The Christian doctrine of immortality involves the resurrection of the body.

In the creeds of Evangelical Christendom the intermediate state finds no recognition. That in addition to heaven and hell there is a third place in which all departed beings exist is not to be rejected because the Reformers of the sixteenth century rightfully rejected the false and perverted doctrine of purgatory. Some of our Lord's teachings seem to indicate the reality of such a place. The teachings of the fourth Gospel, and of Paul, indicate that the righteous enter immediately at death into the presence of the Lord. The adjustment of these two forms of teaching is the task of a Scripture eschatology. This will not be difficult if we modify the historical opinion which we have received from the Reformers, and reject the Judaic idea of Sheol, which many persist in carrying up into our Christian thinking of the life beyond. Sheol, or Hades, as it appears in the New Testament, has a history different since the death of Christ from what it had before. The departed in Christ are in Hades, but they are no less in the presence of their Lord and Redeemer, and in the enjoyment of rest and the sweet felicity of heaven. The shadows of Sheol fall not on the hills of Paradise.

Eschatology must face this question of an intermediate state in a new spirit. However blessed the dead who die in the Lord, they are still in an imperfect condition. St. Paul does not comfort the Thessalonians with the declaration that the departed have obtained completeness. In his thoughts, and throughout the New Testament, that is reached only in the *Parousia*. If the destiny of all men is decided at death, there can be no real resurrection at the last day, no realistic return of our Lord, and no real objective day of judgment; a final day of judgment is, indeed, superfluous, for the purpose of it has been already obtained.

Second probation is not a matter of revelation. The Spirit of the living God presents the Christ to human souls now, and a rejection of Him, conscious and deliberate, involves now eternal death. Eschatology has the task of proving the futility of opposition to this truth. The source of objection to the doctrine of second probation, or restoration, has not been exhausted. Eschatology must now consider the question from the standpoint of human nature, the persistence of human freedom, and the arguments from intuition.

If faith in Christ, who died for all men, is absolutely necessary to salvation, then Christian eschatology must face the inference that salvation in Christ will be offered to every man before he can be condemned for rejecting it. When and where this will be it is not for eschatology to determine; but there is not wanting Scriptural ground for the belief that there is a gradation in the fitness of the departed for the higher moral conditions of the unseen world, as, to illustrate, there is in the growth of light between the faint star-glimmer of night and the splendour of noonday.

That Christ the Lord will again return to this earth in the glory of His Father, to judge the quick and the dead, is a fundamental element in Christian eschatology. How far the objectiveness of His coming agrees with the reality of the mode; whether all that has been believed as future, or as a series of phenomena at the end of the world, has not in reality already taken place—this is the task which eschatology must take up anew in the conflict with the idealism of rationalism of various grades. It is not necessary to insist upon the spectacular accompaniments of our Lord's coming. The costume of the *Parousia* is no real part of the *Parousia*. The coming which the New Testament writers keep before us is the appearing of the great God and Saviour Jesus Christ in visible form to judge the world in righteousness. In connection with the *Parousia*, millenarianism enters with its inherited sensualisms, numbers, and symbols. But Christian eschatology cannot carry over into its teachings the glowing poetry of Judaism as fact. An affirmation of a millennium dependent on a *Parousia* is an impeachment of Christianity as a regenerating power. If this world cannot be morally subdued except by the personal coming of Christ, Christianity as a world-saver is certainly a failure, and the Holy Ghost operating in and through the Church is unable to overcome the forces of evil. Millenarianism is out of harmony with Divine methods in human history. Whatever involves a constant miracle in the ethical development of the kingdom of God among men may be discarded as wanting in the Divine element.

Synchronous with the *Parousia* is the resurrection. That event is associated with the final coming of the Lord at the end of the world. It does not, therefore, take place at death. It is a literal and realistic resurrection of the body. The conflict in Scripture is not between matter and spirit, but between the animal and the spiritual. Christian eschatology, then, need have no warfare with physical science concerning the resurrection.

ON THE ESCHATOLOGY OF OUR SYMBOLS. By Prof. EDWARD D. MORRIS, D.D., LL.D. (*The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*).—By "our symbols" is meant the

Catechism and Confession of Westminster; or, more generally, the recognized Protestant creeds. Following chronologically the prolonged series of creeds, the Westminster symbols incorporated afresh their almost unanimous teaching on eschatological subjects, but with a degree of distinctness and emphasis before unattained.

This article proposes to deal with the doctrine of the Westminster symbols in regard to death viewed in its theological relations; to the fact of immortality as a gift bestowed on all men; to the intermediate state in its nature and its experiences; to the problem of a particular judgment at death, and of probation after death; to the resurrection of the dead, the final judgment, the rewards of the righteous, the punishment of the wicked, and the ultimate consummation of the kingdom of God in the eternal state. Nothing can be said concerning the interesting questions respecting the future of humanity on earth, the final triumph of the Gospel throughout the world, the ascendancy of the kingdom of Christ over the human race, and His second coming as the Judge of all men. It can only be remarked that the symbols contain no trace of sympathy with the materialistic notions respecting a coming of Christ upon earth before the resurrection, and His residence among men for a prolonged period, in order to establish a temporal kingdom marked by displays of imperial splendour, and by supernatural exhibitions of energy, before which His enemies, whom the Gospel cannot reach, are to be prostrated and utterly overthrown. Of such a millennium as this—a millennium of power rather than of grace—we find hardly a hint. Nor do they ever suggest some prolonged era of judgment, or a special resurrection of some specific portion of mankind, or any other of the illusive hypotheses now current in premillenarian circles.

I. The teaching of the Westminster divines respecting the article of death, viewed in its theological aspects and relations. Physical death is represented as coming into the world as a direct punitive result of human sin. The symbols make no reference to the fact that the vegetable and animal worlds, so far as they existed prior to the creation of man, were subject to a law of material decay analogous to physical death in him. The more natural interpretation of their teaching is that man, had he remained sinless, would have been lifted above the range of this general law of decay, and so would have existed on the earth from age to age without any wasting of his native powers, and without the dark experience of death. It may not be inconsistent with their teaching to hold that if death had come, it would only have been a happy translation. Death, as we now know it, has been used by God as the sign and emblem of His feelings towards sin, and of His purpose to punish the sinner. As such it has come upon the entire race, and remains as an inexorable decree throughout all the generations. So far as His solemn mandate as to death is concerned, no distinction is found to exist between Jew and Gentile, between the Christian and the Pagan. Only the righteous are delivered from the sting and curse of it. To the saint it becomes a precious, crowning benediction. We cannot rest in the rationalistic conception that physical death in man is nothing more or less than the application to him of a law which is stamped upon the system of nature everywhere. Nor can we accept the cold dogma of speculative science, which excludes God and His will from this dark experience of man, and refers the experience to the mere action of impersonal and inexorable forces. Nor can we shut out the doctrine of an individualizing or particularistic action of Providence in determining for every human being the time, the manner, the condition of his transition. Nor can we consent to dissociate death and sin, or to deny that the latter is, in some true and deep sense, the cause of the former.

II. The doctrine of *Immortality* as an original endowment of the soul in man. The writers of the symbols regarded man as *having an immortal subsistence*, not as a gift of grace, but as a constitutional endowment distinguishing him from all other earthly creatures, and allying him in nature and essence with God for ever. They do not, indeed, suggest any of those interesting considerations (such as the uncompounded essence of the soul, the law or principle of continuity enstamped upon it, the survival of its mental and moral powers in death, its instinctive yearnings and anticipations) by which men have endeavoured to prove the fact of human immortality from the light and teachings of nature. This doctrine of immortality as an original endowment of the soul is one of the fundamental elements of Christianity. On Biblical grounds, the doctrine was incorporated in the first of the Christian creeds in the concluding phrase, the Life Everlasting. We see it also in the *vitam venturi seculi* of the Nicene, and the *vitam æternam* and *ignem æternum* of the Athanasian symbol. The heresy of *annihilationism* in whatever form is positively excluded by the Westminster symbols. This heresy affirms in general that immortality, or endlessness of existence, is the peculiar heritage of the righteous, communicated by the Holy Spirit through grace, as the final reward of their faith and obedience; and that the souls of the unholy perish as their bodies perish, either at death, or after some assigned period of penalty, or at the last judgment. But the assertion that *αλλυμι* and other kindred terms in the New Testament always imply "extinction of being" cannot be sustained. These terms are often used in Scripture to describe varieties of loss, failure, destruction, both temporal and spiritual, which are not in their nature irremediable, and which fall in many instances very far short of annihilation.

III. The nature and general characteristics of the *Intermediate State*. Does the soul during the period of its separation from the body onward to the resurrection remain in a state of quiescence or torpor, or is it conscious and active, having true and proper exercise of its rational and spiritual powers? The symbols say that the souls of all men neither die, nor sleep after death, but do immediately return as in true consciousness to Him who gave them. They also describe in explicit terms the two estates into which these souls pass at death, and their description invariably implies a conscious and active existence.

The dogma that the soul sleeps in entire unconsciousness during the period intermediate between death and the resurrection found some degree of currency in Protestant circles, especially among the Anabaptists, at the very outset of the Reformation. The Reformation creeds, the Thirty-nine Articles, the Irish Articles, and the First Scotch Confession, all imply the contrary. Whately speaks of death as a sleep. Isaac Taylor argues that corporeity and locality are essential to conscious activity on the part of the human soul. Dorner speaks of "the still life," Martensen of "the calm thought," Nietzsche of "the relative annihilation." The theory of unconsciousness after death may yet be brought in as an antithesis to the Scriptural doctrine of a judgment occurring to each soul at its departure from time to eternity.

IV. *Probation or Salvation after Death*. The Westminster divines knew nothing of a restoration of the soul to holiness after the present life, through any innate experiences or powers. Their strong doctrine respecting the depravity and helplessness of the sinner in this life, his loss of all ability of will towards spiritual good, and his entire dependence on Divine grace for recovery from this condition, is utterly inconsistent with the theory that at some time hereafter he will of himself, and without any gracious aid, rectify his corrupted moral nature and become a fit companion for saints and angels before the throne of God.

But will any who have passed into the other world without being saved through Christ, be saved through Him there? This is alleged in various ways; sometimes as possible and sometimes as actual; sometimes as actual in some individuals or some classes, such as infants, or the heathen, or the unevangelized masses in Christian lands; and sometimes as eventuating ultimately in the redemption of every sinner, and the blotting out of sin and its consequences from the entire moral universe. But the palpable fact is (according to Prof. Morris) that after the most ingenious efforts by German scholars like Dorner, by English scholars like Farrar, and by their disciples of various classes in America, the Scriptural evidence in the case is found to be wholly inconclusive. And the symbols are as silent as the Bible itself respecting any transplantation of the Gospel with its peculiar agencies and instrumentalities, any ministrations of the Spirit, any gracious work or kingdom of Christ, in the intermediate state. Their invariable teaching is that death terminates the present estate of probation, and brings in the consequent estate of reward and retribution. What they affirm is absolutely exclusive of any other view than that salvation through Christ is a consummation to be attained or lost before death by everybody, infants, imbecile, heathen, all.

V. Particular Judgment occurring at Death. A separation of souls into two great classes, on the basis of character, must occur, not at some remote period in the future life, but at the time of death. Such a separation is, in the nature of things, inevitable; it is the only possible outcome of the present state and experience of probation. Such a separation can be grounded on nothing but some essential difference in character; it must be based in the last resort on the final relation of the soul to an accepted or rejected Christ. And this final relation, with all its solemn outcome, must be fixed at the hour of death.

This separation is judicial. It is not merely the result of certain natural laws or tendencies, whereby men of themselves seek their own companionship, whether it be good or evil. Nor is it an historic process, simply carried on through ages, and finally reaching its culmination in hell or heaven. It occurs in the immediate presence of Christ as Judge. The Protestant creeds invariably affirm that death terminates the stage of probation, settles the question of character, and determines the eternal destiny by a judicial process.

The Westminster descriptions of the *Permanent* Estate, into which the righteous and the wicked are respectively assigned by Christ as their Judge, are both positive and impressive in the highest degree. In what sense it is possible to affirm *progress* in those who have been ushered at death into a blessed condition is very difficult to state precisely. It cannot be growth through trying experiences, as here.

The symbols affirm a General Resurrection and a General Judgment. The full identity or oneness of the resurrection body with the present body is strongly affirmed, though no explanation of the nature of that oneness is attempted. As to the results of the General Judgment, the symbols know nothing of the fancy that such words as *eternal* and *everlasting* are words of condition rather than of time, or that they signify æonic periods that may come to an end somewhere in the boundless eternity to come. The Bible gives us the vision of a time beyond the Judgment, and far beyond all things earthly, when Christ shall have delivered up the kingdom to the Father, and when God shall be All-in-all. But it furnishes no hint of a time, even after that great consummation, when heaven shall come to an end, or when there shall cease to be a hell. On this Biblical teaching the symbols of Westminster, and with them the creeds of the Reformation generally, and of evangelical Protestantism everywhere, reverently and faithfully stand.

EVOLUTION AND DARWINISM. By Rev. S. M. SEARLE (*The Catholic World*).—The doctrine of evolution has obtained the assent of almost all those who are actively occupied in the investigations of the science of biology, and one cannot deny it, ignore it, or in any way dismiss it without putting one's self outside what are recognized as scientific circles. No actual demonstration of it has been made, but the general fact of evolution is almost universally admitted. Evolution in the organic world is as much taken for granted as the Newtonian doctrine of gravitation is by astronomers.

Nearly as much may be said of Darwinism, which should not be confounded with evolution. The Darwinian theory is not the theory that species have been formed by evolution, for this idea was widely accepted long before Darwin. It is a particular theory as to the *way or method* by which the evolution was accomplished, or is now going on; it is the method known as "natural selection." By this it is not meant that the being accustoms itself to its environment, and develops the part that the environment calls for, or suppresses and practically loses those organs which the environment does not need. This, if not carried too far, is a reasonable supposition enough. Only a few variations could be thus produced.

Darwin's theory is, that *accidental* variations, such as will constantly arise in all kinds and grades of vegetable and animal life, will be preserved if they are of advantage to the subject in the conditions in which it is placed, whereas if they are not of advantage they will disappear. Because first, by far more animals and vegetables are produced than can be sustained, especially in the lower grades of life. Life cannot be sustained at the rate of increase, and the doctrine of the "struggle for life" necessarily follows. The struggle is rather with the powers of nature than with each other; a struggle with the surroundings or environment. Here comes in the doctrine of the "survival of the fittest," or the natural selection of those which are fittest to live, and to continue the species. On the average, the progeny of these will inherit their advantageous characteristics; some in a greater degree, others in a less; those who have them in a greater degree will have the best chance to live; and thus the advantageous variation, in the first place accidental, will be constantly developed, increased, or emphasized.

That progressive changes can actually be produced in this way is plain from the fact, that by artificial selection types can be thus brought in and developed which are suitable, not, indeed, to the environment in a general way, but to the fancy of man. This theory of natural selection is supplemented among the more intelligent animals by what has been called "sexual selection," by which variations tending to beauty or attractiveness are obviously likely to be preserved in pairing; and also by the Lamarckian theory, according to which animals are developed in various ways, by the straining, or endeavour of all to accommodate themselves to their environment, as in the supposed case of the giraffe stretching his neck to reach the leaves.

Two questions arise: Is natural selection competent, even with its supplements of sexual selection and of Lamarckism, to account for all the evolution which has actually occurred? and, Has evolution been the cause of all the varieties of species which actually exist? It is, however, of less importance to know whether the Darwinian theory accounts for *all* actual evolution, than to know whether *all* the variety of species comes from evolution. The Darwinian theory has confirmed the scientific mind in its belief in the universal scope of evolution. "It has shown a possible way of evolution in all parts of the kingdom of life, from the highest to the lowest. And therefore on the Newtonian principle of not adducing more causes than are required to produce the effects, scientific men have generally concluded that

evolution by natural selection has actually given rise to all species." But this is just the main question. Scientific men can hardly be blamed for holding the view that they do; there is great encouragement to it, for they have a cause seemingly adequate to produce all the effects, just as gravitation seems adequate to regulate all the mechanical movements of the stars, and is commonly believed to do so, though we are far from certain of its universal or sole application.

The important matter at issue is whether *all* species in the organic kingdom have actually been developed by evolution or not. We may admit that some have, that many have, but whether *all* have is simply a matter of history. Evolutionists try to collect its testimony in order to strengthen their induction as far as possible. But on the principles of natural science induction does not need, is not expected, and cannot be expected, to be complete. Scientific men, in being evolutionists as they now are almost universally, are merely going on the lines which, simply as such, it is almost necessary that they should follow. In point of fact there does not appear to be any real conflict between evolution, so far as it can be said even by scientists themselves to be established, and the Catholic faith. It is only in their expectations that the conflict lies, and we cannot blame them for these.

It is to be feared that much of our opposition to scientists in some departments comes from a false or exaggerated idea of their opposition to us, and an imperfect acquaintance with what they actually hold. There are indeed those whose only real interest in physical science is the use of it to obscure the knowledge of God that comes to us either by nature or revelation. We need not be charitable with such. But with those who confine themselves to observation and experiment, and reasonings founded on them, we may and should be very patient, and should show respect to the desire for truth and knowledge which actuates them, and to the ability and zeal with which they pursue their studies, and never fear that mere ignorance of religion, or simply negative opposition to it, will vitiate the ultimate results of the legitimate course of scientific induction on which they are proceeding.

HISTORICAL PREPARATION FOR CHRISTIANITY. By Rev. SAMUEL WEIR. Evanston, Ill. (*Methodist Review*).—History may be defined as the science of man's progress and development in associated life. It differs from biography in taking account of the community of men rather than of the individual. By presenting an inductive view of facts and events, in relation to man and to each other, under the various forms and conditions of associated life, history furnishes the basis and lays the foundation for political and social science. In a higher view it must frame a philosophy of its own discoveries, and give at least an approximate explanation of that course of events, the record of which it presents. This the Christian historian aims to do. He looks forward as well as backward. He sees the hand of Divine Providence in the course of human events, and offers that as the true philosophy of history; and he hopes, as the influence of the Gospel leavens society, for the final triumph of Christian civilization. But is there ground for such a hope? As an unprejudiced historian, free to distinguish the limits and admit the claims of truth, can he find traces of the work of Providence in the course of events? If we find a coincidence of causes, and a convergence of events occurring in different historical fields, meeting at an appropriate point adapted for the service of Christianity, and as conditions, though not in any true sense causes, of its energy, lending their aid to the promotion of its influence, we shall have found some vindication for the position of the Christian historian. This historical adaptation we hope to find exemplified in the antecedent conditions and events preparatory to Christianity.

In general it may be said that the period immediately preceding the Christian era

was marked by three prominent characteristics—expectation, unification, and degeneration. 1. Expectation. The animating principle of all Jewish history was reliance upon prophetic anticipation and hope in its fulfilment. The writings of the Jews were characterized by the same prophetic anticipation. The typical character of the Jewish worship indicated that it was temporary, and must in time give place to something better. In the period immediately preceding the Christian era the Hebrew worship was formal and lifeless; but beneath all there was still the hope of moral deliverance, undefined though it might be. The attention given to genealogies is additional evidence of the same expectation. The people did not care so much for the past as for the future—not so much for the descent from Abraham as for the anticipation of Messiah. There was also a widespread expectation of some great event soon to occur. Paul could say, "Unto the promise made of God unto our fathers, our twelve tribes instantly serving God night and day, hope to come." And Jesus Himself took account, in His teaching, of the prevalent expectation. He declares that He Himself is the fulfilment of prophecy.

There are familiar evidences of a similar expectation among the heathen races. The passages from Suetonius, Tacitus, and Josephus are well known; and the Zoroastrian struggle between evil and good assumes the final triumph of the good. Among the Greeks and Romans there are traces of an undefined expectation. Whether derived from Judæan influence or not, it is historically certain that there was a very general expectation of a coming One whose beneficent influence should be extensively acknowledged.

2. Unification. When Aristotle aroused in his pupil, Alexander, a love of Greek language and literature, he little knew that he was adding another link to the chain of circumstances which should lead to such important events in the world's history. The work Alexander accomplished was of vast consequence. With the march of his armies the barriers between the East and the West were broken down; the dissemination of the Greek language and thought, the new interest in the different races, and the unity of impulse, did not die out until they had accomplished their immediate purpose and were transplanted to a more productive soil. The influence of the Greek language was well supported by the work of the Roman legions and the authority of Roman law and government. However selfish the policy of Rome may have been, we cannot fail to see how her conquests aided the early victories of the Christian Church. The settlement of the Jews in every part of the known world became the effective means of promoting the general unification. There were definite principles of unity binding together the "dispersed" among the nations; the same creed, a common form of worship, mode of life, separation from others, and national hope. The yearly feasts at Jerusalem maintained the sense of unity. The philosophical systems which had been growing up helped to unification. By their method they gave system to thought, and effectiveness to investigation. In its analysis the philosophy of the time furnished means for testing the claims of Christianity; in its synthesis it provided the form and mould for building up an imperishable Christian philosophy. Plato, Socrates, and others, by their religious faith and ethical teaching, in some measure prepared for the ethical life based on faith in Christ and love to God.

3. Degeneration. The impotency of existing moral and religious systems to give satisfaction. The nations were not irreligious; yet there was a decadence of religious systems. The religions of the East had settled into stagnation. Grecian theology was in a state of transition, and scepticism was gaining power: philosophy was ruining the old superstition. At Rome the old faith was dead. Among the Jews the degeneration was even more marked.

The review of these conditions aids in explaining how the early Christian Church made such rapid growth. It met the prevailing expectation with a satisfactory answer. It provided a remedy for the prevailing moral disease. With due allowance for persecutions, it began its work under favourable conditions. The old systems had decayed; Christianity gave promise of being as much more enduring as it was more elevated, spiritual, and satisfactory. Whatever may be the future of Christianity, it remains for its opponents to account for the helpful conditions which conspired to aid in its inception.

REGENERATION AS A FORCE IN REFORM MOVEMENTS (Second Paper). By Rev. C. M. MORSE, New Wilmington, Pa. (*Methodist Review*).—If the entire population of the country should be "converted," or "regenerated," in an hour, it would not result in a single reform in the industrial or social world. Can that position be maintained?

True reform in every department of society must begin with the recognition of strict and impartial justice in all relations between man and man. The natural heart craves ease, possessions, and power, and seeks the easiest and speediest means of attaining them, and without regard to the rights of others. This is covetousness. Covetousness operates along distinctly marked lines; it takes possession by force of arms, by strength of custom, and by power of legislation, of that which rightfully belongs to others. The outcome is the division of mankind into two classes—the robbers and the despoiled. The agencies employed by covetousness to enrich the few at the expense of the many lie open to the view of every thinker. All of the material bounty which God provides for the race exists in the land. If a few men, or a class of men, can obtain possession of the storehouse, they have their fellows at their mercy. When, as in our day, seven-tenths of the population are landless, and cannot go to the storehouse of nature to earn subsistence, unless with the consent of the self-constituted owners of the storehouse, the competition of the unemployed will reduce wages to the starvation point.

The money of the country is a creation of the law. Its power for good or evil is in its legal tender functions. Business cannot be done without the agency of money. But money is limited in its volume, it goes into the possession of the few, and its possessors levy a tribute for use (interest), which is always as heavy as industry can bear. Hence, under the law of demand and of competition, the profits of business, in the end, find their way into the pockets of the landowner and the money-owner.

Moreover, there are legal methods of making gain which are unjust. A man who possesses only muscle cannot compete against a man or corporation backed by millions. Every opportunity for money-making, whether by legitimate operations of trade, by the possession of means, or by speculation, is taken up by the capitalist, and the end of labour is to enrich not itself but the employer, the company, the corporation. There are greater evils; capital influences, legislation, courts, the professions, and the press to work in its interests.

Yet the strongest impulse of human nature is the love of right-doing, fair-play, justice. The three agencies of covetousness and injustice named happen to be the three leading questions of reform now before the people. England must settle the question of land monopoly before she can touch another great issue. In the United States the money question is being forced to the front. In all civilized lands the attempt is being made to prevent legislation for the benefit of favoured classes, and to undo the wrong already accomplished in this direction.

As land-monopoly, money-monopoly, and (economic) unjust gain are supported by the teachings of the Church and the opinions of believers, the conversion of the

people would not change existing industrial and commercial principles and methods. If it had any permanent effect, it would be to crystallize into unalterable law and custom the very evils against which humanity is in rebellion. We would have a religion, but a religion without true brotherhood or justice—the Church of to-day enlarged in its membership by the sum total of the population.

But could not the people, if regenerated, do away with the evils complained of? Not if such regeneration were under present methods. What has the Church to do with these questions? The Church is an agency for saving souls, so far as the next world is concerned; but it has nothing to do with present commercial conditions. But if regenerated men, as individuals and in the aggregate, have no part in reform movements, to whom shall the world look for deliverance? The Mosaic laws and the prophetic teachings denounced all unfair and inconsiderate dealings. Jesus came to establish the kingdom of God among men—a brotherhood to be governed by the direct rule of God. After the Holy Spirit had descended on the day of Pentecost, the believers gathered together, and the Church was organized. They were living under an absolute monarchy, and could not hope to influence or change legislation. But they had the social requirements of the law and the prophets—what should they do? They could not sanction or profit by monopolistic methods of gain, exact tribute for access to the bounties of God in nature, or extort interest for the use of money; and so they sold their landed possessions, and put their money into a fund for the benefit of all who were in need. This condition of things continued for at least two centuries. It was only when the world-spirit took possession of the Church, and when covetousness led men to sneer at the communism of the early brotherhood, that the gloom of the Dark Ages settled upon humanity.

Our social system is different from any system which obtained among men who were governed by the will of God; and it is contrary, both in spirit and practice, to the teachings of the Bible. We look upon the laws of God, which require exact justice for all, which aim after brotherhood and universal prosperity, and because they are strange to us, because their adoption would bring loss to some, we pronounce them impractical and visionary.

There are grave problems involved. It is difficult to see how the social teachings of God's Word can be put in practice in our day. But it is not impossible to do right. Every man can refuse to profit by that which is evil; if he has more land than he needs for his own use, he can let his poor neighbour use the surplus; the man who has more money than he needs can lend to his necessitous neighbour without interest; the individual who is receiving gain from a business that makes use of unjust methods can withdraw from that business. Every believer in Jesus Christ may become a teacher of right-doing, and be a light in the world, even though his discipleship involve a life of poverty and suffering. And the Church can teach from her pulpits the truths insisted upon by the prophets, Jesus, and the Apostles, even though every land-grabber, usurer, and beneficiary of unfair and unjust methods flee from her communion. There is no insuperable obstacle in the way of right-doing, providing a man wants to do right.

[It is well to know what is said on questions of Social Reform, but we are not bound to accept the view presented of the relation of the Church to society by writers of this school.—ED. T.]

THE PRESENT ASPECT OF OUR RELIGIOUS LIFE. By Rev. ABRAHAM GOSMAN, D.D. (*The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*).—The religious life, like every other form of life, manifests itself in very different ways. There is no unvarying type of religious experience. The principles out of which the Christian life issues, the truths

in which it roots itself, and from which it draws its nourishment and growth, are the same everywhere and at all times; but the life appears in a thousand different forms, varying perhaps in every particular case. This is due partly to the fact that Divine grace works in and through personal individualities, modifying and harmonizing, but never destroying; and partly to the freeness and sovereignty which mark the work of the Holy Spirit. There is no good reason to think that the older are the only types into which genuine religious life must run, so that all diversities from these types must be regarded as exceptional or abnormal growths. Every age has, to a greater or less extent, its own form of piety. The variety, when it appears, may be traceable to the peculiar mental characteristics of the age; to the general atmosphere which the Church breathes; to the prevalent philosophy at the time; to the relations which the Church sustains to the world and world-powers; and to the Sovereignty of the Holy Spirit in the measure and method of His work.

The mental characteristics of the age give outward shape and colouring to the religious life. There is no such line of distinction running through our personal life and history that we can isolate any one form of our life, and regard it by itself. Our religious life takes up into itself, and influences, all the parts of our complete being. As every age and people has its habit of thought, its mental features and characteristics, one practical and another speculative, one critical and another logical and constructive, one active and another contemplative, one aggressive and another conservative, so the peculiar features of the religious life will differ. Although the Gospel came as a new and living power into all the culture and thought of the civilized world, and imparted of the fulness of its life to all the forms in which the human mind was then working, it received as well as gave; and those mental habitudes of the intellectual world which it then met left their impress upon its own life and manifestation.

The diversity is partly due to the general atmosphere which the Church breathes, the "Zeitgeist." It has, indeed, always an atmosphere of its own; but while it is in the world, it must breathe the atmosphere of the world, and it cannot breathe it without feeling the result in its own health and vigour. If the air is filled with doubt, and Christian men must breathe the air, it will not be easy to retain a strong hold upon the objects of faith. The Christian life will be lowered in its idea, in its attainments, and in its joy. The spirit of the world enters the Church, and becomes a transforming and moulding spirit, or, rather, this will be the tendency and drift, the set of the current which the Christian must resist. Times of great material prosperity and of practical scepticism or unbelief are not far removed. At such times the Christian life works under unfriendly influences. It will run into formalism, or into a one-sided evangelism, or into asceticism.

Whatever may be our theory as to the relation between philosophy and religion, it is certain that the one influences the other. Philosophy is ever working its way down from the great thinkers with whom it may be a speculation or theory only, through the different ranks of society, until it reaches the masses, with whom it becomes a practical force, and moulds their lives. The apparently barren controversy between the Nominalists and Realists was actually full of fruit, and left its impress not only on the faith, but also on the lives of men. The German philosophies have ensnared multitudes from the authority of conviction and conscience. The encyclopedists, in their infidelity, wrecked both society and faith. The idealism of Berkeley and Hume bore its legitimate fruits in the heartless and formal piety which held the Churches in its cold embrace until the great awakening under the Wesleys and Whitfield. The Edwardean philosophy influenced and moulded the piety of that day,

gave it more or less its intense and one-sided subjectiveness, and turned the thoughts of believers to their experience more than to Christ. The materialistic philosophy which is now asserting its claims must have like results. Its general influence can be clearly recognized. It degrades our conception of the dignity of man, it unlooses the bands which hold in check the evil passions of man, and leaves him to his brutish instincts and tendencies. This is its legitimate trend and drift.

The relation which the Church has sustained to the civil powers has modified its religious life, both to make it deeper and more genuine, and more superficial and worldly. Persecutions have served to winnow the Church and to make its members hearty, stalwart, and humble. The favour of the world encourages them to a confidence in their own virtue and strength, and thus emasculates their piety. "We please ourselves with the fancy that this source of diversity in the character of our piety is dried up; that we have solved the problem of the relation of the State to the Church" (in America). But the relations of society are complicated, and these two spheres seem to cut each other. Questions arise which involve the interests both of the Church and State—as the Education and Sabbath questions,—and it is not easy to say just what belongs to the State and what to the Church.

How much is due also to the free and sovereign agency of the Holy Spirit. If He works in individuals as He wills, so He works through the centuries with no less sovereignty. He works in and through the mental habitudes, the prevalent philosophies, the civil powers, and thus directly by His own power and through the truth, and indirectly in and through these surroundings, He gives character and tone to the piety of the age. All along the ages the Spirit, given to the Church at first and still dwelling in it, has wrought, touching the faith and life of believers, and shaping them to the end He seeks, which is to enthrone Christ in the faith and lives of men.

What, then, are the peculiar religious features of the present age? The field of Christian work is widened and more attractive. That mission upon which the Church is sent is to disciple all nations, and that mission is pressed upon the conscience of the Church as never before. This activity does not belong exclusively to the living Church, or to the generation which has just preceded it. The Church has never lost sight of its mission. But it is freer to engage in mission work now, and hindrances to such work have been largely removed. There is, however, an obvious indisposition to dwell upon minor differences in creed and practice, an easy comprehensiveness which includes nearly all shades of belief; and in this some danger may lurk. We may come to regard vital truths as mere minor points. The charity which is born of indifference to the truth, which would lead us to allow fundamental error, is not the charity which Christ manifested or required.

There are serious deficiencies in our religious condition which, unless supplied will surely make our piety fruitless, and even now cripple the Church in its life and work. We fail to reach so thorough a knowledge of the human heart as corrupted by sin, and full of evil, as those of other days. The tendency now is not to look within at the working of sin in our hearts, but to look out to the life and the work. "There may have been somewhat that was morbid or unwise in the introspection, and the consequent experience, which marked the piety of the Puritan and New England believers, but it made humble, steady, and fruitful Christians; no less loving and gentle than stern. They were at work among the roots of things, down beneath the surface, and the beauty and fruitage of their lives revealed how wisely and thoroughly they had wrought." Men need now to be led down into their own hearts, to the world within them which they have not subdued.

This deficiency in the knowledge and sense of sin has its fruit in a low estimate

of the grace of Christ, who redeems us. The one of these will practically measure the other. If sin is indeed that evil and bitter thing which the Scriptures teach, then there is no grace which can rescue us from it but the grace which led the Son of God into our world and to the atoning death of the cross. The Christian character is always presented to us in Scripture as having its source and nourishment in Christian truth, especially in the truths of sin and redemption. All the great features of St Paul's piety, its manly beauty and strength, its devoutness, thankfulness, and joy, are due to his faith in the great truths. There is nothing we more need for the genuineness and symmetry of our character than to go back to these fountains of all right feeling, right purposes, and right living.

There is reason to fear that the disposition to overlook distinctions in our zeal for charity has had a tendency to lower our estimate of the value of truth, and to relax our hold upon it. It is not a pure good that controversies are a matter of reproach. Controversy which grows out of a love for the truth is every way healthy and praiseworthy. The tendency to lower our estimate of the value of the truth under the plea of charity, broad-mindedness, liberty, falls in with the spirit of the age. This sides largely with the looser views; it chafes at restraints; it has little respect for creeds—it has outgrown the necessity for them. It is an age, it is said, busy with the great problems of society, with the practical work of lifting men to a higher plane of living, of rescuing them from degradation and sin. It cannot waste its time in controversies, even though they touch the vitals. "As if the great problems of society did not find their full solution in the Gospel; as if there was some other way of saving men than by the truth as it is in Jesus." It can be shown that all these movements looking to the relief of human woes and to the elevation of men, so far as they have any rational basis or permanency, owe their vigour to Christian truth, and have sprung out of hearts nurtured in the faith and creeds of the Church. The tendency to leave out of view the more distinctive doctrines of our faith, or at least to suffer them to be hidden; to broaden our faith at the expense of positive and definite statements, makes the piety of the Church deficient in its character as a witness for the truth. The Church owes it to Christ that her witness should be clear and distinct. Her creeds are a testimony to the world as to the truth which she believes to be taught in the Word of God. The interest of the kingdom of Christ and its spread in the world depend upon this full and explicit testimony.

This review of the aspects of our piety, favourable and unfavourable, suggests grave questions as to the future. It is clear that the Church has not yet reached its ideal. We cannot look back to any previous age of the Church as that to which we would return. All hope lies in the future. And nothing is to be gained by concessions. We shall not win the world to a life of faith and self-denial by dropping from our idea of the Christian life all that is peculiar. Nothing is ever settled by concessions when the truth is at stake. By a logical necessity, as well as the clear teaching of history, the drift away from the truth, starting at some one point in the system, grows wider and deeper until it opens out upon the sea of unbelief. But we can magnify the truth, the truth in its simplicity and completeness, and in its relation to the faith and lives of men. The truth cannot, however, be held by itself. It will lose its vitality if it is restricted within narrow limits. It must flow into the practical life of men. The Church must vindicate for it its rightful place in all the problems of society. It has the only adequate solution of these problems. But how shall the Church apply its principles? How shall it bring its power to bear upon these problems? It may deal with these evils in their gigantic and organized form as they now present themselves in society, and threatens its very existence. But it has a

better method. It is the bearer of life and salvation to men, as men. It seeks to take men from the mass of evil, and transfer them, with all their powers and influence, to the number of the good. The man saved becomes the active agent in saving others. Bring men under the sway of Christ's kingdom, and they are separated at once from all the forms of evil: if he is an employer, he will do justice to his *employé*; if he is a labourer, he will be content with just and equal wage; if he is a slave, he is the Lord's freeman; if he is free, he is the Lord's slave. The new life from Christ lays its restraints upon all his passions and appetites, and impels him to all good.

In applying these truths to the consciences of men, the Church must rely largely upon the regularly instituted agencies and means of grace. Everything is mischievous which leads to a depreciation of the ministry in its ordinary work. "With the truth magnified, and rightly applied, and with a steadfast faith in the Divine efficacy of the truth, and in the promises of God who attends it, and works in the storm as in the sunshine, through conflicts and strifes as in the serene and peaceful air, we may confidently expect that the Church will come to a higher plane of living than it has yet reached, nearer to the ideal after which it aspires and strives."

THE FUTURE OF CHRISTIANITY. By WILLIAM M. SALTER, Society for Ethical Culture, Philadelphia (*The New World*).—The author proposes to suggest the step that needs, or ought to be taken, but does not affirm that Christianity will rise to the occasion and will take it. The Church must offer free room for the intellectual spirit of the time. The demand is made that the creeds should be simplified, but a simple creed is not more acceptable than an elaborate one. If one thinks at all, one wishes to think thoroughly, to take in all the facts, to have as perfect a theory of them as possible, and to follow out the theory to all its consequences. It is the extensiveness the thoroughness, the systematic completeness of a man's work that marks him as a thinker in any department. Creeds, articles of faith, or confessions are ordinarily related to the moral and religious life somewhat as philosophies and scientific theories are to their respective data. They are the fruit of thinking, of the effort to understand, to explain, to formulate, to arrange systematically. The Athanasian Creed, for example, is in its main parts a marvel of thinking and accurate statement. It is not an advance, intellectually speaking, to make an elaborate statement give way to a simple one; it is only an advance to make the statement of one age give place to the statement of another—to allow freedom to new interpretations, to give room for fresh minds. The objection to the old creeds is simply to their being made obligatory on the present.

Logical consistency demands that we object also to making any new creeds obligatory. If different generations have their rights, so have different individuals. "The simple and true way would be to begin to allow liberty; not to revise or reprobate the old creed, but to let it stand as a historical monument, and to let the indorsement or rejection of it be a purely personal matter; in a word, to cease to consider the Confession the creed of the Church." Instead of adopting a new theology and rejecting the old, the Church should give to both equal right and standing. There have been "Liberal" Christian denominations, but they have worked not so much for largeness and toleration as for some new set of views. The thought has yet apparently to arise of a Church in which all who wish to live the Christian life shall dwell together as brethren, tolerating each other in the varied results of their religious thinking. The ideal Church would be large enough to contain all varieties of opinion that are consistent with Christian living. One of the Church fathers, Epiphanius, even held that, in the first period of the Church,

wickedness was the only heresy—that impious and pious living were the dividing lines between erroneous and orthodox. “It is often said that at least accepting Jesus as one’s Lord and Saviour is necessary for admission into the Church; but Jesus declared that only one thing was a pre-requisite for admission into His heavenly kingdom, namely, doing the will of God; and surely what would open the gates of heaven should open the doors of the Church on earth.” The true method of procedure for the Christian Church is, not to abolish or revise old creeds, but simply to grant complete liberty of belief with regard to them; to let them stand for those to whom they are still satisfactory, but to give others the right to amend or reject them; to take no position as a Church upon these matters; to have no standards of orthodoxy; to say that from its standpoint there is only one heresy, namely, wickedness; and only one essential requirement, namely, the doing of the will of God.

That this step will be taken is unlikely. There is not, perhaps, an instance in Christian history in which a Church, having once committed itself to a doctrinal position, has relaxed the obligations of it. But if none of the existing Churches will take the step, then it will be taken outside of the Churches. The spirit of progress will secure a new organ for itself, and, more and more, what is earnest and forward-looking in the old organizations will disentangle itself and go to swell the new ranks. We overdo in these days the idea of evolution, considered as an unbroken continuity of development. In politics and in religion almost every forward movement has been possible only by making a new beginning.

As to the needed advance on the *moral* side. It may seem a backward step, but, morally speaking, the next thing in Christianity is to go back to Jesus. The striking thing in modern Christianity is the almost total lack of that idealism, that ardour, that faith, and that hope that lived in the breast of the Man of eighteen centuries ago, after whom Christendom is named. Christian morality now is without wings; there is no expectancy in it, no largeness of vision; so far as this world is concerned, the Christian seems to look for nothing better from it than any one else does. “How dreary are our lives, and all the business of them, how dreary even our good works, our charities and philanthropies, if with the soul we cannot have the vision of a time when good shall conquer evil, when whatever oppresses shall be cast down, when the tears of humanity shall cease, when for sorrow there shall be gladness, and instead of wrong a triumphant right!”

What would it mean to think now somewhat as Jesus thought eighteen centuries ago? It would mean to look for a new order of things on the earth; to give up the idea that existing political and social arrangements are anywise final. Many features of the present order of society such a man would simply endure, looking for their overthrow. Over against the present he would put the future, and balance the weight of evil which oppresses him with the vision of what is to be. This faith, too, would lead him to purify his own life; for, should he expect to see the new order, he would wish to be worthy of a place in it, and, whether he is to see it with his earthly eyes or not, he would wish to be one in spirit with it.

A social dream is the essence of Jesus’ teaching; to look for its realization was the earliest meaning of His religion. It is easy to point out the element of illusion in His expectation. Jesus has not come again in all these eighteen centuries; and it will not do to say that His coming refers to another world, since every reference to it that He makes shows that He has this world in mind.

If the Churches should come into contact with the real Jesus, it would be their regeneration. They might worship Him less; they would follow Him more. They would extend a hand to the reform movements of the time, and welcome them to

their midst; they would be one with them in their soul, if not in their letter. The trouble is that the Churches do not understand their Master; they do not catch the real drift of the New Testament. They have acquired such a factitious reverence for both that they do not study either with a scientific, truth-loving spirit; they have enveloped both in a sort of halo, and see nothing distinctly. Liberal Christians think it a great achievement to discover that Jesus was a man; but there is no special value or inspiration in this discovery. The question is, What sort of a man was He? Were He living to-day, and breathing the modern intellectual atmosphere, He would be neither a sentimentalist nor a religious rhapsodist, but the leader of a great, thorough-going reform movement; He would have said justice is for here and now, and the will of God is to be done on earth, even as it is done in heaven.

What a new thing the Christian Churches would be if they could catch His spirit; and who have so good a claim to it as they? How easy then would become some tasks that now seem giant-like in their proportions, so low is the tone of public sentiment, so little have the people the idea that religion means striving for justice and a just social order on the earth! "Back to Jesus, then, I say, back to His great ideal! May the twofold step, intellectual and moral, be taken! May liberation be given to the mind, and once more may the conscience be touched! Happily, then, the dividing wall between Christianity and much of what is earnest and good in the world outside it will be broken down."

IS PHYSICAL DEATH A PENALTY? By Prof. J. LEADINGHAM, Ohio (*Old and New Testament Student*).—There are few questions upon which more depends than this question, but it is not often fairly and frankly met. Many an inquirer will be glad of Prof. Leadingham's aid towards a clear and satisfactory answer. He says that from the time of Augustine, at least, the great body of the Church has answered it in the affirmative, and there does not appear to have been a time when this body has carefully considered the grounds on which their affirmation rested. The answer given by the larger party has been in greater or less degree carried to its logical conclusion, and thus been instrumental in giving shape to the leading theological systems that have grown up. Prof. Leadingham takes the two great types of belief, the Calvinistic and Arminian. Calvinists have uniformly answered the question in the affirmative, and carried that answer to its natural conclusion, compelling us at times to surrender our natural convictions and instinctive judgments to the logic of their system. Arminians have given it at least a qualified affirmation; but as a fundamental postulate in their theology is, that there can be no penalty except for voluntary transgression with power to the contrary, one effect of this affirmation has been to lead them into ambiguous and often contradictory statements in trying to reconcile this with their other position.

The question is primarily one of exegesis, and that mainly of two familiar passages—Gen. ii. 17; Rom. v. 12-21. The former is regarded as conveying a threat—as announcing a visitation of Divine wrath in case of disobedience; the latter as assuming that certain penal evils have befallen mankind in consequence of the transgression in Eden. Dr. Charles Hodge says, "Men are subject to penal evils on account of the sin of Adam." Dr. Shedd says, "The penalty of death which men suffer is not founded upon their actual and individual transgressions, but upon the sin of one man." The argument of both these writers rests upon the assumption that death is a penalty. Syllogistically, their argument runs thus:—Whoever suffers death suffers a penalty. All men suffer death. Therefore all men suffer a penalty. Further, whoever suffers a penalty is guilty of transgression. All men suffer a penalty. Therefore all men are guilty of transgression. The fault of this argument

can only be found in the premises. But since we cannot deny that all men die, we have no alternative, if we reject the doctrine of original sin, but to deny that death is a penalty. Scriptures nowhere say that mankind sinned in Adam, or that they are guilty or responsible for his sin. The Arminian position may be given in the words of Dr. Whedon. "Man is indeed, perhaps, in every respect intrinsically and organically a free agent. Yet, inasmuch as holy action is placed beyond his reach, he is no longer *objectively* free to holiness and right, and is unable to do that which is pleasing in the sight of God. He is, therefore, under sentence of temporal, moral, and eternal death." His idea seems to be that the existence of a posterity to Adam is possible only by the suspension of the penalty pronounced against him, and which could have been justly executed upon him. If the sentence of death had been immediately carried out, the race would have come to an end with him. The suspension of the sentence, and the propagation of the race, become possible because of a redemptive system previously provided.

The greatest difficulties are introduced into these two systems of theology by holding that death is penal. But are there valid grounds for maintaining this? It is, of course, understood that both Calvinists and Arminians complicate the discussion by holding that the death alluded to in these passages quoted refers not to physical death alone, but to death spiritual and eternal as well. What, then, are the facts involved? All will admit that evil resulted from the entrance of sin into the world, and that included in this evil is death in its various forms. What, then, are the ends to be subserved under the Divine government by the permission or infliction of evil?

1. Evil may certainly be penal. Penalty is evil inflicted by government for failure in duty: a failure arising from the transgression of some moral requirement. It thus implies ill-desert on the part of the one suffering it, and disapproval on the part of an authoritative power whose function it is to see that this requirement is obeyed.
2. Evil may be of the kind known as natural consequence. This is evil resulting from the breaking, or interruption in some way, of the natural laws that govern the operations of the physical or moral constitution; as the remorse that follows sin, or the disease which grows out of the interference with the laws governing the functions of the body. But we must not confuse those natural laws whose violation is followed by evil of this kind with the governmental enactments for whose violation penalty is inflicted. They belong to our creation, but carry with them no thought of obligation or duty. The sufferings that arise from the violation of these natural laws are not penalty. They come upon every one who breaks them, no matter what his character may be, or what his purpose, when the law was broken.
3. Evil may result from the application of remedial or disciplinary measures. These measures may be applied by individuals or by governments. Nearly all the good for which we strive has to be gained by passing through a period of arduous struggle and self-denial imposed on us by the circumstances in which we are placed. Penalty may sometimes be mingled with evil of this kind, but this is not its usual object. Its purpose is rather to avoid penalty by perfecting a character that will, after the period of discipline has passed, be void of offence.

In Scripture the term death is applied to physical death, the separation of the soul from the body; or to that degenerate state into which the soul naturally comes in consequence of falling into sin, which is known as "spiritual death"; or to the state of condemnation and misery following the judgment, which is known as "eternal death," or the "second death." This last is unquestionably a penalty. With spiritual death the case is different. This is a natural consequence which, from the nature of the moral constitution, necessarily follows sin. The discussion narrows

itself to this question, Is *physical* death a penalty? There are strong Scriptural and rational grounds for believing that this also is not penal, but rather an element in the Divine economy working independently of character, and which is remedial and disciplinary in its nature. 1. In Scripture the *good* man's death is not a penalty, but a blessing. 2. Nowhere does Scripture, in the case of *any one*, teach that physical death is a penalty for sin in the broad sense of the term. There is, however, a difference between the working of physical death in its absolute sense under the Divine economy, and the use that may be made of it for temporary and special purposes. In all ages death has been inflicted under human governments as a punishment for certain outward forms of wickedness. And Old Testament Scriptures especially make mention of the infliction of physical death for just such purposes as these. But this has nothing to do with the final reckoning with wicked men. In the New Testament attention is directed wholly to the penalty of sin in the generic sense of the word; and this penalty is never spoken of as physical death, but the eternal death following the judgment. It is the *soul* upon which the penalty is to fall, and not the body.

Some rational considerations seem to sustain this view. With some definite end before Him, God created a new race, capable of attaining to high and holy character and privilege. That He might carry the race forward to such an attainment, righteousness of life on their part was necessary. He therefore places upon Adam and Eve a mild restriction, under which the development of character should be begun. But they failed to stand the test: they sinned, and the coming of sin into the world was the coming of a power for evil, whose natural tendency is to increase and perpetuate itself. Sin, left to work out its natural results, would inevitably have been fatal to the race, and would have frustrated the end God had in view in creation. Death may have been introduced as a counteracting and remedial influence. It works in this way in the case of the good man; and by cutting the wicked man off in the midst of his sins it acts as a check on sin's self-perpetuating power, and thus affords a freer opportunity for the exercise of the saving and redemptive influences. Sin so tends to increase in power that unduly prolonged life would make men dangerous, as is seen in the case of those who lived before the Flood.

One of the reasons leading to the adoption of the doctrine of original sin is the necessity of accounting for the death of infants. A large part of the race, more than half, die in infancy and childhood, and Prof. Leadingham thinks it "a reasonable view of this fact to suppose that, by the operation of physical death, God is able to remove these little ones at once from the conditions of trial and temptation under which so many fall, to a sphere of choice and activity, where the influences are all on the side of virtue, and where character can be formed without danger of fall or loss."

Physical death is not adapted to provide the necessary impressions of penalty for sin in the broad sense of the term. There is nothing pertaining to it in its ordinary happening to indicate in any way the character of those upon whom it comes. In the case of the wicked, it is working for the benefit of the world at large rather than as a punishment for the individual. It would therefore seem to be a rational view to regard natural death as a means by which God, in spite of the entrance of sin into the world, secures everlasting life and happiness to untold millions of souls that, to all appearance, if left under the dominion of sin, unchecked by death, would have been lost.

Eternal death is penal. But that cannot be the death spoken of in Rom. v. 12, for it certainly has not "passed upon all men." Spiritual death is a natural consequence, not a penalty. Physical death does not furnish the necessary impressions of penalty. In none of the senses in which the term death is used can the assump-

tion that death is a penalty be made the premise of the argument for original sin; and when this premise is taken away, the argument and the doctrine both fall to the ground.

The passage in Genesis (ii. 17) has commonly been understood as expressing a threat, but it should be viewed as *stating a consequence*, not necessarily penal, that would follow the introduction of sin. The words cannot be taken literally, for Adam did not die on the day he ate the fruit. Science has shown us that physical death had wrought among the lower animals long before the time of Adam; he saw it, and it probably seemed to him the greatest of calamities. "God here tells Adam what the consequences of his sinning would be, in the form of changed conditions in the life of himself and his posterity, rather than threatens him with a penalty."

It may be said of the passage in Rom. v., if it does not teach the doctrine of original sin, what does it teach? Probably it does not teach a doctrine at all, but simply illustrates the principle Paul had presented. He had shown two things: (1) That the race, both Jews and Gentiles, is a sinful one, and as such is under condemnation; (2) Escape from this condemnation can only be secured by faith in Jesus Christ. The emphasis in the preceding chapters is laid upon the catholic nature of justification. To make this clear the Apostle introduces the comparison with Adam. The difficulty of apprehending the passage lies in the fact that the comparison is not consistently maintained, but is now between certain phases of the resemblance, and again between certain others, sometimes positive and sometimes negative.

The most important fact brought out by the denial of the view that physical death is a penalty, is its usefulness in harmonizing the two classes of facts of which every system of theology and every attempt at exegesis must take account, the facts of human nature and conduct, and those pertaining to God and the Divine government.

PROGRESSIVE ORTHODOXY. By EGBERT C. SMYTH, Andover (*The New World*).—Moved by the spirit of truth, and making truth rather than orthodoxy its watchword, Progressive Orthodoxy seeks to co-operate with every effort to discover truth, and to encourage every method, and to employ every instrumentality, appropriate and available for such a purpose. It is in hearty sympathy with one of the leading and most hopeful characteristics of later thought, its sincere and submissive homage to truth. "Our rationality, our freedom, our life are in the truth; and wherever there is a soul striving for truth, we would fain rise to the dignity and honour of counting him a brother."

Closely connected with this emphasis upon truth is the accentuation of *life*. Here the movement called Progressive Orthodoxy is working in connection with what is predominant in modern thought. Christian doctrine began its history, as a reflective process, in the endeavour better to understand a great life and a great personality, and the significance of their relation to men in their deepest needs. For a long time its expression was predominantly that of personal confession of the Christ, of prayer and hymn and homily, of sacraments and martyrdoms, of ethical instructions elevated and purified, and made effective by the teaching of the cross and the resurrection of Jesus. The impulse to dogma was confession, and defence of such confession, of the one saving name. How little was done beyond this is evident from the fact that not until after the Council of Nicæa, in the year of our Lord 325, was there any pronounced discussion of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, nor till much later any generally recognized formulation of the doctrine of the atonement.

It fell out at last that theology lost the true conception of its genesis and function. It was recognized that a man may accept all the dogmas of the Church and

be destitute of saving faith, but it was not understood that these dogmas themselves are impossible developments of religious truths, save as they spring from religious life and are one aspect of it. Divine truth is the life of God in the human spirit. If a dogma is not ultimately thus verified and known, it is not known at all in its truth and power. The things of the Spirit are spiritually discerned.

Progressive Orthodoxy puts stress upon *character*, especially in the forms of uprightness and sacrifice. Uprightness includes humility. There is no strength, even of an archangel, save as it comes from God; and something beyond this grace of sinless spirits is in the consciousness of recovery by the Holy One from sin. With such rectitude goes ever the grace of sacrifice, the free offering of itself in all service to men of a soul that has learned its own true nature and life in the school of Christ, and through the touch of the Divine love.

It is hardly necessary to plead for the importance of truth in religion. Without it religion becomes an enervating sentimentality, or a delusive superstition. The immediate question is, How this truth may be found? Progressive Orthodoxy accepts as the sufficient source and pledge of the truth, for which a soul conscious of sin and guilt, and thirsting for righteousness, craves with an intensity proportionate to its sense of need, Him whom the Apostles preached as the Revealer of the Father, the Dispenser of the Spirit, the Lord and Saviour of mankind; and it is constrained, in the interest of the reality of this manifestation of God and of its restoring and unifying power, to confess His true Divinity. But it would adjust its conceptions of this truth, and its dogmatic forms, to God's constant revelation of Himself "in His works of creation, providence, and redemption," and especially in that religious life which, running through the generations with increasing power, and broader than any lines of creed, or ritual, or Christian confession even, is a testimony, in human experience and history, of that Spirit who searches the deep things of God, and witnesses of Him in every soul.

The spirit of Progressive Orthodoxy may be illustrated by its treatment of the personality of Jesus. Its theology is a Christology, though not in the ordinary and more technical meaning of the phrase. Historical criticism never was more busy with this problem than it is to-day. It has brought into prominence the theological, the metaphysical, the philosophical elements, in part extra Christian, which enter, it claims, into the ancient creeds. Sometimes it puts in contrast the Christ of the Sermon on the Mount and the Christ of the Nicene symbol. It goes back of the earlier contention that the doctrine of Christ's Divinity sprang from the Logos doctrine which the early Greek apologists and others of that metaphysical Hellenic race derived from Philo and Plato. The same commingling, then witnessed, of philosophical and speculative thought with Jesus' practical teaching concerning God and the righteousness of His kingdom, concerning all holy living and sweet and beneficent piety, and love to men and the one Father of all, appeared within the apostolic age, and transformed the Man of Nazareth into a pre-existent Divinity and a mysterious principle of Divine revelation. But if these conclusions be accepted in the main, the question stated is still unanswered. "If, as is admitted, not only the early Greek Fathers, but the early disciples and the Apostle Paul, to use an ancient phrase, 'theologized' Christ, the interesting problem is not in what Rabbinical or Alexandrian or Platonic forms of thought this occurred, but why it occurred at all, and what was the great reality behind it and prompting it? What connection had it with the new religious life which had come into the world, and with what one of the earliest extra-canonical Christian writers (Ep. Barnabas) calls the new type or character?"

We must admit that in Jesus Christ there was such an indwelling and manifestation of the very nature and life and love of God that all forms of speech still prove inadequate which do not confess, as did the early Church, His unique Sonship and true Divinity. The Jesus of history has been, as it were, restored to us in His true humanity. But the manifest and manifested life of God in Him has thereby only come out into clearer view. "The more closely men have studied the thought and new relationship to God, which seemingly sprang from Him, the clearer and more necessary have appeared to be their vital connections, and the more inherently and essentially has been seen to be involved in the Christian faith the doctrine which is implicit in the earliest symbols, and which, as need was thought to arise, was more definitely and fully confessed." But this dogmatic process ran out into a confusion of faith and theology, and into a baneful substitution of orthodoxy for piety. Yet, nevertheless, we must go back to an original impulse in a faith which held as its most cherished possession a true and unique revelation of God in the person whom it made the object of religious trust. Progressive Orthodoxy abides by the doctrine of the Incarnation, and makes it central and controlling, because without this doctrine the history of the Christian Church and the Christian religion becomes an effect without a cause.

Studying Christian life and thought at the close of the first and beginning of the second century, we find that clear and definitely stand forth the new knowledge of a universal Fatherhood assured in the Son of His love; the new rule of life in the commandment of love; the new sense of power in the conviction that Christianity is a thing of greatness through its Founder and Head; the conscious possession of new spiritual gifts, of a new and abiding presence of the Spirit promised and sent by the risen Lord; the deep and solemn sense of responsibility to Him as the final and universal Judge; the confident access through Him to God in prayer; the faith that His sacrifice had won for the whole world the grace of repentance; the calm assurance of a profound and rich peace amid all earth's turmoil and conflict; and the exultation in victory over death.

More impressive still are the testimonies of action and sacrifice; and the existence of the Christian society, a unique fellowship of men with each other, and with God, in the new name.

In the three centuries following, the immediate and living faith of the Church in its Redeemer and Lord is confronted with innumerable questionings, both from within and from without. Justin Martyr and others resort to the Alexandrian philosophy for help in maintaining the Christian cause. Then comes discussion of the Son's personality, which naturally went over to a similar discussion of the work of the Spirit. But through the long, intricate, perplexed, and sometimes tangled history there is one unbroken and infrangible line of connection—one steadfast faith, one central principle. It is that of trust in Christ as a Divine Redeemer.

It is one of the important services to theology rendered by Ritschl and his school, that God's revelation of Himself is apprehended more than it has been as a Divine kingdom. This is a recurrence to the original Christian point of view, to the testimony of Jesus. It is in accordance, also, with the general scientific method of our time, which proceeds from what is nearest to us, and verifiable in experience, to what is more remote.

The author's conclusion may be given in his own precise words: "I esteem it to be the province and aim of Progressive Orthodoxy, holding fast to the Christian faith in the line of development I have tried to indicate. Keep to that point of view which seems to me for a Christian theologian to be central, to work out from it the related

problems of anthropology, soteriology, and eschatology. In the light of Him who is the Light of the World we see light. It was the joy of the gentle and heroic poet who has recently been taken from us, and who, with his brother poet across the seas, has voiced the spiritual aspiration, the struggling doubt, the conquering faith of our century, it was his delight to watch the dawn, and he died in the dawn. Progressive Orthodoxy, I trust, has this characteristic: its face is towards the Sun of Righteousness.

“The doubts we vainly seek to solve,
The truths we know, are one;
The known and nameless stars revolve
Around the Central Sun.”

CURRENT GERMAN THOUGHT.

F. C. BAUR'S TEACHING AND INFLUENCE. By Drs. HILGENFELD and R. SEYERLEN, Jena (*Zeitschr. für Wissensch. Theologie*, 1892. No. 2).—On June 21st last, the centenary of the birth of Baur, who died December 2nd, 1860, Drs. Hilgenfeld and Seyerlen gave lectures on Baur's work as the founder of the Tübingen school. The former is the greatest, almost the only, living representative of Baur's chief theories; the latter studied at his feet. The one gives an able summary of the origin and progress of Baur's teaching, such as only one thoroughly familiar with the subject could give; the other dwells on the personal character of the great teacher; for a great teacher Baur was, in learning, in iron industry, in speculative genius, in masterly grasp of complex details. His particular theories have long since given place to others equally hypothetical; still, their influence, if only in provoking inquiry and reply, has been immense. He has dominated the subsequent history of research as none but a great genius could.

Baur, it is remarked, was essentially a child of the eighteenth century, the century of Rationalism, of Semler and Kant, who led up to the philosophical idealists, Schelling, Hegel, Fichte. The thought which Baur made the pivot of his explanation of early Christianity, namely, a radical Jewish and Pauline dualism, which the Book of the Acts sought to reconcile, was originally Semler's. Semler went as far in negation as most later Rationalists. To him the canon of Scripture was a human work, tempered by Divine inspiration; dogma, a perversion of genuine Christianity. “His gift was doubting, questioning, pulling down, though not without limits.” Hilgenfeld finds the strength of Rationalism in the field of Biblical and historical theology, as well as in the history of dogma, its weakness in systematic theology, where, however, its deficiency was supplied by the philosophical systems just mentioned. Here there were strange transformations. Kant's subjective idealism passed into Fichte's objective idealism, his inaccessible “thing in itself” into absolute knowledge. “Religion appeared as an essential stage in the development of spirit, and therefore rational, not in the subjective sense of Rationalism, but in the objective one of a revelation of the Godhead, but not a revelation outside of or above reason, as supernaturalism asserted, but a revelation of the infinite in the finite, of Godhead in humanity. The mystery of a Divine revelation, which Rationalism avoided and Supernaturalism defended, seemed now to be unveiled. Just in the dogma of all church-dogmas, in the Trinity and Incarnation, this philosophy found its main idea of the infinite entering into the finite and returning from finitude, of

the unity of the infinite and finite in spirit." Thus the gap in Rationalism was filled up, the barrenest side of Supernaturalism replaced by a more fruitful doctrine. Schleiermacher led the reaction from these visionary speculations to more practical views of Christ and Christianity. The feeling of absolute dependence, which with him constitutes the ground of religion, is one in which the philosophic and the ordinary Christian meet. His theology is only a transcript of common Christian experience. Schleiermacher was weak in that historical grasp of Christianity which was the strength of Baur. To him even the connection of the New with the Old Testament was comparatively indifferent.

Every one of the elements just enumerated helped to determine Baur's life and thought. Hilgenfeld divides his life into three portions. First, up to the death of Schleiermacher in 1834, at Blaubeuren, and then at Tübingen, where he spent the rest of his life. His first great work, published in 1824 on Symbolism and Mythology in the Nature-Religion of Antiquity, was thoroughly characteristic, blending philosophy and religion in a striking way. He ascribes an important share in this attempt to settle the relation of heathen religions to Christianity, "to a work which, more than any other, makes an epoch in the history of theology—Schleiermacher's *Christlicher Glaube*." "But whilst Schleiermacher tried to separate his doctrinal teaching from religious philosophy, Baur says, 'That construction of Christian faith itself was only possible in so far as Christianity was considered from the standpoint of religious philosophy.' Baur places himself decidedly at the standpoint of religious philosophy, which is inseparable from the history of religion." "Without the idea of religion the nature of particular forms of religion cannot be understood; and how, again, can the principle and the character of a particular form of religion be rightly apprehended, unless all the phenomena of the same kind are considered in their mutual relations?" His motto was, "Apart from philosophy, history to me remains dumb and dead for ever." In some essays on Gnosticism Baur describes Schleiermacher's theology as a new form of Gnosticism, ideal rationalism, comparing Schleiermacher's attitude to the Old Testament with that of Marcion. Schleiermacher resented the comparison and charge with an earnestness which Hilgenfeld regards as a proof that the shaft had gone home. Writings on the "Speaking with Tongues," "The Christ-Party in Corinth," which preluded his peculiar theory of early Christianity, "Apollonius of Tyana," the Roman controversy in reply to his colleague Möhler, belong to the same period. All are written on a broad scale, and with the same faculty of insight. "His field of inquiry was historical theology, but in the broadest and highest sense. However, through his detailed inquiries, he never lost the eye for the universal, the spiritual forces in the individual phenomena, for the whole of theology—nay, for the idea of philosophy in general. As a religious philosopher he was not a systematiser, like Schleiermacher, but a historian. As such he guarded himself against severing Christianity from historical connection with the Old Testament religion."

The second period of his life was the one marked by the appearance of Strauss, who was a disciple at once of Baur and Schleiermacher. It was the alarm justly caused by Strauss's extreme views which prevented Baur's appointment as successor to Schleiermacher in Berlin. Strauss repeated the charge against Schleiermacher, previously made by Baur, of a severance between the ideal and the historic Christ, Strauss's own position being that Christ was a mere idealization. At this time appeared Baur's work, *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion in its Historical Development*, 1835, in which he traced the course of thought from ancient Gnosticism, through Clement, Jacob Böhme, Schelling, Schleiermacher, to Hegel. Other works

of his were on New Testament criticism against Hengstenberg, and episcopacy against Rothe. His *Christian Doctrine of Atonement*, 1838, conceives the subject in a large way as the abolition, in Hegelian phrase, of the dualism of the finite and the infinite. Erigena, whose pantheism was congenial to Baur, Abelard, Kant, Hegel, all march across the scene. In 1841-48 appeared his *Christian Doctrine of the Trinity and Atonement in their Historical Development*, in three volumes. The conclusion runs, "As surely as the idea of humanity must needs be realized, and as surely as it is to be found in the unity of God and man, so surely can it only be realized by its entering into the thought of humanity at a definite point, in a definite individual." "Here," Hilgenfeld writes, "the ideal is not entirely cut off from the historical Christ, because the idea of Divine humanity has appeared in Jesus in historical form."

It is in the third period that Baur appears as the head of a distinct school, since known as the Tübingen school. It was a time of incessant toil and incessant conflict. The titles of the chief works of this period indicate the subjects, *The Composition and Character of the Fourth Gospel*, 1844; *Paul*, 1845; *Critical Investigations about the Canonical Gospels*, 1847. The Tübingen positions have been long since abandoned, except perhaps by Hilgenfeld, who himself often opposed his master, contending that he went too far in rejecting the genuineness of some New Testament books and post-dating others. Ritschl abandoned Baur in 1857 to take even more negative ground. Ewald declared that Baur was neither a Christian nor one of the better heathen, but a literary Jew, "that plague of our poor Germany." "To sum up," Hilgenfeld writes, "Baur's distinctive feature is the historical conception of the whole of scientific theology. The place of dogmatics as the chief theological science is taken by the history of Dogma, on which Baur wrote a stimulating handbook. The whole of exegetical theology is historical. The writings of the New Testament are historical records. They were called historical, not in the sense that they recount or contain pure history, but that they present the history of primitive Christianity. This history is just as little homogeneous as that of the Reformation, but proceeds, like all true history, such as philosophy and the Roman Empire, through great antagonisms, namely, through the great antagonism of the primitive-apostolic and the Pauline Christianity. If this theory is not exaggerated, it places the history of primitive Christianity in its true light. The spirit of primitive Christianity came with rushing winds and fiery tongues. When its writings are arranged in the order of development, they certainly appear as party-writings. The narratives especially appear as tendency-writings." With all respect to Hilgenfeld, who, as we have said, does not hesitate to criticize his teacher, while holding to the positions just indicated, Baur was as much an idealist as a historian; history and idea are mixed up inextricably in his writings. He sees history not as it was, but as he thinks it must have been. Baur's Church History is not the least of his works; in it his strength and weakness are equally conspicuous. It covers the entire course of history. Kurtz describes it as marked by "imperial mastery of the vast mass of material along with keen criticism and frequent novelty of conception." Some of his works, like the lectures on New Testament Theology, were published posthumously.

The personal details which *Dr. Seyerlen* gives of Baur as a teacher and a man are full of interest. The wide range of his lectures has been already intimated,—Church History, History of Dogma, Theology and Exegesis of the New Testament. The lectures were not mere excerpts from his books, but freshly written for the purpose, constantly receiving new accessions of thought and material, laden with the fruit of the newest learning and yet wonderfully adapted to the needs of beginners. Baur read closely from his manuscript. In style he was simple, noble, free from

everything artificial and affected, forgetting, losing himself in the greatness of his subject. The echoes of the great controversy going on outside were often heard in the class-room, and Hengstenberg's works, of course, came in for a great deal of sarcasm. He was thoroughly independent, free, manly, courageous, utterly unselfish, disdaining to seek favours even for his friends and scholars. "No one knew as he did how to permeate the detail of the material which he supplied in such abundance in his lectures, with thought, and to set in a clear light the problems treated of and the general points of view involved; no one could sketch so clearly the course of the Church and its dogma as a whole, in its different stages and decisive turning-points; no one finally could so keenly characterize the spirit of vast periods, and the special features of particular sections of time, as he did. This formed the peculiar charm to his listeners, and the uncommon scientific impulse which one carried away from his lectures. In them he gave the essence of his published works, but in a new, independent form adapted to his hearers, and in its way as perfect as the printed works." That he made great demands on the diligence of students is matter of course. To earnest students he was a wise counsellor and true friend, yielding to them the freedom he claimed for himself. His chief aim was to educate others to independence. He lived for theological study, never interfering in outside questions. "Nothing was farther from him than learned obscurity, the desire to shine, to make a sensation and get himself talked about; of this weakness, of vanity and mean jealousy no trace was to be found in him. His soul was great, filled with a noble pride. Therefore he never sought favour; this was utterly inconceivable in him; he went straight forward, following only his scientific conscience; how he was regarded, and temptations of the most different kinds were not wanting, did not come into his thoughts. For the same reason he disdained to form a school; this lay quite outside his nature, and would have been simply impossible to him. Certainly a select circle of adherents gathered round him, who built on the ground he laid; but this was quite spontaneous, the direct result of his personality and the scientific principle he represented."

THE LEARNING OF THE BOY JESUS. By JUL. DÖDERLEIN, Pastor at Jochsburg, Bavaria (*Neue Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.* vol. 1, No. 4).—The writer truly says, "The childhood of Jesus is the chief enigma of His Incarnation." Of course the mystery of the acquisition of knowledge, in union with Divine omniscience, broods over the whole of Christ's earthly life, but in the childhood it comes to a point, and forces itself on our attention. The writer adds another to the many attempts to solve the difficulty. He is, it is safe to say, as little successful as others before him; but every earnest effort of the kind is of value, if only for the purpose of bringing out the true nature of the problem.

Most attempts hitherto have failed because they have sacrificed one or other of the two truths which are to be held fast. Ancient theology said with Gerhard: *Secundum humanam naturam nescivit, secundum divinam naturam scivit*; on which it is remarked, "Such knowledge and ignorance of the same subject destroys the unity of the person; indeed, it seems impossible, because contradicting the idea of knowledge, that the same thinking being should know something on one side which he does not know on the other." The explanation of modern Kenotists like Thomasius and Frank seems equally inadmissible, namely, that the Divine knowledge is laid aside or becomes passive during Christ's earthly life, like the Divine power and presence, or, as Frank puts it, "Christ transformed His Divine into a human consciousness." Such a view contradicts both the Divine nature of the Son and the plain statements of Scripture. Dorner remarks that, as the unchangeable One, God

can least of all renounce His knowledge. Scripture also assumes the Son's knowledge of all things, as in the names of Light, Truth, Life, given to Him. "And yet we read just as plainly in His earthly life, again and again, of His historical development, of growth in wisdom, of childlike asking and learning to the end. How can this be? How can He learn who already knows all things? This is the mysterious question which we wish to solve by giving a clear answer." What is the answer?

The writer distinguishes between, not exactly two kinds, but two *means* of knowledge, the inner one of reason and intuition, the outer of the senses. The means at the command of the spirit for receiving into itself the images around it, *i.e.*, for getting knowledge, are two:—first, "*itself* with its power of the spirit to search and see into the ground of all things; secondly, the manifestation of its nature by means of its senses, open to the world, for receiving the outward forms of things, from which it can just as certainly reason to the hidden ground behind them as the cause of all phenomena. The former way proceeds from within outward, the latter from without inward: the two embrace the whole field of knowledge, the depths of reason and the rich contents of knowledge. But the former is the first, most spiritual, divine; the latter the secondary, receptive, and therefore thoroughly human way for reflecting the truth within. The former has certainty only for the knowing spirit itself, the latter also for other spirits who see the manifestation. The former is the self-evident knowledge of conscience, the latter the knowledge of science which also makes others certain."

A critical question now is, Does this distinction apply to God? In addition to the mode of knowledge peculiar to pure spirit, has He also this second mode belonging to us? "Has God, beside His Spirit, which accompanies all life from the depths of the beginning to the summit of development, also another means of knowledge, by which He, in His own eternal life and in the life of His creatures, penetrates deeper and deeper from the manifest phenomenon down to the very root of the movement, receives into Himself the entire fulness of the developing force, and enjoys the satisfaction of His desire for knowledge?" The writer answers, Yes, and seeks to prove this supposition of a twofold knowledge in God as in us by all those passages which ascribe organs of sense to God, or assume them; see also passages like Gen. i. 81, xi. 5, xix. 21; Exod. xxxi. 17. "Briefly, the entire Scripture distinguishes in God also a seeing with the eyes, and therefore a knowing with the senses from His knowing in the Spirit." There is no need to point out the consequences and difficulties of such a view. It transfers the phenomena of Christ's earthly life, and of our life, to the Divine nature itself. It seems to give a literal meaning to the passages just referred to.

The application is as follows. The Son having these two kinds of knowledge retains the first and higher kind in His Incarnation. "This belongs to His nature as Son, and as Lord over all. If He knew not God but one hour as His Father in the Spirit, He would no longer be the Son, in whom the Father is as He is in the Father; the Father would then have no Son and the world no Lord, in whom it consists. For this the full possession of His Godhead is necessary. But His outward knowledge belongs not to His essential nature, but only to its manifestation and unfolding. The latter He laid aside with His Divine form when He assumed a servant-form, therewith renouncing not merely the brightness of His glory, but also the enjoyment of His Divine knowledge, as well as the blessed vision of God, and looking on the world with His eyes of flame. Such 'use' of His omnipotence He exchanged at His conception for the weak, languid power of our flesh to perceive God's nearness more and more clearly, to feel it with growing force, and so to view

and grasp His world more and more perfectly as a work of His eternal love. On this side of His knowledge, from without inwardly, alone can we speak of a 'transforming of His Divine into our human consciousness.' With His eternally clear self-consciousness as God's Son and Lord of the world, He could as little lose or forget Himself as God can deny Himself. In this exchange of His blessed seeing as God for our toilsome seeking in the flesh we have perhaps found the key, which may explain and render evident to us the natural and yet mysterious learning of the Son of God and Son of Mary, such as is told in Scripture."

In the early scene in the temple the two elements of His life are clearly brought out. He learned God's will by searching the Scriptures, just as we do, just as every child may do. "He wished to learn what He did not yet know, namely, how all God's secret things are to be learnt by human means from Scripture as from the works of creation; had He known all this already, His hearing would have been idle, and His asking mere pretence." Yet, on the other hand, the certainty of His Divine consciousness shines out just as strongly. He is surprised that His mother did not know that He would be found among His *Father's* friends. It is thus apparent that He does not now learn for the first time that He is God's Child. "Can He say more plainly that He has ever known whose Son He is, than by saying that He scarcely thinks it possible that any one who knows Him from a child up does not know this? Dare any one then say that He did not know before who He was? Truly, His spirit always knew that He was the Son of the Father; if this is said nowhere else, it is said here. Yet He must learn from others, nay, learn as a child like other human children, press from the outer to the inner, reason from little to great, learn God's will and nature from His word and work; this learning of eternal truth from its revelation in time was on earth the new task of His life in the flesh, by which He was to cure our natural blindness, lead our thoughts back from ourselves to God, and turn us to His own life in God." "In the desert He had to experience and feel hunger and thirst, the impulse of vanity, and the attraction of earthly glory, as He did not know it before, but learned to conquer all by the word of Scripture; in Gethsemane He learned to submit His own will to God's will by prayer such as He had never uttered before, and in suffering up to the death of the cross He learned to keep silence before God by patience such as He never thought of before; else He could not have cried in anguish: Why hast Thou forsaken Me?"

The writer argues for another rendering of *ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου*. "In My Father's house" is not correct; Christ soon leaves the temple. "Business" is little better. Vulgate, in his, quæ patris mei sunt. Joseph and Mary could scarcely have been expected to understand that their Child had special work to do for God's kingdom. Herr Döderlein proposes, "among God's servants and friends, lovers of His word." "Had they sought Him among the good, they would not have needed to seek long. Instead of this they sought Him *ἐν τοῖς συγγενέσιν καὶ τοῖς γνωστοῖς*, who afterwards tried to cast Him down from the hill, and therefore even then would talk little of God's Word; on the other hand, He was to be found *ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου*, who held the office of the Word, and as such gladly listened to His eager questions."

Two grammatical reasons are given for the new rendering. First, the masculine has the first claim, so to speak, on the *τοῖς*, which is formed from *οἱ*, not *τά*. There is no mention of things in the context. In Rom. xii. 16 Luther translates, Condescend to the lowly (A.V., men of low estate; R.V., things that are lowly; marg., them). In 1 Cor. xii. 6, xv. 28, Col. iii. 11, *πάντα ἐν πάντων* = "all things in all men," not "all things in all things." In ver. 44 no one would render *ἐν τοῖς γνωστοῖς* "in the known places." Again, the *με* at the end of the clause seems to be antithetical to the

beginning, Among those of My Father must I not be? Why is it not said, *δεῖ με εἶναι ἐν τῷ τοῦ πατρὸς μου*, instead of *ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου δεῖ εἶναι με*? In John ix. 4, the Lord Himself says, *ἐγὼ δεῖ ἐργάζεσθαι τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πέμψαντός με*. "Not in what place, but in what company He must be, the anxious ones are to learn once for all, namely, where He will be well treated, with God's children. Where these are He must be, although only as the last and least, as in Bethlehem; this is suggested by the modest *με* at the close: where men speak of God, I shall surely be found."

THE NEWLY DISCOVERED FRAGMENTS OF ANCIENT JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN LITERATURE. By Dr. ED. BRATKE, Bonn (*Theol. Liter. Blatt.*, Dec. 2nd and 9th, 1892).—Dr. Bratke gives a brief account and criticism of these interesting documents discovered by French explorers at the city of the dead, Akhmim, the ancient Panopolis, Upper Egypt, in the winter of 1886. His account is based on the *Mémoires* published by U. Bouriant, Director of the French Archæological Institute at Cairo. The manuscript consists of thirty-three leaves. The characters used and the orthography suggest a date between the eighth and the twelfth century, not earlier than the one or later than the other. The manuscript is imperfect.

The first page contains the figure of a Coptic cross, each of the arms of which has a smaller cross; on the right and left is a Greek Alpha and Omega.

Pages 2 to 10 contain a portion of a Gospel describing the Lord's Passion from the condemnation by Pilate and Herod, and His Resurrection. The fragment breaks off in the middle of a sentence after describing the appearing of the angels and the distress of the disciples. The last words show that Simon Peter was the writer. One passage says of the Lord on the cross that He was without suffering—a Docetic touch. He exclaims, "My strength, strength, thou hast forsaken me; and when he had said this, he was taken up." The burial, setting of the watch, sealing of the stone, and the resurrection are then described circumstantially. Dr. Bratke reminds us that Origen speaks of a Gospel according to Peter. Eusebius puts it among the writings which are neither canonical nor catholic, and at the head of the gospels used by heretics. He also preserves the statement of Serapion, bishop of Antioch, to the effect that the gospel is for the most part true, but contains some things which show Docetic influence. "To the picture, which we have formed on the ground of such testimonies of the apocryphal Gospel of Peter, corresponds in my opinion the matter of the fragment discovered. And since Peter without doubt figures in it as narrator, I do not hesitate to say that we have before us a considerable fragment of the ancient Petrine Gospel. Marks of an earlier age or greater originality, such as the canonical Gospels possess, I have not hitherto been able to find in it. Rather, it makes on me the impression generally of a legendary enriching and embellishing of the canonical life of Jesus. That this revision of the canonical life of Jesus was not without a purpose is shown by the Docetic passage, as well as by others which speak of the fasting of the disciples, an evidence of the author's ascetic inclinations. Apocryphal presentations of the evangelical history we possess already. Whether the new one will really advance our knowledge of primitive Christianity, will appear on more exact examination."

Pages 11, 12 are empty. Pages 13 to 19 "contain a considerable fragment of an apocalypse, whose author, however, is not named. The contents paint in realistic colours the happiness of the blessed and the sufferings of the lost, chiefly the latter. The beginning of the fragment seems to be treating of the signs of the end. Though "the twelve" are mentioned, there is only one chief speaker who converses with the Lord. The Lord shows His disciples the abode of the blessed—a garden of perfumes

and fruits. Some of the horrible details of the punishments of the wicked correspond with those of an old Apocalypse of Peter known to us from Clement of Alexandria and other sources, and one striking sentence, quoted by Dr. Bratke, is common to both. Although that Apocalypse was not placed on a level with the prophetic and apostolic books, it was highly esteemed and treated as authentic. Dr. Bratke does not think it belongs to the first century. "In these circumstances I think it more than probable that we have to do here with a piece of the old Petrine Apocalypse, so long sought in vain; and the fact that it is joined to a fragment of Peter's Gospel can only confirm the supposition." "The new discovery embraces only half of the entire Apocalypse, and we have reason to suppose that the citations transmitted to us by Clemens and Macarius, which are not found in it, belong to the missing half." "If the Church finally removed this Apocalypse from the circle of canonical writings, this is only a proof to us, now that we know in part its grotesque contents, that it did not lack the necessary Christian tact."

Page 20 is blank. On page 21 to 66 are "two pieces of the Book of Enoch, embracing together the first thirty-two chapters with some gaps." Time will be required for detailed comparison with the existing Greek fragments and with the Ethiopic Enoch. So far as at present appears, the manuscript differs considerably from the readings preserved in Jude and Syncellus, and the Ethiopic version was made from a Greek copy which corresponds generally but not entirely to the new text. This result seems to promise considerable gain from the new find.

At the end of the volume a piece of parchment is attached to the inner side of the leather binding, containing in uncial characters a section from a canonical Gospel. Finally, there is a leaf, also written in uncials, plainly forming a fragment from the Acts of the martyr Julian, who is little known to us from other quarters. "Can it be by accident that the apocalyptic pieces mentioned are found in the neighbourhood of a martyr story?"

THE BIBLICAL CHRIST THE GROUND OF OUR FAITH. By Dr. PAUL EWALD, Vienna (*Neue Kirchl. Zeitschrift*, 1892. No. 12).—In November we gave the salient points in Dr. Herrmann's essay, *The Historical Christ the Ground of our Faith*. The change of designation is significant. The "historical" Christ of the Ritschlian school, represented by Dr. Herrmann, is the Christ of the synoptic Gospels, and these again reduced by critical processes; the features in the image of Christ due to John and Paul, not to speak of Church doctrine, are left out of account, or only admitted in so far as they accord with the synoptic picture. By the "Biblical" Christ Dr. Ewald means the Christ presented in all these records. Dr. Herrmann's essay was in part a reply to a publication of Dr. Ewald's, and Dr. Ewald's again is in part a reply to the essay and to Dr. Herrmann's book. We omit, however, all points of personal polemic, interesting and instructive as these often are, and shall only indicate the ground which evangelical Lutherans are taking up in opposition to the new teaching of Ritschl's school.

The motive of the insistence on the "historical Christ" or "simple man Jesus" is to remove everything which "the unredeemed" (= unconverted) "man cannot bear." The "offence," not only of the cross, but of the Resurrection, real Divinity, Miraculous Birth, and Miracle generally, has ceased. Whether the "unredeemed" man will receive what is left is exceedingly doubtful. Even the Ritschlian image of Christ contains elements beyond the reach of the natural man. "Even Herrmann imposes more on the unredeemed man than he can bear. The unredeemed man, even if the desire after God has arisen in him, seeks, first of all, to redeem himself.

A unique Redeemer, with wonderful claims—so Herrmann himself describes the 'historical' Christ—does not stand materially nearer the unredeemed man than the Divine-human Mediator, and he can as little form adequate conceptions of Him as of a Divine Incarnation." Nor does Dr. Ewald doubt that the preaching and reception of such a Christ may beget real faith to a certain extent; whether such assured faith as man needs, is another question. It is a curious fact that writers like Herrmann do not object to Christians receiving those higher views which are not included in the "historical" Christ, which would scarcely be a right course if those views were utterly wrong; still this is not necessary. The main question, however, is whether the greatly-reduced Christ of the Ritschlian theory meets human needs. On this point let Dr. Ewald speak. "Nothing avails against the fact of sin and death but the fact that God has given Himself up for us in His Son, and given Himself up to the point of death. This is something greater than if He showed us in a man of infinite love, patience, &c., how He can love in general, or, to speak with Herrmann, that 'there is a power of goodness above the actual'—this, I think, is clear. I set little store by the arguments used by the ancients in answering the question, Why did God become man? when they spoke of a harmonizing of love and justice, &c.; for here the danger is scarcely to be avoided of arbitrarily applying to God conceptions taken from other spheres. The question, it seems to me, must first of all be turned round, Why did God become *man*? And the answer to this is, Because only in this way is the demand of conscience met, only thus are death and hell overcome. No juristic theory applied to God influences us here, but, if I may so speak, the moral feeling, instinctive in man, which cannot even recognize a God who could forgive without sacrifice, without judgment. The deeper the sense of sin, the keener the impression of the severity of God's law; the greater the distance from a holy God, the more imperious the demand of conscience for an expiation. God is love! Yes, but in such moments I lose the feeling that He loves *me*, and am confronted by the thought of His holiness. I see the abyss of my sin, *my* sin! And that He has loved *others* in Christ, loved *men* in Him, I cannot apply to myself without the fact of the atoning death. I seem to myself an exception, the chief of sinners, because I see *my* sin, *my* sinfulness, and have no such excuse as I might make for others, whose hearts are not open to me as my own. I need Luther's saying, 'God died,' Paul's 'Who spared not His own Son,' in order to be sure that 'God is for me.' A sacrifice must be offered, so great that it towers far above all my little thoughts and great doubts. As to dogmatic statements, I may be conscious that we speak and think in anthropomorphisms, and I may allow that what for us is a temporal act—Christ's atoning death—is to the eternal God an act outside time. Faith has no need of statements of this class, which are for practised thinkers; but it cannot dispense with the fact of the 'Divine-human' Mediator and His saving death, if it would stand on the ground of *certainty*."

The last word touches the question which both Herrmann and Ewald allow is the test of truth on this subject. The former says, "The point in dispute is the old question of the Reformation: How can I be certain that I have a gracious God? In the Christian Church there can be but one answer: Through Jesus Christ." The latter writes, "How does Christ become the ground and contents of faith? How can we at any time be sure of having Him? or better, how can we always remain sure of having Him? If I can give no answer to the question, I am rightly condemned by my critic." The Ritschlian answer has been intimated—through the "historical" Christ, *i.e.*, the Christ stripped of all higher attributes. The question in other words is as to the origin of faith and of the certainty of salvation. Ewald answers, "There are two elements which co-operate in originating faith and the certainty of salvation."

The impression of the truly historical, biblical Christ; and the religious need which leads me to discern and seize, as an undoubted reality, a majesty present to me, the majesty confronting me in the form of a fact of history. But how do these two elements work? In the figure of Christ there meets us a man of unsullied holiness and withal of infinite love, infinite pity, a friend of sinners and helper of the lost; a man, but more than a man, namely, One who comes with superhuman claims and powers, who knows Himself to be, and professes to be, God's eternal Son, having entered humanity in order to redeem it, One who ascribed to His death power to give life to men, since He was not conscious of paying in death the tribute of humanity, but by His death gives a ransom for many; a man who declares that the grave will not hold Him, that He will rise again, that He will come again to judgment, and of whom His disciples testify that He actually rose again, and after His resurrection endowed them with the Holy Spirit and miraculous powers! To the natural, self-satisfied man an offence and stumbling-block, an unwelcome riddle! For whether he is content with an allegation of enthusiasm or not, he cannot, in presence of that incomparable dignity, calmness, and love, with a good conscience resist its impression. It is very different with the man whose religious need has been awakened and deepened by the figure of the Holy and Merciful One. He sees here before him what he needs, what alone can pacify his heart, a Divine-human Mediator, in harmonious majesty, an eternal High Priest and Atoner; or, if these phrases are too specifically dogmatic, One in whom heaven and earth are knit together, in whom God has humbled Himself in unique, wondrous fashion, and humbled Himself for his redemption. And this wins his heart. An idea which he did not dare to conceive, was not able to conceive, has here become reality! God, whom he thought and thinks of as a terrifying hostile power, as inexorable law, presents Himself to him in the manifestation of Jesus Christ also as compassionate love. 'Also,' I say expressly, for on this all depends. The impression of love will not and cannot extinguish the impression of terrifying holiness and justice. This the conscience itself, which acknowledges the right of the legal sentence, will not permit. Nay, still more, that impression is deepened by the figure of Christ, His word and walk, work and suffering. But we are met by the unheard-of fact, that love nevertheless veils and shows itself in the life, death, and rising again of the Lord of glory. The Holy One as Merciful, the Judge as Father—this is the God whom we find in Jesus Christ, the God who in Christ, the eternal Son, became man for our good! And overpowered by this our heart seizes this figure as reality! Here I shall find, here I can find, here I have found, what I need!

"We do not then, like Herrmann, say to the unredeemed or doubting: 'Ignore what you cannot believe, what does not seem to you undoubted fact, and hold to what is left'; but we say: Let the whole Christ act upon you, and you will learn what you have in Him. . . . I would rather say: We preach the whole Christ, not merely because we thus draw near to the 'historical Christ,' but because we know that only the whole Christ can save and give certainty. . . . The certainty of salvation is only attained when the ground of salvation, the whole Christ, is seized."

CURRENT FRENCH THOUGHT.

THE COURSE OF REVELATION IN THE OLD TESTAMENT. By A. WESTPHAL (*Revue Chrétienne*).—The school of independent criticism, of which Wellhausen is in Germany one of the most brilliant representatives, would have us believe that what we are in the habit of calling the economy of the law and the economy of grace are stages of a continuous progress in the religious thought of humanity. It is remarkable that the traditional opinion of the Church favours the same idea—the idea, viz., that the history of the chosen people was like the path of the righteous on which the light shines with increasing brightness, until it reaches the full brilliance of noon-day. But to us the idea of a progressive revelation which found its full expansion in Christ seems contrary to the facts and to the religious teaching of the Scriptures. If the religion of Israel was a course of progress from darkness to light, how did it come about that it ended in the darkness which encountered Him who was the Light of the World? If the preceding ages had prepared for the coming of the Saviour, how did it happen that this preparation for salvation ended in the rejection of salvation by the people of God? The explanation of this enigma is found in a truer appreciation of history and in a recognition of the fact that the same laws govern both the Old and the New Covenants.

The Old Testament allows us to trace the religious history of the people of Israel for about eight hundred years of their existence. What do we find if we take a similar period in the history of the Christian Church? At the beginning we find the revelation in all its power and purity—the gift of God to men in the person of Him who could say, “He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father.” Then comes the apostolic age. That is to say, the revelation penetrates into human society; the human conscience yields to the influence of the Spirit. We have the beginning of theology and the founding of the Church. Pass over a few generations, and you find that the integrity of the revelation has been infringed upon by the use which the Church has made of it. The temporal power of the Church is strong, but its spiritual power is mortally wounded. The Popes of the middle ages and the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire would have regarded the humble Son of Mary with feelings like those of Caiaphas and Herod. Three similar periods are discernible in the history of the Old Covenant.

1. Period of Revelation. God reveals Himself to the fathers of His people. He speaks from Sinai, and His words resound with unequalled majesty in the most ancient documents of the religion of Israel. The two first evangelists, as we may call them, of this revelation are the Jehovist and the Elohist. The former of these was endowed with an incomparable literary genius, and no work of antiquity, sacred or secular, surpasses his in beauty. He is not only a historian and a poet, he is also a philosopher and a prophet, whose meditations, fertilized by the Holy Spirit, have given to the world the great principles on which, as on granite blocks, the whole of revealed religion rests. Among the writers of the New Testament the only one who can be compared with him for cast of thought and vigour of expression is St. Paul. And just as this Apostle did not draw the doctrines of his epistles from his own mind, but taught the revelation of God in Jesus Christ, as he had received it from the Lord, so the Jehovist in relating the choice of Israel, and the establishment of the covenant at Sinai, indicates clearly the unique place which belongs to Moses in the religious history of the past. He is a son of the people of whom Moses was the founder; he

is the historian of the religion of which Moses, the friend of God, was the revealer. The one great document of the religious revelation given to the chosen people is *the decalogue*, and this law is by the unanimous consent of the four sources of the Pentateuch declared to have been given to Moses at Sinai. We are led by this testimony to regard Moses as the prophet chosen by God to found religion among sinful men. Moses is the founder of the Old Covenant as Jesus is of the New Covenant. As regards the race, Jesus is the second Adam—the perfect Man; as regards revelation, He is the second Moses—the giver of a perfect revelation.

2. Period of Assimilation. The history of Israel is that of the perpetual conflict between the witnesses for revealed religion and the stiff-necked people that were quite willing to be protected by Jehovah, but indisposed to submit to His rule. The prophets are the representatives of Jehovism, that is to say, of the religion revealed by God. Their teaching may be summed up in the words of Deuteronomy: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." Repentance, humility before God, conversion, and a holy life are the foundations of the religion they preached. They also announced the coming of the Messiah, and, like St. Paul, were partakers of the sufferings of Christ. Many modern critics make the mistake of saying that the moral and spiritual contents of the religion of the Hebrews were disengaged from other elements in it, and brought to light by the prophets. The truth is that the substance of their preaching was what Moses had received from God, and their work was to carry home to the hearts of the people the teaching of revelation. The decalogue, which sums up the Mosaic revelation, and lays down the conditions of communion with Jehovah, says nothing of outward ceremonies of worship or of the celebration of sacrifices. Its purpose is to lead the Israelite to true religion, the religion of conscience, the religion of self-consecration, which is the first and essential condition of all worship that is acceptable to God. The prophets built on the foundation laid by Moses; they saw that the priesthood, with its artificial rites, was a betrayal of the Divine Covenant and a return to idolatry. Hence they inveigh against vain practices which appeal to the outward sight and to the imagination, but leave the heart "uncircumcised." In proof of these statements we refer the reader to many well-known passages in the writings of the prophets (Jer. vii. 4, viii. 8 *et seq.*; Isa. i. 10 *et seq.*; Micah vi. 6 *et seq.*; Jer. vii. 21 *et seq.*). They teach that the only worship in which Jehovah takes pleasure is that which brings the faithful into communion with God, and which is manifested in a life wholly renewed by the feelings of contrition for sin and of faith in the mercy of the heavenly Father.

3. Period of Deterioration. Spiritual religion had, at the close of the preceding period, reached such a point that if the time indicated by the Divine wisdom for the appearance of the Messiah had come, if Jesus had appeared to the group that surrounded the second Isaiah, He would have been welcomed and understood. But the prophetic movement came to an end. Judaism passed under other influences; and so, when Christ *did* come, a forerunner was needed, who should awaken in the hearts of men the long silent echoes of the old prophetic exhortations to repentance. John the Baptist was taken for a demoniac (Matt. xi. 18); and when Jesus began to fulfil the law and the prophecies, the anger of the official representatives of Jewish worship was excited against Him, and led them to decide upon putting Him to death. This is an enigma which the traditional theology leaves unexplained. The transformation of evangelical Christianity into Roman Catholicism, however, gives an explanation; it is a similar phenomenon to the change from Hebrew spirituality to the Levitical system so firmly established in the later period of Jewish history. In

both cases it is impossible to assign a date to the beginning of the process of deterioration. But we can trace up to the exile at Babylon, and to Ezekiel, who was both priest and prophet, the origin not indeed of Judaism, but of the tendencies which were to produce it. In the case of Jeremiah, the priest gave way to the prophet; but in the case of Ezekiel, the instincts of the priest prevailed over the spiritual teaching of the prophet. The Jehovahism of the prophets had represented God as accepting sacrifice simply as an expression and symbol of piety of heart. In the legislation of Ezekiel Jehovah demands sacrifices. Henceforth sacrifices had an objective value; religious ceremonies were regarded as Divine institutions, independently of the dispositions of those who took part in them. Righteousness came to consist in a strict observance of religious duties. From the day that the Levitical system was organized, spiritual decay set in; the scribe took the place of the prophet. The religious life which found expression in the latest Psalms came to be utterly separate from the official worship, and found refuge in the hearts of individuals here and there. So that in the time of Jesus we have the startling contrast between the thanksgiving of Simeon and the self-righteous prayer of the Pharisee, who congratulated himself upon not being a sinner like other men.

Our hasty sketch of the religious history of Israel shows us, first, God revealing to men their ruined and helpless state, and making His will known to Moses; then the prophets convince of sin, exhort to repentance, and foretell the coming of the Redeemer; and, last of all, the priests, by ceremonial practices, by mechanical absolution of sin, and the performance of ritual supposed to be in itself meritorious, obliterate the sense of guilt. So that when Jesus comes into the world to seek and save sinners, He finds in Moses' seat men who give thanks to God that they are utterly free from sin! Our conclusion is that both the Old and the New Covenants have been governed by the same laws, and that in both we find the same periods of revelation, of assimilation, and of deterioration.

HOW CHRISTIAN BELIEF IS ESTABLISHED. By G. FULLIQUET (*La Vie Chrétienne*).—The subject of our examination is a very restricted one: it is that of the method to be followed in the formation of religious belief. It seems to me that the first step to be taken is to appeal to conscience, understanding by that term simply the sense of moral obligation. It is necessary that a man should have his attention directed to the fact that he is conscious of being under obligation—to the authority which conscience exercises, and to the control which it should have of his conduct. It appears to me that this is the only true preparation for faith in Jesus and for acceptance of Christianity. The preacher finds in the moral condition of those who hear him, and in their daily experiences, many points of connection with the exhortations he addresses to them. If we examine into the nature of conscience we find two elements in it. The first is that the obligation it imposes is absolute; and the only explanation of this fact is that it proceeds from God, the Absolute Being. The second element is that it summons to holiness: it urges us with unvarying insistence to do what we judge to be right, and thus convinces us that the God from whom it comes is also a Holy Being. And the fact that man so often defies the Divine will, and sets at nought the Divine authority, is a proof at once of his sinfulness and of God's long-suffering.

The difference between those who are attentive to the voice of conscience and those who shut their ears to it becomes at once apparent when they are brought in contact with Jesus. It is then manifest that there are intimate and deep relations between the fact of moral obligation and the unique personality of the Saviour. Let a man be in the habit of neglecting conscience, and he will be found to be unable to

recognize the exceptional character and claims of Jesus; let him be impressed with the value and importance of moral obligation, and he will, in the most natural way, be brought into relations of love and obedience to the Redeemer. From the trust in Him, which will instantly spring up, will come the desire to have a knowledge of those special experiences of which Jesus speaks—those experiences of repentance, conversion, and regeneration which can scarcely be known apart from His influence. Belief does not precede, it follows these experiences. When a man comes to know Jesus Christ, and places his trust in Him, he seeks not to reason out a scheme of doctrine, or a chain of beliefs, but, above all, to pass through the moral and religious experiences which the Bible describes, and of which the Holy Spirit is the author. Then if he concern himself with defining his belief in exact terms, he gives intellectual expression to the experiences which he owes to the Holy Spirit.

Over against this method, which some think dangerous, we have that which appeals to the inspired words of Holy Scripture, and draws from them intellectual formulæ to be accepted by all who would be reckoned believers. A fatal objection to this method is that many diverse and contradictory doctrines are drawn from the Scriptures by different inquirers; and that consequently we need not only an infallible text, but also an infallible interpretation of it. It is only the Roman Catholic Church that claims to supply the latter. Surely a method which begins by abolishing freedom of thought, and by imposing rigid, mechanical formulæ upon the mind, is self-condemned.

For my own part, I accept the miraculous conception of Jesus, His pre-existence, and His voluntary humiliation in laying aside His glory to be clothed with our nature. I hold these doctrines as true, and their opposites to be false; and yet I would prefer a man who in the exercise of his liberty and responsibility rejected them, to one who, from submission to external authority, accepted them without understanding them, and virtually without believing them. The reason is that these beliefs, which to me express the truth, are not indispensable to my salvation; I can present myself before God, and pray to Him, without first of all reminding Him that I accept the miraculous conception, and the other doctrines mentioned. A prayer, indeed, that began in that way would bear a suspicious resemblance to that of the Pharisee. I believe that acceptance of these doctrines is the natural and logical consequence of the moral fact of salvation, and not a *sine quâ non* condition of it. I do not presume to forbid the Holy Spirit to exercise His influence upon the man who denies, even energetically, these articles of belief. I desire that under the influence of that Spirit he should undergo a change of heart, and I expect that in consequence of this a change will afterwards pass over his thoughts. Not, indeed, that the Holy Spirit imparts infallible intellectual knowledge to those whom He enlightens; the heart and will are the seat of His operations, and not the intellect. Divergences of thought are inevitable; we must expect that this will be so, and not be alarmed at it. But we have no right to refuse the title of Christian and brother, or to debar from the Church any one who bears upon him the seal of the Holy Spirit.

According to the method above described the Christian will examine the truth of the doctrines presented to him in the Bible in the light of his personal religious experience, and of the knowledge he possesses. In the majority of cases the Christian will recognize what responds to his faith, and will henceforth retain it with a firm hold. He will feel himself bound, not to deny, but merely to suspend his belief in cases where he finds himself unable to discern the truth of matters, and to wait for the further light which comes from riper experience. Our method leaves

professional theologians to discuss dogmatic systems, for the exposition of which special knowledge and scientific modes of reasoning are needed; but it allows the Christian thinker to point out the way by which he himself has arrived at certainty in matters of belief.

CURRENT DUTCH THOUGHT.

TWO EPISTLES TO THE PHILIPPIANS. By Prof. DANIEL VÖLTER.—Although this critical study is written in German, it comes under the head of Dutch thought, inasmuch as it is the work of the Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the University of Amsterdam, and is published in the *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, of which it occupies sixty-five pages. The design of the writer is to show that the canonical Epistle to the Philippians is made up of two separate letters, only one of which is of Pauline origin.

He begins by pointing out that the attacks upon the genuineness of this Epistle, which were begun by Baur and his followers, and continued by Hinsch, and more especially by Hoekstra, have of late been following a retrograde tendency. It would seem as if the apologetical labours of Hilgenfeld and of P. W. Schmidt had succeeded in exorcising the spirits of criticism and in securing for the Epistle a place among the admittedly genuine Pauline writings. To this state of affairs the latest works on the subject are a speaking testimony. For the recent expositions of Franke and Lipsius take for granted the genuineness of the Epistle in its entirety, and even Brückner considers that only a few minor concessions to criticism are necessary in order to leave him free to maintain with all the more confidence the authenticity of the main body of the Epistle.

To neither party can Völter ally himself. As the Epistle stands he can neither declare it to be genuine nor spurious. He thinks that its antagonists are too ready to meet its apologists half way, and thus to lighten the work of defence. On the other hand, its defenders appear to him to treat too lightly many of the doubtful points that arise before them. They fail to apprehend the difficulties of the Epistle with sufficient acuteness, or they explain them away by accommodating but illegitimate dialectics. Both parties—assailants and defenders—have also common failings. They appeal to the chief Epistles of Paul as to a certain fixed quantity, whereas they are not this in the eyes of Völter, who holds them all to be more or less diluted with interpolations. Again, both parties have unduly neglected the question of the composition of the Epistle. This is a point of the greatest importance, for the attentive and impartial reader is impressed by the fact that in this Epistle he has to deal with a number of disconnected sections which require to be carefully set in order if the context from which they have been torn is to be again restored. This want of order and coherence was long ago recognized, although it seems to occasion no difficulty to modern exegesis, which has always a soothing word at hand when such difficulties are raised.

In his inquiry into the composition of the Epistle to the Philippians Völter starts from the section forming chapters iii. 1—iv. 9. In the last part of this section, that is in iv. 1-9, we have apparently a termination in the form of closing exhortations, such as we are accustomed to find at the end of a letter. Thereafter nothing more can be looked for except perhaps a few salutations. Nevertheless there follows

in iv. 10-20 a by no means insignificant section in which Paul proclaims to the Philippians his thankful joy at the gift which they had sent him by Epaphroditus, and also takes the opportunity of commemorating the earlier assistance which he had received from them, and at the same time gives expression to the sense in which such gifts are welcome to him, and of the way in which he finds them helpful. With this section the Epistle ends, and verses 19 and 20, with the benediction and doxology, give it the character of a conclusion. Two conclusions thus follow each other. In order to explain this striking fact one might urge that the Apostle, after concluding his letter with iv. 1-9, recollected that he had not yet thanked the Philippians for their gift, and that he must still overtake that duty. Such an explanation being obviously unsatisfactory, it seems more probable that the section iv. 10-20 did not originally follow iv. 9 at all, but rather had its place after ii. 30. In the section ii. 19-30, after Paul has expressed his intention of speedily sending Timothy to the Philippians, and of soon coming himself, he speaks of the return of the ambassador of the Philippians who had brought their gift to him. While Paul in ver. 29 commends Epaphroditus to the cordial reception of the Philippians, in ver. 30 he proceeds to speak of the support which the Philippians had extended to himself through Epaphroditus. What is more natural than that his thanks for their gift should immediately follow? In fact, the section iv. 10-20, which follows somewhat awkwardly after iv. 9, appears to be quite in its proper place when put after ii. 30. The character of the portion iv. 10-20 is in complete harmony with ii. 19-30. In particular, ii. 30 appropriately leads over to iv. 10, and iv. 10 follows in quite a natural manner upon ii. 30.

But the question immediately arises, How are iii. 1 ff. to be dealt with? Is it possible to remove them from the place they now occupy to make room for iv. 10 ff.? Völter's view of the matter is that the two divisions of the Epistle thus indicated are of totally different character. Between them there exists no sort of connection of thought, and the phrase in iii. 1^a "Finally, my brethren, rejoice in the Lord," is nothing more than a stopgap with which some one has sought to fill up the yawning chasm between the two divergent sections. From this aspect of the case it follows that the two sections belong to two different letters altogether.

Proceeding on this assumption to rearrange the contents of the Epistle, the net result at which Völter arrives is that in the canonical Epistle to the Philippians there are two distinct letters, the component parts of which have been somewhat promiscuously mixed up. To the one letter are to be allotted i. 12-26, ii. 17-30, iv. 10-20, and to the other i. 27—ii. 16, iii. 1^b—iv. 9. It still remains to decide in what way the remaining verses are related to these two letters—especially the introduction in i. 3-11. Here, again, Völter sees the coming together of two disconnected portions, namely, 3-7 and 8-11, and in these he discovers introductions to the two letters which he has extracted from the one Epistle. Verses 3-7 are a satisfactory introduction to the letter beginning with i. 12 and ending with iv. 20. In like manner, vers. 8-11 form a suitable introduction to the letter, beginning with i. 27 and ending with iv. 9. The word "For," with which ver. 8 begins, indicates that something else must have preceded which no longer exists, and which cannot now be traced.

It now only remains to deal with the address and greeting in i. 1, 2, and with the concluding verses in iv. 21-23. Traces are not wanting which indicate that these verses as they now stand did not flow from one source. In particular, the words "with the bishops and deacons" give occasion for the suspicion that they were added later, probably at a time when a church organization was being contended for, in which the appointment of bishops and deacons was a distinctive feature (cf. the

"Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," chap. xv.). The mention of these in the address would serve the purpose of making it appear that this kind of church organization had already been recognized and esteemed by the Apostle Paul. Two parts of diverse origin are thus discovered by Völter in i. 1, 2, but he finds some difficulty in apportioning them to the two letters contained in the Epistle, and is inclined to think that, dropping the words "with the bishops and deacons," each of the letters may have had the same introduction, especially as the introductions are practically the same in most of the Pauline Epistles.

Finally, there comes the apportioning of iv. 21-28, which again divide themselves into two sections—the salutation in ver. 21 being assigned to the letter beginning with i. 8-7, and the other in ver. 22 being allotted to the letter beginning with i. 8-11. The closing benediction in ver. 28 may belong to either, or to both, as in the case of the introductory greeting. In order to complete this reconstruction of the Epistle, it only remains to eliminate two additional interpolations which have been inserted by some later hand. These are found in i. 15-18*, and in ii. 21, which verses accordingly fall to be deleted. The ultimate results of Völter's critical study may now be tabulated thus:—

i. 1, 2	{	<i>First Letter.</i>		iv. 28
		i. 8-7; i. 12-14; i. 18 ^b -26; ii. 17-30; iv. 10-21		
		<i>Second Letter.</i>		
		i. 8-11; i. 27-30; ii. 1-16; iii. 1 ^b -21; iv. 1-9; iv. 22		

With respect to the authenticity of the first letter Völter is of opinion that it bears the stamp of genuineness on every line. It is of too personal a character to be the work of a forger. It presents no trace of fabrication or bias, and the narrative is plain, simple, and trustworthy. It is otherwise with the second letter. This, like the first, has a character of its own. The personal element is kept in the background, while the doctrinal and hortatory elements are made prominent. The one is, in a sense, complementary of the other; but when the question of authenticity is raised, Völter unhesitatingly denies the Pauline authorship of the second letter. He founds his judgment on a lengthy series of considerations which cannot even be indicated here; but, taking one thing with another, he comes to the conclusion that the letter is undoubtedly spurious, and that the author was not Paul, but a later writer who wrote under the Apostle's name. As to the period of its composition, it seems evident that it arose in a time of contending for the faith, when the Church was undergoing persecution and suffering for the faith's sake. The time of Trajan is thus the earliest date at which the letter is likely to have been written. But if regard be had to the probability that in this letter the Roman Clement, whose death may be placed at the end of the first century, is brought into unhistorical relations to the Apostle Paul, to Cæsar's household, and to the then Church of Philippi, in that case the letter must be relegated to the time of Hadrian.

THE ESSENES AS DEPICTED BY JOSEPHUS. By Dr. C. TIDEMAN (*Theologisch Tijdschrift*, November, 1892).—This is another specimen of the methods of modern Dutch criticism as applied to ancient writings, whether sacred or profane. The results are mostly negative; but, so long as they are sought after in a strictly scientific spirit and with an honest regard to truth, they cannot fail to be instructive.

According to Dr. Tideman, who has for many years devoted attention to the subject, the significance of Essene doctrine is still an unsettled question. For the most part, this Jewish sect has been looked upon as a middle state between Judaism and Christianity. Holtzmann and Keim called it a disposition of mind which had

been formed under the influence of Pythagoreanism. Dutch writers have maintained that in the teaching of the Essenes the Pharisaic principle of the withdrawal of the pure from the world had found its latest application among the Jews. Hilgenfeld was probably alone in the opinion that the Essenes, once the offspring of the Apocalyptic tendency, appeared in the end to become Persian or Buddhist magicians.

The oldest source of our knowledge of the Essenes seems to be Philo, who describes the Essenes of Palestine and of Egypt. The latter—the *Therapeuta*—are sketched in the treatise, *De vita contemplativa*, which, however, has been described by Kuenen as a romance written in Philo's name by a later writer, apparently in the third century of our era, who here portrays his ideal of an ascetic life in the form of a colony of Jewish anchorites. There still remains Philo's testimony concerning the Palestinian Essenes in the treatise, *Quod omnis probus liber*. But this whole treatise was declared by Frankel, as early as 1854, to be spurious; while Oort is inclined to think that, although somewhat coloured, it nevertheless contains a narrative based on actual fact. In any case, it is of more value than the fragment preserved by Eusebius. But to the paragraphs relating to the Essenes grave objections have been taken by R. Ohle, whose arguments were declared to be "clinching" by a no less competent authority than Kuenen. Accordingly, if Ohle's statements are assented to, the descriptions by Josephus become the earliest source of our knowledge of Essene doctrine.

Before proceeding to test the observations of Josephus, it is necessary to allude to his use of the name *Ἐσσηνοί* in general. Hitherto, the search has been vain for the Hebrew word represented by these Greek letters. Even Professor Oort thinks that the etymology of the word is hopelessly obscure. But so long as help is not sought from Josephus himself there is room for endless guessing. Now in his description of besieged Jerusalem, Josephus mentions a *πύλη Ἐσσηνων*. This can be no other than the old gate (שַׁעַר הָעֶזְרָה) twice mentioned in Nehemiah. The word שַׁעַר thus points to what was old in the institutions of Judaism. It is known that the different opinions prevalent in post-Exilic Judaism started from the longing to maintain the law and to secure the separation of Israel as a chosen people. Even the extreme party of the Zealots, or those of Judas the Gaulonite, still stood, in the matter of religion, upon the Pharisaic basis. If, for the moment, his more extended remarks regarding the sect of the Essenes are left out of count, Pharisaism as described by Josephus had to some extent departed from its ancient strictness. While the Essenes were staunch fatalists as regards the doctrine of predestination, the Pharisees allowed some scope for human freedom. The doctrine of the Essenes thus coincided with the oldest form of Pharisaic piety, and as it kept itself free from all contact with political life, it, as a matter of course, slowly died out.

If this view of their characteristics is correct, it will be possible to judge whether the description of individual Essenes in the works of Josephus corresponds with it or not. Josephus refers to one Judas, of the sect of the Essenes, who gathered round him a circle of followers in the temple at Jerusalem, and taught them the art of foretelling things to come. At this period, therefore (106 B.C.), an Essene was not a person who was prevented from entering the temple. Menahem was an Essene who had saluted Herod when a schoolboy as the future king of the Jews, and who at a later period, when Herod had actually become king, was consulted by him as to the probable length of his reign. If this is the same Menahem who figures in Talmudical tradition, he was a genuine representative of the ancient piety, and certainly did not belong to a sect who sought to free the young from a world of wickedness. An Essene named Simon is mentioned who, in the year 6 A.D., arose under

Archelaus as an interpreter of dreams. John the Essene became a general in the Jewish army, and was slain at the attack upon Ascalon. In his person an Essene thus belonged to the Zealots, and was a man of the old stamp who was ready to maintain the sacredness of Israel with the sword.

When Josephus noted these particulars in his *Antiquities*, he promised to discourse more fully on the subject at another time. His *Wars of the Jews*, which contains very full details regarding the Essenes, was written some twenty years earlier than the *Antiquities*. So the more extended description promised by Josephus can be nothing else than what we now find in the eighteenth book of the *Antiquities*. Hence it becomes doubtful if what we now read in these two books can really be the work of Josephus at all. The earliest description of the Essenes as a party is found in the treatise on the Jewish wars. At the very commencement we read the curious statement that the Essenes were Jews by birth, which implies the possibility of a Jewish sect composed of persons who were not Jews. It is further asserted that they had greater affection for one another than the other sects. The party thus appears to have cut itself off from the Jewish community, which is further evidenced by the assertion that candidates for admission to the sect were subjected to a period of probation extending over three years. This whole description is, in fact, a eulogy of the Essenes; and a eulogy by Josephus of a sect who had been driven from the temple is incredible. Josephus set great importance upon the temple as the visible surety of the unity and sacredness of Israel. The writer of this eulogy and Josephus cannot be one and the same person. Josephus knew the Essenes, whose peculiarity was that they were sterner fatalists than the Pharisees or Sadducees, that they set up as prophets, and finally allied themselves with the Zealots. Moreover, this description of the sect is full of words and expressions which are altogether foreign to the vocabulary of Josephus, and remind one of the terms in use among the Greek religious fraternities or among the Christians. Besides that many of the usages and experiences ascribed to the Essenes recall those of Christianity—such as the holy supper, baptism, persecution, and martyrdom. The hand of an interpolator is seen in the whole treatment of the sect, and especially when he states that the Essenes were forced by the Romans to eat uncommon food, he shows that he cannot have been Josephus.

And so it comes about that much of the information regarding the Essenes to be found in the *Wars* of Josephus may, after all, be the interpolations of a later writer; and suspicion is thereby cast on what is reported of them by Porphyry, Pliny, and Hippolytus, who all, more or less, follow Josephus in their descriptions. Whatever the actual facts may turn out to be, Dr. Tideman desiderates further inquiry, being convinced that in the domain of knowledge *dies diem docet*, and that truth must in the end prevail.

THE PROGRESS OF TEUTONIC MYTHOLOGY. By Dr. B. SYMONS (*Jaarboek der Rijks-Universiteit te Groningen*, 1891-92).—It is the custom in the Dutch Universities for the Rector to deliver, at the opening of each session, an address upon some subject to which he has devoted special attention. These addresses frequently take the form of summaries of recent results in particular departments of study, or of critical estimates of the present position of certain disputed questions, and many of them are consequently of considerable value. The address delivered at the opening of the current university session at Groningen is devoted to a survey of the progress made, in the nineteenth century, in the study of Teutonic mythology.

After glancing at the different definitions of the term mythology, and at the period and manner of myth-formation, Dr. Symons proceeds to say that every one

who has thought or written upon mythology, from the earliest Greek philosophers down to Max Müller, Mannhardt, and Gruppe, is agreed that myths require to be explained. All are ready to admit that a myth does not mean what it appears to mean; but the Œdipus has not yet arrived who has satisfactorily solved the riddle. In these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the history of mythological studies does not in all respects yield a comforting picture. Still, the history of the development of mythological science has other interests for us than the purely pathological. It teaches avoidance of the misconceptions on which earlier theories have been stranded, and opens up the prospect of a better future. The new day-break already begins to show itself; and the Germanist may point with satisfaction to the fact that Teutonic mythology even more than her sisters has known how to protect herself from fantastic inroads, and, earlier than they, has learned to regard the myth as a product of historical development which demands an exact historical investigation, and must not be torn from the place to which tradition has assigned it.

Antiquity has endeavoured to solve the problem in two different ways—the allegorical or symbolical, and what has come to be called the euhemeristic. Against the former it is nowadays idle to wage war. No one capable of judging will deny that myth is just as little allegory as it is mutilated history. It is a curious instance of the tenacity of traditions handed down from classical antiquity that two theories, so untrue and so hollow in themselves, should have found supporters in modern times. One cannot refrain from smiling when he sees that two of the greatest minds of contemporary England—the “Grand Old Man” and the powerful thinker Herbert Spencer—pay homage to the much-abused but apparently attractive euhemerism. Gladstone discovers in the Greek mythology an obscured image of the sacred history of the Jews; and as regards Spencer, the great prophet of “ancestor-worship,” while no one will confuse with the follies of euhemerism his well-known theory that religion has sprung from the veneration of the dead, still, when he tries to find in the existence of men, called respectively Sunshine and Storm, the genesis of a myth of the bright sunshine followed by a dark tempest, it is not unnatural to imagine that it is Herodotus rather than Spencer who is speaking. The death knell of euhemerism has, then, not yet been sounded, and in justice it must be recognized that a wholesome warning is to be drawn by mythologists from the tenacious life of this method—a warning which has been expressed by Max Müller, himself no admirer of euhemerism, in these words: “Those who analyse ancient myths ought, therefore, to be prepared for this historical or irrational element, and ought not to suppose that everything which has a mythical appearance is thoroughly mythical or purely ideal.”¹ The other method, on the contrary, which antiquity has transmitted to us, namely, the symbolical or allegorical, if it is not now entirely forgotten, it is at any rate banished for good from science. Its last prominent representative was Creuzer, whose *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker* (1810-12) contains the pure essence of the cream of romanticism.

The scientific treatment of mythology dates from the years 1825 and 1835. In the former year Karl Otfried Müller published his *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie*, and in the latter was issued a work of a very different kind—Jacob Grimm’s *Deutsche Mythologie*. It is always a pleasure to speak of Grimm. Not only was he the founder of Germanic philology and archæology, but he was a man of great originality of mind as well as of learning and industry. He took the decisive step of no longer regarding myths as the product of conscious speculation, but as creations of the popular mind disposed to imagination, and seeking expression in

¹ *Selected Essays*, i. 475.

metaphor. But inexorable criticism has long ago begun to pull down the stately structure of the *Deutsche Mythologie*. The chief complaint which progressing knowledge has brought against Grimm is that he has neither gone into nor answered with sufficient calmness the cardinal question: What can we know of Teutonic mythology? Features ascribed by Grimm to heathen antiquity have by continued research been discovered to have had their origin in Christian symbolism. Poetical personifications, metaphors from the brain of some mediæval poet, were for him faded reminiscences from the world of Teutonic deities. But although nearly half of the *Mythologie* must now be discarded, the imperishable historical value of the work is not thereby diminished. The only drawback has been that his followers instead of carefully revising his work where revision was necessary, have rather exaggerated his failings, and, what is worse, have popularized them.

From Grimm's school two scholars have sprung who, while at first faithfully following the track of the master, speedily struck out new paths of their own. These are, Adalbert Kuhn, the founder of comparative mythology, and Wilhelm Schwartz, one of the first representatives of the anthropological tendency in the study of myths. If Kuhn is the actual author of the comparative method, its most influential defender has been Max Müller, whose brilliant essay on *Comparative Mythology*, of 1856, and subsequent articles, were extremely well adapted to gain adherents to the new science. The agreement between the two schools was, it is true, not perfect; for while Kuhn and his followers (Schwartz and J. Darmesteter, for example) sought the starting-point of mythical ideas largely in the changing phenomena of wind and clouds, in the drama of the storm, and the strife between light and darkness, Max Müller, on the other hand (and especially Sir George W. Cox), brought them, for the most part, into relation with the sun and the morning twilight. A very striking element in the method of the comparative mythologists is the importance which they ascribe to language in the origin of myths, properly so-called. The origin of the myth, according to Max Müller and Kuhn, is language itself; mythology is an old form of language; attributes ascribed to natural phenomena become by *metaphora* independent mythical figures; polyonymy and homonymy are the most powerful of myth-creating factors. But, unfortunately, the linguistic science of the comparative mythologists is not the linguistic science of the comparative grammarians. Max Müller once wittily called mythology "a disease of language"; but one is inclined in turn to brand the method of the comparative mythologists as "a disease of the science of language." As to the importance of Sanskrit and the Vedas, a younger school of specialists, at the head of which stands the French scholar, A. Bergaigne, has seriously weakened the confidence hitherto placed in the traditional opinion that in the Rig-Veda there lay concealed a world of original, unaffected, intelligible mythology. Even in the oldest portions of this "real Theogony of the Aryan races," theological scholarship and priestly quibbling play a prominent part. Then, again, the great difference between the original significance of the myths and their historical development among the peoples who had received them from primitive times has been too much overlooked by the comparative school. And, further, it is scarcely conceivable that the contemplation of nature should have so completely occupied the attention of primæval man that he had neither eye nor ear for the life and suffering of the world of human beings around him. The net gain which comparative mythology has yielded may be summed up in a single sentence. A primitive veneration of the powers of nature is one of the bases—we have no right to say *the* basis—of the religions and mythologies of the Indo-German peoples. In truth, even this modest result is no longer undisputed. At all events, one of the youngest and acutest of

mythologists, Otto Gruppe, in his reforming zeal, makes a *tabula rasa* of the whole theory. And it must be admitted that the common names in the Indo-German languages for the heavens, the morning twilight, the sun, the moon, fire, wind, and the clouds do not, as yet, afford a proof that these natural phenomena in early times enjoyed Divine adoration.

Against this view W. Schwartz had, as early as 1850, lifted up his voice in a praiseworthy work entitled *Der heutige Volksglaube und das alte Heidenthum*. Unprejudiced observation of the living popular belief of the North German peasants led him to a discovery of the utmost importance for the further progress of mythology. In many customs that are still in use, in many sayings that are still current among the people, there are not, as Grimm thought, preserved the occasional dregs of a richer and fully developed mythology, but rather the germs and elements from which all mythology has been formed. Thus conceived, mythology becomes a sub-division of anthropology, and its chief object is to make the concurrent march of myth-formation apparent by observations among the most divergent of uncivilized peoples.

The happy thought of Schwartz was not worked out by him in his later works with the desired caution. Even he strayed all too speedily into a phantastic labyrinth of naturalistic expositions. The anthropological method first became fruitful for Teutonic mythology when united with the strictly philological criticism of the sources which, following in the footsteps of Lachmann, was principally demanded, inculcated, and put into practice by Karl Müllenhoff in a series of brilliant papers. Wilhelm Mannhardt (1831-80) opened, on this basis, a new era in the treatment of mythology. The perseverance and disinterested devotion with which this remarkable man dedicated his whole life to mythological research awaken genuine admiration, all the more that his life was a continual struggle with oppressing material cares, and with bodily suffering which dragged him to a premature grave.

In his early writings a faithful follower of the comparative school, Mannhardt soon learned to free himself from its errors under the alternating influence of Tylor and Müllenhoff. While others were praising his *Germanische Mythen* (1858) as a standard work, he had himself the moral courage to characterize its results as "mistaken, anticipated, or fragmentary." He recognized that mythological studies must seek their starting-point in manners and customs, not in the artificial systems to be found in recondite sources, to say nothing of sagas and stories interlarded with foreign influences. While he thus, so far, builds upon the foundation already laid by Schwartz, he unites with it the indispensable philological criticism. He endeavours to pursue historically the primitive remains of the oldest popular tradition in their regular transformation and re-formation, and seeks by a methodical comparison of the parallel myths of other peoples to furnish the proof that mythical ideas have sprung from the same root among different peoples with striking uniformity. In particular, Mannhardt set before himself the task of investigating the mythical customs connected with agriculture. Definite questions were scattered by him all over Europe in hundreds of thousands of copies, and were answered by competent persons. Repeated journeys, and the interrogation of the Danish, Austrian, and Prussian prisoners, which the wars of 1864 to 1870 brought to his residence at Dantzig, served for the completion of the material which now finds a resting-place in the library at Berlin. The elaboration of this formidable mass of popular traditions led to remarkable results. Gradually there came to light a circle of, in the main, well-preserved mythico-agrarian ideas, the germs of which appeared to be of great age, and to be equally current among Germans, Romans, Slavs, and Lithuanians, while they

exhibited striking points of agreement with the traditions of classical antiquity. Thus in Mannhardt's system the brilliant Olympic gods are torn from their thrones, and a varied assembly of elementary spirits assume the government. Crowds of demons which in the notions of antiquity and in the belief of modern country people inhabit house and court, field and wood, brook and lake; and in particular personifications of vegetation—"souls of plants," as it were—these are the oldest elements in the formation of myths, out of which gods and heroes were developed at a much later time. In many respects an entirely new light also falls upon ancient mythology from the researches of Mannhardt. The Greek dryads and hamadryads appear to be closely related to the tree and forest spirits of the popular tradition of northern Europe. The Cyclops, as hill and forest spirits, show the most remarkable agreements with the one-eyed Russian Ljeschi, and the Tyrolese "Kasermändl"; Thetis must reach forth the sisterly hand to the beautiful Melusine; Demeter, conceived by Kuhn as the thunder-cloud, and by Max Müller as the morning twilight, is identified by Mannhardt in his latest and ripest work (*Mythologische Forschungen*) with the corn-mother of northern Europe and the maize-mother of the Peruvians, and is explained first as Psyche, then as demon, and lastly as goddess of the grain.

Mannhardt, it is true, has not escaped from the fatal blight which seems to rest upon mythologists, namely, over-hasty generalization from ideas which within certain limits are just and excellent. He supplies evidence that the first germ of many a mythical conception must be sought in the comparison of vegetable life with human life. This is so natural that in early times unconscious parallels were drawn between the growth, blossom, and decay of the tree, and the development of beast and man. The youthful imaginative power of a myth-creating period did exactly what the modern poet in his turn does when he sings:—

"Klingt im Wind ein Wiegenlied,
Sonne warm hernieder sieht,
Seine Aehren senkt das Korn,
Rothe Beere schwillt am Dorn,
Schwer von Segen ist die Flur—
Junge Frau, was sinnst du nur!"

Yet when Mannhardt makes his plant-souls, his demons of vegetation, responsible for the initial formation of all myths, then serious considerations of various kinds prevent us from following him. His system is too abstract, and takes for granted conditions of culture which are not always in agreement with the trustworthy results of the science of language and of archæology; and consequently it has not met with general assent. But his calm, cautious, critical method, which might be called the ethnologico-historical, has stood the test; and the assertion is warranted that by Mannhardt a new epoch of mythological research has been opened.

After alluding to more recent speculations, particularly to those of Elard, Hugo Meyer, Sophus Bugge, and Otto Gruppe, which he admits to be divergent and confusing, Dr. Symons concludes his address with the assurance that there are not wanting encouraging symptoms of a healthy progressive science. The old, long-since discovered sources have been cleansed from the almost impenetrable layer of dust with which tradition has covered them. Diligent inquirers are continually opening new mines, the working of which promises a rich reward. Faith in the satisfying power of a rationally thought out method of interpretation begins to give place to the true belief that to the formation of myths in their varied many-sidedness more than one principle may and must have contributed. The conviction gains ground that alongside the daily or periodically recurring phenomena of nature, alongside the

imposing events in the life of the individual, of the family, of the race, still another root of mythical poetry must insist upon its rights, and that is the inborn, and happily ineradicable, desire in man to create ideals, and to give them a bodily form. And lastly, the triumphs of the historical method, which does not rush with inconsiderate blindness in the face of the very nature of things, but circumspectly seeks to trace their beginnings, are coming more and more to the support of mythological research. It lays upon the earnest inquirer the imperative duty of regarding every myth first of all entirely by itself, of observing in what relation its constituent parts mutually stand—whether they form a unity, and whether all alike are capable of being explained from the nature of the country and the state of civilization of the people where the myth is discovered. Historical criticism, which not merely pulls down, but also builds up; which preserves us from superstition, but also arms us against unbelief; which expands our present and illuminates our past, has already accomplished so many deeds of wonder, that it has proved itself worthy of our firmest trust.

THE BOOK CRITIC.

THE CENTRAL TEACHING OF JESUS CHRIST: A STUDY AND EXPOSITION OF THE FIVE CHAPTERS OF THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN, XIII. TO XVII. INCLUSIVE. By Thomas Dehany Bernard, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of Wells. (Macmillan, 1892.) pp. x., 416.

THIS volume has grown out of notes for lectures which were delivered as part of a Diocesan scheme of "Higher Religious Education." When the writer was preparing the *Bampton Lectures* for 1864 on "The Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament," no part of the canonical books impressed him so deeply as the chapters in the Fourth Gospel, which contain the final discourses of the Lord to the disciples; discourses "which close the teaching of Christ in the flesh, and introduce the teaching of Christ in the Spirit" (p. vii.). At the time he was too full of other work to be able to follow up the line of thought which had been suggested to him; but now, after a lapse of eight-and-twenty years, he has been able to do so, and the result is a deeply reverent and instructive study of those marvellous discourses of Jesus Christ preserved for us by St. John only, which, as Matthew Arnold remarked long ago, cannot be the Evangelist's own composition, because they are so immeasurably above him.

Canon Bernard divides his subject into three unequal parts, of which the first and the third fairly balance one another. I. The Incidents (chap. xiii.). II. The Discourses (xiv.-xvi.). III. The Prayer (xvii.). The long central portion he subdivides at the end of chap. xiv. He holds, and probably quite rightly, that the words, "Arise, let us go hence" (xiv. 31), mark a departure which was commenced but not completed; and he gives weighty reasons for dissenting from Dr. Westcott's view that chaps. xv.-xvii. were spoken in the Temple courts. Of the five reasons given the two last are worthy of quotation. "4. It must be felt that, against the hypothesis of a Journey to the Temple, the silence of the narrative has special force. Such a choice, and for such reasons of fitness as are given [in Dr. Westcott's *Commentary*], could scarcely have been passed over without a word of notice. 5. Furthermore, instead of being proper to the situation, it appears on some accounts quite out of

keeping with it. The Temple, if open to the public, would not be the fit place for words to be heard only by the chosen few; and it had never been the scene of confidences with them, but of public action as in the centre of the nation; and now that action is over. Two days before it had been the scene of the last rejection, the stern farewell, and the predictive sentence of its fall. The Lord has done with the people and the Temple" (p. 201). Canon Bernard is inclined himself to a view which Bengel suggests in a footnote on Matt. xxvi. 30—that the supper-room was left at xiv. 31, but that the company halted as soon as they got into the open air in the courtyard of the house, and that there, *sub dio in arca hospitii*, the contents of chaps. xv.-xvii. were spoken. Is it not simpler to suppose that they left the table, but did not at once leave the room? A place of the greatest privacy and solemnity is needed for chap. xvii. Does not the upper chamber in which the Eucharist had just been instituted fulfil these conditions? And how probable that all should linger before going out into the night!

Although he does not state it explicitly, Canon Bernard seems to hold that what he calls "the elimination of the traitor" took place *before* the Institution of the Eucharist (p. 90); and, although the exhortation in our own communion service appears to imply that Judas did partake of the bread and the cup, the contrary is on the whole more probable. On the silence of St. John, respecting the Institution of the Eucharist, Canon Bernard thinks that it is "inconceivable" that any later writer, trying to get his version of things accepted as the narrative of the Apostle, would have omitted from his report the origin of the central ordinance of the Church; whereas an Apostle might have good reason for such omission (p. 104). This does not appear to be a very secure argument. No doubt part of the Apostle's reason for omitting the Institution was that this great fact had already been sufficiently described by the others, and sufficiently explained in chap. vi. of his own Gospel. And might not the later writer, anxious to get his own theories diffused, have thought that the synoptic account of the Institution might be left without supplement, so long as the view of it expressed in chap. vi. were accepted? With a much surer hand the author goes on to point out how close is the connexion between the farewell discourses on the night of the Institution and the Institution itself. They tell of immediate, reciprocal, and permanent relationships of Christ with His followers, and of His followers with one another, under a new dispensation. Thus "the Sacrament incorporates the teaching, and the teaching explains the Sacrament; and in this, as in so many other ways, St. John completes the synoptic record" (p. 109).

In a new edition it would be worth while *always* to place at the head of each chapter in the volume, not only a reference to the verses to be discussed, but to the chapter from which these verses come: *e.g.*, on pp. 283, 294, 803, 819, 840, &c. verses only are given. On pp. 228, 240, 252, 269, the more convenient method is followed. Again, in the inside corners of the pages "chap. xv., chap. xvi.," &c. ought to be placed in accordance with the chapters in St. John's Gospel, rather than in accordance with the chapters in this valuable exposition of them.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, THE TIMES, THE MAN AND HIS WORK. An Historical Study in Eight Lectures. By RICHARD S. STORRS. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892, 8vo, pp. xvi., 598, \$2.50.

These lectures, delivered originally at Princeton, and subsequently before the Lowell Institute in Boston, and now printed with numerous notes and references, are exceedingly well-timed and form delightful reading. Strange as it may seem, they are the first really worthy presentation of St. Bernard in the English language.

The author has thoroughly understood his task, which was, not to write a biography, but to present a man whose life and activity formed an epoch in history in the various aspects of his character, and as he stood related to the age in which he lived. It is St. Bernard the hero, who, after conquering himself, ruled Europe by the simple force of his piety and will, that is here introduced to us—not the Bernard of valets and criticsasters, to whom no man is a hero. Whatever faults may be found with these lectures, the author certainly cannot be charged with lacking that prime requisite of all successful presentation, sympathy with his subject. His attitude toward Bernard is one of intense admiration and reverent affection, such as the saint was wont to rouse in all who knew him when alive.

The book opens with two introductory lectures, the first dealing with "The Tenth Century: its Extreme Depression and Fear;" the second with "The Eleventh Century: its Reviving Life and Promise." The contrast between the two is a real one, and is well brought out, as are likewise the causes of it. The character of Charlemagne and the results of his reign are broadly and truly outlined. The picture of the confusion and barbarism that followed his death, of the utter corruption in Church, State and society, is perhaps a little too lurid, and I cannot but think that the fuller delineation given in that most charming of novels, Scheffel's *Ekkehard*, comes nearer to the truth. Nevertheless it is drawn with a sure and bold hand, and misleads, if at all, rather through the impression which it produces than through the facts which it summarizes and interprets. What is said of Gregory VII., the greatest of all the popes, and of his influence upon the social and religious life of Europe is most admirable, and does honor to the author's intellect and sense of justice, no less than to his scholarship. That a Protestant clergyman, by no means friendly to religious indifferentism, should be able to

form a just estimate of the man who did what was in him to make the papacy the supreme power in Europe, and who claimed the right to make and unmake kings and emperors; that he should be able to recognize in him an earnest and heroic champion of truth and right, is surely a noteworthy fact, encouraging us to believe that the day is not far distant when a true understanding of history will lead men to such a view of divine truth as shall put an end to all religious jealousy and dissension, and restore the visible unity of the kingdom of God.

Having carefully sketched his background, the author proceeds to the real subject of his picture, Bernard of Clairvaux. Lecture III. deals with "His Personal Characteristics," and Lecture IV. with "His Monastic Life." In the former Bernard is presented to us as a perfect type of "manhood fused with female grace," as tender, pure, gentle, affable, but with a will in which all the chivalrous bravery of his ancestors is spiritualized and raised to a white heat in the flame of the divine will. In the latter he appears as the embodiment of that spirit to which the things of this earth seemed mere means, things to be used, never to be enjoyed (*utenda, non fruenda*), which consented to walk on this earth only because such was God's will, and only to do His work, but whose life was in heaven, hid with Christ in God. In accounting for Bernard's character, Dr. Storrs lays great, perhaps undue, stress on the influence of his mother—an amiable mistake, if it is one. The same large-mindedness which marks his estimate of Pope Hildebrand reappears conspicuously in his views with regard to the monastic life, which he judges with exceeding fairness. Indeed, I should not know where to find a truer account of monasticism than in this book. The author is careful to tell us repeatedly that he is no advocate of monasticism, and the *caveat* is not unnecessary; for he speaks of it with such warmth of intelligent appreciation that one wonders why he should not champion it.

And our wonder is increased when we come to the next lecture (V.) in which he treats of Bernard "as a Theologian." This is, on the whole, the most important chapter in the book, and it is exceedingly well done. It would hardly be possible in brief space to give a better account of mystical religion and theology than is here given. But two most important questions, bearing directly on the subject in hand, are omitted: (1) the origin of mystic theology; (2) its relation to true Christian theology. How much of mediæval mysticism is Greek in its origin, coming from the Neo-Platonists through Dionysius Areopagita, and how much is essentially Christian, is a question that loudly calls for an answer. And

louder yet this other question: If the mystical Christianity of Dionysius, Bernard, Bonaventura, Thomas,* and the Victorines is not the truest, deepest, most esoteric Christianity, what is it, and what is true Christianity? Is the religion which filled the souls of the purest, sweetest, and bravest of the saints, which dictated *The Soul's Progress in God*, *The Imitation of Christ*, and the sublimest of Christian hymns, and which built the most soul-inspiring cathedrals of Europe, a mere diseased excrescence on the fair form of Christianity, or is it its very soul? Is Christianity a means of elevating the human soul into conscious union with the all-wise, all-loving Spirit of God, or is it a mere sanction for social morality? These are questions which the theology of Bernard and its effect upon his life force upon us, and which, in these days of perplexed faith, imperatively demand an answer. Dr. Storrs thinks that "probably none of us would be ready to accept it (Bernard's theology) without large reservations" (p. 279), and then goes on to expound it with a warmth which seems to indicate that he, at least, has no "large reservations" to make. But, if this is true—if Bernard's theology is the true theology, and the goal of the human soul lies in mystic love-union with God—then the merely or mainly ethical Christianity of the day is but a pagan caricature of what Christ came to teach. If Bernard was right, then we are sadly wrong; if we are right, then he deserves our commiseration, not our admiration. If he was right, then our lives, devoted so largely to the things of this world and the comfortable enjoyment of them, and so little to the cultivation of the heavenly consciousness, is not Christian life at all; if we are right, then he missed what is best in life. We cannot escape this dilemma by saying that Christianity manifests itself in one form at one time, in another at another; for the question here is not one of manifestation, but of essence. Christianity is either, as Bernard thought, an effort to ascend to God-consciousness, and the Church is the indivisible, visible body of the Holy Spirit, through whose indwelling this is accomplished, or else, as many men now think,† Christianity and Church are merely means for the improvement of morality. It cannot be both. Here lies the fundamental difference between Catholicism and Protestantism.

Lecture VI., on Bernard "as a Preacher," contains an eloquent protest against the

current belief that the preaching of the present day is superior to that of the olden time, and gives a kindly but judicial account of Bernard's sermons. "I find no preacher," says Dr. Storrs, "in ancient or in modern time, in whom this engaging affectionateness of tone, this readiness to present the rich fruits of experience, have been more marked than in Bernard. . . . His whole philosophy of preaching appears summed up in a letter of advice to a young abbot: 'A sterile modesty is never pleasing, nor is humility praiseworthy which surpasses the truth of things. Therefore attend to your duty. Expel bashfulness by regard to that duty; act as a master. . . . Remember, too, to give to your word the voice of a noble virtue. Do you say, What is that? It is that your works chime with your words, or rather your words with your works, so that you take care to do before you teach. . . . Indeed, a sermon, living and efficacious, is any example of good work, making easily persuasive what is said, while it demonstrates that that can be done which is recommended'" (p. 405).

In Lecture VII. we have, on the whole, a fair account of the famous controversy between Bernard and Abélard, though it is impossible not to feel throughout that the writer's sympathies are with his hero, and that he does not fully realize the position of a man whose intellect compels him to cast doubts on the principles of a glorious past in favor of a more glorious future. It was hardly to Bernard's credit that he was so well appreciated in his own time; for the men whom any age appreciates are never far in advance of it. Those who "disincumber the path of the Infinite" for us are rarely heroes till the grave closes over them. Well for them if they are not poisoned, crucified, or burned! Weighed in the balance of history, Abélard, with all his faults—his rashness, vanity, passion, restlessness—was a greater man than the saintly Bernard. The latter exhibited the dying past in a glorious example, treading firmly in the paths of unquestioned truth; but the former walked lonely into the darkness of the unknown, and we need not wonder if he often stumbled. After all, the Father greets the prodigal son with an embrace which is not accorded to him who never deserts the paternal mansion.

The last lecture treats of Bernard's "Relation to General European Affairs," and gives a very dramatic account of his action in placing Innocent II. on the papal throne and in organizing the Second Crusade. This seems to me the least judicial chapter in the book, the author being too anxious to maintain unsullied the fame of his hero. That Bernard was sincere in what he did we need not doubt; but that he acted like a fanatic, disregarded the simplest princi-

* On the mysticism of St. Thomas, see the wonderful, recently republished, work of Thomas à Vallgornera, O. P., *Mystica Theologia Divi Thomae, utriusque Theologiae Scholasticae et Mysticae Principia*, 2 vols., Turin, 1890-91.

† The author of *Ecce Homo*, for example, asks, "What was the ultimate object of Christ's scheme?" and answers: "In the language of our own day, its object was the improvement of morality." (*Ecce Homo*, p. 100, Am. edit.)

ples of human justice, and sacrificed many thousands of lives to a childish fancy, is equally beyond question. The truth is, with all his unworldliness and modesty, he did not escape the pitfall which almost certainly awaits men who come to believe that they are the chosen messengers of God, called to pronounce and enforce His judgments with superhuman authority. But Bernard was more fortunate than either of the two men that most resembled him—Hildebrand and Savonarola.

There is one series of facts connected with Bernard which Dr. Storrs passes over with Protestant unconcern—namely, his well-attested miracles. And yet these were not only the principal source of the wider influence which he exerted, but they are essentially bound up with that view of Christianity which he so passionately held. No account of his life, or even of his faith, can be complete which does not give them full weight. I cannot but hope that, in the next edition of his work, Dr. Storrs will give us a chapter upon "Bernard of Clairvaux: as a Worker of Miracles."

There are not many of Dr. Storrs's statements that one is disposed to question; but it may be doubted whether *Lutetia* means mud-town (p. 435: see Zeuss, *Gram. Celt.*, p. 15); and it is more than questionable whether Dante's Matilda has anything to do with "the great countess" (p. 140: see Scartazzini's edit. of the *Divine Comedy*, vol. ii., pp. 595-617). We have noticed but few misprints. Among them are "Einseidelin" (254), "Evroult" (256), "Stagyrite" (475), "rechem" (445), "St. Victoire" several times. One regrets to find in the book such dreadful solecisms as Gregory Seventh, Innocent Second, Peter Lombard, etc.

One lays down this work with regret. Though the style can hardly be called brilliant, it is clear, terse, strong, and unaffected, while the subject is treated in a manner that holds the attention and appeals to the tenderest emotions.

THOMAS DAVIDSON.

New York.

THE CENTRAL TEACHING OF JESUS CHRIST.
A Study and Exposition of the Five Chapters of the Gospel According to St. John, xiii. to xvii. inclusive. By THOMAS DEHANY BERNARD, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of Wells. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. x, 416, \$1.50.

The author of this work is well known to many students of the Bible as the Bampton lecturer for 1864 on "The Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament." These lectures have been widely read, and have done good service in helping to open the way to an understanding of the various types of teaching in the New Testament.

After nearly thirty years, Canon Bernard now presents to the public another biblical study—an exposition of John xiii.-xvii.

The present work will not attract so much attention as did "The Progress of Doctrine," partly because it is a less important contribution, but especially because critical Bible study has made such great progress since the appearance of the earlier work. In no branch of theological science have there been so great advances made during the last quarter of a century as in biblical theology.

While "The Central Teaching" belongs in general to the department of biblical theology, it is not in strictness a specimen of its method and spirit. It is rather a devotional than a scientific book. The author's purpose was religious rather than critical. The book grew out of a course of lectures delivered "under a diocesan scheme of higher religious education." The book is written in a most reverent and devout spirit, under the presuppositions of a very strict doctrine of inspiration, and with a constant aim to religious edification. We are far from saying that the volume will not be useful, but we believe that a thorough critical handling of these incomparable chapters in the strict method of biblical theology would have been far more useful. We believe that if the ideas of the chapters are clearly and critically expounded, they can be trusted to make their own religious impression, even if the reader is not told over and over again that the words are "most significant," and the lesson taught "most important," and the like. It is not because the book is wanting in learning that it adds nothing to our understanding of the chapters treated, but because the learning of the author is employed as a basis of pious exhortation to his readers and not as a means of giving a robust, vigorous exposition of the ideas which the chapters contain.

The infelicity of the author's style is often a discouragement to the reader. Take a specimen almost at random. After quoting John xv. 26, 27, he says: "There is large revelation and guidance for thought in these words, each particular having force in the direction of theological statement, but here bearing intentionally on the historical mission of the Spirit" (p. 253). This is a fair example. The style is awkward in the extreme. Few persons will consent to re-read and guess out sentences when there is so much good literature to be had in available English. We have never tried to read a book where the effort required was greater in proportion to the profundity of the thought.

GEORGE B. STEVENS.

Yale University.

THE PILGRIMS, PURITANS, AND ROGER WILLIAMS, VINDICATED: and His Sen-

tence of Banishment Ought to be Revoked. By Rev. T. M. MERRIMAN, A.M. Boston : Bradley & Woodruff, 1892, 8vo, pp. xii., 812.

We give the full title of this work, *verbatim, literatim, et punctuatim*, for the style of the title is also the general style of the book. The methods of composition and punctuation are the author's own. The frequency of the use of the resources of the printer's garniture reminds us of the early days of the Abolition movement, when Garrison's printing-office was not equipped with all the conveniences of De Vinne; and when exclamation points, dashes, interrogation marks, quotation points, parentheses and brackets, and, above all and below all, italics were used to reinforce or even to do duty for argument. Indeed, this book cannot be understood or appreciated without noticing these peculiarities. The general aim of the author seems to be to outline the history of New England only so far as it relates to the question of religious freedom, and to the treatment of Roger Williams, who is, to his mind, the representative of soul freedom and the typical founder of religious liberty.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part outlines the history of the Plymouth Pilgrims and their settlement, a chapter being given also to the Salem Puritans and to the Puritans of Boston. The story of Roger Williams' arrival in Boston, his troubles, trial, and banishment, is given with a large quantity of typographical display, and the religious intolerance and theocratic arrogance of his persecutors are duly pilloried and castigated in the author's peculiar style. Part second explains, in three chapters, why the sentence of banishment passed against Roger Williams should be revoked. The sum and substance of the author's argument is that posterity should assume toward Roger Williams and the Puritans "a most liberal and cordial use of the olive branch and mantle of charity." Now that the doctrine of religious liberty as advocated by Roger Williams survives, while the theocratic system of the Puritans has dissolved away, their sentence of banishment against him ought to be revoked.

This argument of Mr. Merriman, set forth in nearly three hundred pages, is also furnished with an index of fourteen pages. We have stated the thesis mainly in his own language. Yet, after all, he does not tell us how the sentence of banishment ought to be revoked, whether by the Legislature of Massachusetts, or by a Congregational national council, or by a general mellowing of the theological and sectional climate.

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS.
Boston.

NOTES AND BRIEF REVIEWS. BY THE EDITOR.

The Resultant Greek Text is a recent publication by Richard Francis Weymouth, D. Lit., Fellow of University College, London. (New York : Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. xix., 644, \$3.) It exhibits "the text in which the majority of modern editors are agreed," and contains also in foot-notes an extensive apparatus showing the readings of Stephens (1550), Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf, Lightfoot, Ellicott, Alford, Weiss, the Bâle edition (1880), Westcott and Hort, and the Revision Company. The work does not profess to be an independent collation of manuscripts, but a consensus of the principal editors, not based on a mere count of numbers, but on a weighing of the reasons adduced in support of each variant reading. The number of scholars thus quoted is larger than that used by any previous editor in a similar task. The object had in view has been to "exhibit in a compact and intelligible form the latest results of textual criticism." The text shows the consensus of opinion, the notes, the variant views or those out of which the later have grown. Having thus before one the best results of previous study, one is not only able to know but to select. To scholars the book will be a helpful compendium, and to the student and minister it will be of constant value and a necessary companion in the study of critical commentaries. The volume has but a single external defect in that its type is rather small for constant use.

The Gospel of Matthew in Greek, edited by Alexander Kerr and Herbert C. Tolman, professors in the University of Wisconsin. (Chicago : Kerr & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. xxv., 117, \$1.) The editors use in the main the text of Gebhart, 1891, printing in bold type the words which Matthew, alone of the New Testament writers, employs. The main value of the volume is in the perspicuous list of quotations from the Old Testament made in the first Gospel in which the Hebrew and Septuagint passages are printed so that they can be easily compared. A list of "passages peculiar to Matthew" and a vocabulary showing how often each word is used in the Gospel, with indexes of personal and geographical names, make up the bulk of the book outside of the text.

The Bible Remembrancer : containing an analysis of the whole Bible, with an introduction to each of the books of the Old and New Testament, etc. (New York and Chicago : F. H. Revell Co., 8vo, pp. 208, \$1.25.) There can be no doubt that this volume contains "a large amount of biblical information," and to many it will be a valuable hand-book. The introductions to

the biblical books are short, and are written from a conservative position. The analyses of the chapters are very brief, but may be useful nevertheless. The tables which follow are historical, geographical, and topical. Many subjects are introduced upon which Sabbath-school teachers need the information here given. The book is not a "topical index of the Bible," but finds its place beside such books and supplements them.

From Abraham to David. The story of their country and times. By *Henry A. Harper*. (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. viii., 235, \$1.) Mr. Harper is already known as a writer on subjects connected with the geography of Palestine and the history of the period covered by this volume. As an artist he had visited the scenes, and with a knowledge of the biblical narrative he has prepared a book specially adapted to the use of young readers. In his larger book, "The Bible and Modern Discoveries," he had done more in detail what he has repeated here in briefer shape. He has performed his task very well, and his book will be of assistance to those for whom it is intended. The story of biblical events thus becomes real when it is placed in its local setting, historical and geographical, by one whose knowledge makes him thoroughly competent.

The Every Day of Life, by *J. R. Miller*, D.D. (New York: Crowell & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 233), is a neat little volume by a man well known in certain denominational circles. He seems to have gathered here some of the choice thoughts from pulpit and pastoral ministrations through a series of years, for certainly they show the results of long experience and a pondering upon some of the problems and difficulties which beset the Christian life. The essays are sermonettes which are calculated to be useful not only to those who do, but also to those who must bear.

A Plea for the Gospel. By *George D. Herron*, D.D. (New York: Crowell & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. vi., 108.) This volume contains four sermons prepared for preachers, and so delivered. Their subjects are "Unconsecrated Service the Peril of the Church," "The Opportunity of the Church," "The Reality of Faith," and "The Faith that Overcometh the World." They are vigorous and pointed, the utterances of a man in earnest and well convinced that he has a message to his fellows. Pointed statements of important truth are frequent in these pages, one of which may be briefly cited. "The assumption that men can lead selfish and covetous lives, and then reach heaven by believing the right things about God, needs to be climi-

nated from the religious thought of the Church of our day as surely as the sale of indulgences from the Church of Luther's day." "Opinion is not faith."

The Love of the World. A book of religious meditation. By *Mary Emily Case*. (New York: The Century Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 92.) The author has given us a beautiful little volume of scattered thoughts which are intended to elaborate the thesis that "there is nothing which is not, or may not be, religious, sin only excepted." It does not claim to be "systematic," and it is well. The thought is well turned and well expressed, appealing to the feeling and the conscience. It is not one of those books harshly dogmatic, but all the more effective for its gentle simplicity. We might quote many exquisite things—little gems—but space forbids. It is indeed a book of meditation, and it calls the reader also to meditation and self-searching.

The World's Best Hymns. Compiled and illustrated by *Louis K. Harlow*. With an Introduction by *J. W. Churchill*. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1892, pp. xx., 163.) A delightful selection of exquisite poetical writings which have won their way into the hearts of God's people through their beauty and tenderness. The illustrations also add to the beauty of the volume from an artistic point of view. The object of the compiler has been to make a "selection of the best English lyrical religious poetry that has been immediately associated with sacred music, and hallowed by long and constant use in the service of song in the home and the church." He has succeeded.

The Essex Lad Who Became England's Greatest Preacher, is the title of a small volume by *J. Munton Smith*, being a life of Spurgeon for young people. (New York: American Tract Society, 12mo, 75 cents.) It consists of the best stories concerning Mr. Spurgeon and his work which have appeared, some of them being exceedingly good.

Hiram Golf's Religion; or, the "Shoemaker by the Grace of God." (New York: Dutton, 1893, 12mo, pp. 127, 75 cents.) An account of plain conversations upon religious topics of great interest in which a large amount of truth is told in the vernacular of a man to whom all labor is honorable. The only drawback lies in the use of this "vernacular," but perhaps it is essential to the author's purpose. The truth is the same, however, whatever its garb.

St. Augustine. A story of the Huguenots in America. By *John R. Musick*. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1892, \$1.50.) The scene is Florida and the date 1565 or thereabouts. The period is one

which receives scant attention from the historian. We are prone to forget that the history of our country goes back to the days of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and that an episode of the same persecution was enacted on this side of the ocean. On this incident the author has seized and utilized it for his own purposes. The story is interesting, and will direct attention to these facts.

The Bible and English Prose Style. Selections and Comments. Edited with an introduction by *Albert S. Cook*, Professor of the English Language and Literature in Yale University (Boston : Heath & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. lxx., 61), and *The Literary Study of the Bible*, by *Richard G. Moulton*, A.M., Ph.D., Professor of English Literature in the University of Chicago. (The same, 1893, 12mo, pp. 73.) These books are quite similar in purpose, in that each regards the Bible in its English dress as a literary production and entirely apart from its religious value. The genesis of the former is to be found in the quotation given from Ruskin's *Præterita*, in which he speaks of the influence of the Bible upon his own development. From that germ the book has grown. This is proved by the fact that the Scripture selections are those mentioned by Ruskin without addition or subtraction. The main value of the book lies in the citations from a number of writers who have testified to the influence which the Bible has exerted upon modes and habits of thought and expression. Professor Moulton's book is a university extension syllabus intended for use in connection with or independently of the author's course of lectures on the study of the Bible from the literary side.

Charles H. Spurgeon, our Ally. By *Justin D. Fulton*, D.D. (Chicago : H. J. Smith & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 436.) "Spurgeon was our ally in proclaiming Christ as the Saviour of the lost, in fighting Romanism, in defending the Bible as essential to the life of liberty, in lifting the warning signal of danger concerning 'The Down Grade' and the so-called 'New Theology,' and in defending at every cost what he thought truth." But in some things the author does not seem to consider that the great preacher was right, for he heads a chapter thus : "On the Communion Question Far Astray," and of him it is said "he must stand forth as an illustration of the dire effects of attempting to improve, for any reason, upon the Divine order of the Ordinances" [!] The volume is written in what we may be pardoned for calling a red-hot style, and the author does not mince his words or temper his judgment. The book also bears proof of hasty preparation and execution, as it contains not a few typographical errors.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Bible Remembrancer, The. Containing an analysis of the whole Bible, with an introduction to each of the books of the Old and New Testaments. Also a large amount of biblical information. New York and Chicago : Revell Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. 206. \$1.25.

Blake, James Vila. *Natural Theology in Sermons*. Chicago : Kerr & Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. 228.

Church, The, on the Elizabeth River. A memorial of the 210th anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church of Norfolk, Va., 1683-1893. Richmond : Whitte & Shepperson. 12mo, pp. 80.

Daniels, Cora Linn. *As It is to Be*. Franklin, Mass. : The Author. 12mo, pp. 258, \$1.00.

Doctrines, The, and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1892. With an Appendix. Edited by Bishop Andrews. New York : Hunt & Eaton ; Cincinnati : Cranston & Curtis. 12mo, p. 352.

Gilmore, George W., M.A. *Korea from its Capital*. With a chapter on Missions. Philadelphia : Presb. Bd. of Pub., 1892. 12mo, pp. 338. \$1.25.

Hall, Francis J., Rev. (Instructor of Theology in the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago). *Theological Outlines*. Vol. I, *The Doctrine of God*. Milwaukee : Young Churchman Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. 148, 50 cts. net.

Harlow, Louis K. *The World's Best Hymns*. Compiled and illustrated by —. With an introduction by J. W. Churchill. Boston : Little, Brown & Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. xx., 163.

Harper, Henry A. *From Abraham to David*. The story of their country and times. New York : Macmillan, 1892. 12mo, pp. vii., 235, \$1.00.

Hiram *Golf's Religion* ; or, the "Shoemaker by the Grace of God." New York : Dutton, 1892. 12mo, pp. 127, 75 cts.

Holland, Robert A., S.T.D. *The Philosophy of the Real Presence*. Second edition. New York : Thomas Whitaker, 1893. 12mo, pp. 23.

Hooper, T. W., D.D. "Lead Me to the Rock." Philadelphia : Presb. Bd. of Pub., 1892. 12mo, pp. 174.

Howard, George Broadley, B.A. *The Schism between the Oriental and Western Churches, with special reference to the addition of the Filioque to the Creed*. London and New York : Longmans, Green & Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. vi., 118.

Huntington, William Reed, D.D., D.C.L. (Rector of Grace Church, New York). *A Short History of the Book of Common Prayer, together with certain Papers Illustrative of Liturgical Revision, 1578-1892*. New York : Whitaker, 1893. 12mo, pp. 235, \$1.00.

Johnston, James, Rev., A.T.S. *Missionary Landscapes in the Dark Continent*. New York : A. D. F. Randolph & Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. 264.

Kerr, Alexander, and *Tolman*, Herbert Cushing (Professors in the University of Wisconsin). *The Gospel of Matthew in Greek*. Edited by —. Chicago : Kerr & Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. xxv., 116, \$1.00.

Lees, J., Cameron, D.D., LL.D. *Life and Conduct*. [Bible-Class Text-books.] New York : Randolph, 1892. 12mo, pp. viii., 114.

M'Clymont, J. A., B.D. *The New Testament and its Writers*. New York : Randolph, 1892. 12mo, pp. vi., 155.

McMinn, Edwin. *Thrilling Scenes in the Persian Kingdom*. The story of a scribe. New York : Hunt & Eaton, 1892. 12mo, pp. 323.

Man and the State. Studies in Applied Sociology. Popular lectures and discussions before the Brooklyn Ethical Association. New York : Appleton, 1892. 12mo, pp. xiii., 558, \$2.00.

Matheson, George, D.D. *The Distinctive Messages of the Old Religions*. New York : Randolph & Co. (Incorp.) ; Edinburgh : Blackwood, 1892. 12mo, pp. 342, \$1.75.

Merrill, George E., Rev. *The Holy Ordinance of Marriage*. Arranged by —. Boston : Silver, Burdett & Co., 1892. 16mo, pp. 47.

Morehouse, Frederic Cook. Some American Churchmen. Milwaukee: Young Churchman Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. 240, \$1.00.

Muir, Pearson M'Adam, Rev. The Church of Scotland. A sketch of its history. New York: Randolph, 1892. 12mo, pp. 98.

Ninde, H. S., Bowne, J. T., and Uhl, Erskine. A Handbook of the History, Organization and Methods of Work of Young Men's Christian Associations. New York: Internat. Com. Y. M. C. A., 1892. 12mo, pp. 512.

Banney, Ruth Whitaker. A Sketch of the Lives and Missionary Work of Rev. Cephas Bennett and his wife, Stella Kneeland Bennett. 1892-1891. Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. 142.

Smith, J. Manton. The Essex Lad who Became England's Greatest Preacher. The life of Charles Haddon Spurgeon, for young people. New York: Amer. Tract Soc. 12mo, pp. 169.

Stewart, Alexander, D.D. Handbook of Christian Evidences. New York: Randolph. 12mo, pp. ix, 94.

Stokes, G. T., D.D. (Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Dublin). The Acts of the Apostles, Vol. II. New York: Armstrong & Son, 1892. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi., 480, \$1.50.

Stryker, Melancthon Woolsey. Dies Irae. The great dirge of Thomas de Celano. New York and Chicago: Revell Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. 52, 80 cts.

Talmage, T. De Witt. "Ready! ay, Ready!" and other addresses. Philadelphia: Historical Publishing Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. 232.

Talmage, T. De Witt. From the Pyramids to the Acropolis. Sacred places seen through biblical spectacles. Same, 1892. 12mo, pp. 288.

Timely Topics. Political, Biblical, Ethical, Practical. Discussed by college presidents, professors and eminent writers of our time. New York: E. B. Treat, 1892. 12mo, pp. 361.

Weidner, Revere Franklin, Prof. Studies in the Book. Old Testament—First Series, Genesis. New York and Chicago: Revell Co., 1892. Pp. 141.

Wilson, William T., Rev. (late Rector of the Church of the Mediator, Kingsbridge, New York). The Ideal Humanity and other Parish Sermons. With some words commemorative by the Right Rev. Henry C. Potter, D.D. A memorial volume, edited by his wife. New York: Thomas Whitaker, 1892. 8vo, pp. xv., 352, \$2.00.

THE FEBRUARY MAGAZINES.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE for February contains: "Twelfth Night," by Edwin A. Abbey; "Whittier: Notes of his Life and of his Friendships," by Annie Fields; "Idle" (a story), by Robert C. V. Meyers; "New Orleans, Our Southern Capital," by Julian Ralph; "The Redbird" (a poem), by Madison Cawein; "Tio Juan" (a story), by Maurice Kingsley; "L'Ordre de Bon-Temps, Port Royal, 1606" (a poem), by William McLellan; "The Refugees," a Tale of Two Continents, by A. Conan Doyle; "Bristol in the Time of Cabot," by John B. Shipley; "Horace Chase" (a novel), by Constance Fenimore Woolson, Part II.; "The Woman's Exchange of Simpkinville," by Ruth McEnery Stuart; "Recollections of George William Curtis," by John W. Chadwick.

THE FEBRUARY CENTURY contains: "Portrait of Alfred, Lord Tennyson," Frontispiece; "An Embassy to Provence," I., Thomas A. Janvier; Balcony Stories, I., "Mimi's Marriage," II., "The Miracle Chapel," Grace King; "Sweet Bells Out of Tune," IV., Mrs. Burton Harrison; "Stray Leaves from a Whakeman's Log," James Temple Brown; "Franz Liszt," Camille Saint-Saëns; "Benefits Forged," III., Wolcott Balestier; "From Dawn to Sunrise," Esther Bernson Carpenter; "The Voice of Tennyson," Henry Van Dyke; "Spring Songs: The Mourning Dove," drawn by Mary Hallock Foote; "An Art Impetuous in Turkey," John P. Peters; "Genesis," John Hall Ingham; "Purity,"

painted by William Thorne; "Goliath," Thomas Bailey Aldrich; "Lovers in London," Violet Hunt; The Cosmopolis City Club: II., "The Club Gets to Work," Washington Gladden; "On a Head of Christ by Quintin Matsys," Bessie Chandler; "Life in the Malay Peninsula," John Farlie; "Leaves from the Autobiography of Salvini," Tommaso Salvini; "The Professor's Aberration," Florence Waters Snedeker; "The Lustige," Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer; "A Voice for Russia," by the Secretary of the Russian Legation in Washington, Pierre Botkine; "Preliminary Glimpses of the Fair," Clarence Clough Buel.

THE contents of **SCRIBNER'S** for February are: "A Regular Trainer," frontispiece; "From Venice to the Grosse-Venediger," by Henry Van Dyke; "Personal Recollections of Charles Sumner," by the Marquis de Chambun; "The Florentine Artist," by E. H. Blashfield and E. W. Blashfield; "A Memory: Anne Reeve Aldrich," by Edith M. Thomas; "To Her," by T. R. Sullivan; "From Spanish Light to Moorish Shadow," by Alfred Jerome Weston; Stories of a Western Town: VI., "Harry Lossing," by Octave Thanet; "Impressions of a Decorator in Rome" (Second Paper, Conclusion), by Frederic Crowninshield; "Shall I Complain?" by Louise Chandler Moulton; "The One I Knew the Best of All" (a memory of the mind of a child), by Frances Hodgson Burnett, Chapters V.-VII.; "How the Battle was Lost," by Lloyd Osbourne.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for February contains: "Old Kaskaskia," part second, Mary Hartwell Catherwood; "Books and Reading in Iceland," William Edward Mead; "Penelope's English Experiences," part second, Kate Douglas Wiggin; "The English Cambridge in Winter," Albert Gillette Hyde; "Under the Far-West Greenwood Tree," Louise Herrick Wall; "The Feudal Chiefs of Acadia," II., III., Francis Parkman; "Count Rumford," George E. Ellis; "The Eavesdropper," Bliss Carman; "Alex Randall's Conversion," Margaret Collier Graham; "The Courage of a Soldier," S. R. Elliott; "White Mountain Forests in Peril," Julius H. Ward; "Hegesias," Edith M. Thomas; "Shakespeare and Copyright," Horace Davis; "Thomas William Parsons," Richard Hovey.

THE contents of **LIPPINCOTT'S** for February are as follows: "The First Flight," Julien Gordon; "Men Who Reigned," Bennett, Greeley, Raymond, Prentice, Forney, Hon. John Russell Young; "Palindrome," Charles Washington Coleman; "Josiah's Alarm," Josiah Allen's Wife; "A Renorse," E. W. Latimer, from the French of Hippolyte Lucas; "Wrestling" (Athletic Series), Herman F. Wolff; "Trust," Floy Campbell; "The Russian Approach to India," Karl Blind; "Change," C. L. Whitney; "New Philadelphia," Charles Morris; "Bobolink," Daniel L. Dawson; "The First-Born of the Orchard," Francis Wilson; "Love's Season," Ella Wheeler Wilcox; "Recollections of Seward and Lincoln," James Matlack Scovel; "With a Match-Box," Charlotte Flske Bates; "Seventh Commandment Novels," Miriam Coles Harris; "An Organ and a Reform," Frederic M. Bird; "Men of the Day," M. Crofton.

THE contents of **THE COSMOPOLITAN** for February are: Frontispiece, James G. Blaine; "Monte Carlo," H. C. Farnham; "After Mist in Winter," Archibald Lampman; "The Beet-root Sugar Industry," H. S. Adams; "Oriental Rugs," S. G. W. Benjamin; "Tokl Murata," Sewall Rude; "James G. Blaine," T. C. Crawford; "I Know Not if I Love Thee" (poem); "The Evolution of Naval Construction," S. Eardley Willmot; "June, 1908," Julian Hawthorne; "The Unillumined Verge," Robert Bridges; "Democracy and the Mother Tongue," John Coleman Adams; "The Great Railway Systems of the United States—The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé," Charles S. Glead; "Suffrage," E. E. Hale; "Cachuca Amorita," Wilson De Meza; "Lullaby," Arthur Sherburne Hardy; "A Traveler from Altruria," W. D. Howells; "Duck," William Wilfred Campbell; "Lord Beaconsfield," Adam Badeau; "Rebellion and Revolution," Charles W. Coleman.

INDEX OF PERIODICALS, JANUARY, 1893.

Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index of Periodicals.

- Af. M. E. R.** African M. E. Church Review. (Quarterly.)
A. R. Andover Review.
B. S. Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quarterly.)
B. W. The Biblical World.
B. Q. R. Baptist Quarterly Review.
Ch. Q. R. Church Quarterly Review.
C. M. Q. Canadian Methodist Quarterly.
C. P. R. Cumberland Presbyterian Review. (Quarterly.)
C. R. Charities Review.
C. T. Christian Thought.
Ex. Expositor.
Ex. T. Expository Times.
G. W. Good Words.
H. R. Homiletic Review.
L. Q. Lutheran Quarterly.
M. R. Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)
M. H. Missionary Herald.
Mis. R. Missionary Review.
N. H. M. Newbury House Magazine.
N. W. The New World.
O. D. Our Day.
P. M. Preachers' Magazine.
P. Q. Presbyterian Quarterly.
P. R. R. Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
R. Ch. Review of the Churches.
R. Q. R. Reformed Quarterly Review.
R. K. R. Religious Review of Reviews.
S. A. H. Sunday at Home.
S. M. Sunday Magazine.
T. Th. The Thinker.
T. Tr. The Treasury.
Y. R. The Yale Review.
Y. M. The Young Man.
- Æsthetic in Religion**, The, J. W. Wright, MR.
Agnostic Labyrinth, A Clue to the, Compton Reade, RRR.
Angels of God, The, J. L. Harris, TTR.
Annihilation, Robert L. Dabney, PQ.
Benedicence of the Church, The Pastor in Relation to the, A. T. Pierson, HR.
Bethel, Jacob's Vision at, Archibald Henderson, ExT.
Bible, the Church, and the Reason, W. Jackson, CMQ.
Bible in Modern Theological Education, The Place of the English, Professor Taylor, AR.
Biblical Theology, What is, and What is its Method? George B. Stevens, BW.
Boston Monday Lectures, Joseph Cook, OD.
Calvin and Servetus, Philip Schaff, RQB.
Cellbacy, Clerical, C. C. Starbuck, HR.
Cheerfulness, The Gains of, John Clifford, SM.
China, Missionary Progress in, John Chalmers, MisR.
Christianity, Paul's Conception of, A. B. Bruce, Ex.
Christian Life and Thought, Leaders of Widening, Agnes Maule Machar, AR.
Christ the Chief Corner Stone, A. J. Heller, RQR.
Christ, The Difficult Words of, James Stalker, Ex.
Christ, Three Pictures of the Infant, NHM.
Church and Saloon as Political Antagonists, John G. Woolley, OD.
Church and the Masses, The, R. V. Hunter, PRR.
Church Army Samaritan Office, The, H. L. Hamilton, RRR.
Church of England, Reflections on the Past of the, Canon Furse, NHM.
Church Movement in 1883, A Layman's Reminiscences of the, G. W., NHM.
Church's Needs, The, J. W. Dickinson, CMQ.
Columbus: A Modern Abraham, R. S. MacArthur, TTR.
Criticism and the Common Life, A. A. Berle, BS.
Daughter of Tyre, The, W. F. Livingston, TTR.
Discovery of America, Providential Preparations for the, H. M. Scott, OD.
Discovery of America, The Causes which Led to the, John B. Kieffer, RQR.
Disestablishment on the Irish Church, The Effect of, RCh.
Doctrine of Election, Some Homiletic Uses of the, Herbert W. Lathe, BS.
Educational Statistics, Some Recent, W. H. Norton, MR.
Education of Women in Foreign Fields, Industrial, Mrs. J. T. Gracey, MisR.
Ethnic Religions and Christianity, A Comparative View of the, T. McKendree Stuart, MR.
Evangelium Secundum Petrum, J. O. F. Murray, Ex.
Farrar at Home, Archdeacon, SM.
Geologic Time Ratios and Estimates of the Earth's Age and of Man's Antiquity, Warren Upham, BS.
Gospel in Nature, The, H. H. Moore, MR.
Gospel Saves or Hardens, The, late Archbishop Magee, GW.
Green, Professor Thomas Hill, James Iverach, ExT.
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Wainwright, S. The Question of Questions : "What Think Ye of Christ ?" London : Nisbet, 1892. Pp. 322, p. 8vo, 7s. 6d. [What the Jew Thinks, The Higher Criticism, Stones Crying Out, The Historical Question, etc.]

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Westcott, Brookes Foss, D.D., Bishop. The Gospel of Life : Thoughts Introductory to the Study of Christian Doctrine. London : Macmillan, 1892. Pp. 231, p. 8vo, 6s. [Also] The Incarnation : A Revelation of Human Duties. A charge delivered to the Clergy of Durham, in the Cathedral, Nov. 17, and in the Chapel of Auckland Castle, Nov. 19, 1892. London : S. P. C. K., 1892. Pp. 54, 12mo, 6d.

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CHRONICLE.

(Closes on the 20th of each month.)

Dec. 21. Consecration of the Rev. W. B. Hornby, Bishop of Nyassaland, in St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

Dec. 24. Conference of the representatives of Baptist theological seminaries in New York.

Dec. 27. Laying corner-stone of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City.

Dec. 28-29. Meeting of the American Society of Church History in Washington, D.C. One of the most important items that came up before this society at this meeting was in regard to the series of church histories, in ten volumes, taking up in a succinct, unbiased way the various denominations in America. The series is under the general editorial management of Philip Schaff, D.D., the Rt. Rev. H. C. Potter, D.D., George P. Fisher, D.D., Bishop John F. Hurst, LL.D., E. J. Wolf, D.D., Henry C. Vedder, Samuel M. Jackson, LL.D. It is expected that the first volume will be issued January 1, 1894, and that the others will follow at regular intervals of three months.

Dec. 29-30. Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis in New York.

Dec. 28-Jan. 4. Decennial Missionary Conference of India at Bombay.

Dec. 29-30. National University Extension Conference, Philadelphia.

Jan. 8. Anti-Gambling mass-meeting in Chickering Hall, New York City.

Ninth Annual Meeting of the Evangelical Alliance of the United States, in New York.

Jan. 9. Formal acquittal of Dr. Briggs on the charge of heresy.

Jan. 10. Election of Rev. John Balcom Shaw D.D., Rev. Lewis Lampman, D.D., and Dr. Henry D. Noyes, directors of Union Theological Seminary.

Jan. 11-12. Conference of churches holding the Presbyterian System on Foreign Missions in New York City.

Jan. 12. Interdenominational meeting in the interest of Foreign Missions in New York, under the auspices of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, Presbytery of New York and the Convention of Foreign Missionary Boards.

Jan. 14. Establishment of the Apostolic Delegation in the United States, with Archbishop Satolli as first delegate.

Jan. 16, 17, 19. Dual Centenary Conference, under the auspices of the American Baptist Missionary Union, in New York and Brooklyn.

The Rev. William John Burn, Vicar of Coniscliffe, has accepted the (Anglican) Bishopric of Qu'Appelle, Northwest Territory, and the Rev. N. W. Perrin that of British Columbia.

Dr. Howe, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of South Carolina, has resigned, and the Rev. Dr. William R. Thomas has declined his election as Missionary Bishop of Northern Michigan.

General T. J. Morgan, the present Indian Commissioner, has been elected Corresponding Secretary of the American Baptist Home Mission Society.

The Rev. Walter C. Smith has been nominated Moderator of the Free Church Assembly, Scotland.

The Rev. Michael Logne, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, and the Rev. William Vaughan, Archbishop of Westminster, are to be made Cardinals at the next Papal Consistory.

Dr. Brennan, Roman Catholic Bishop of Dallas, has resigned.

OBITUARY.

Bliss, Rev. Edwin Elisha (Congregationalist), D.D. (Amherst College, 1869), in Constantinople, December 29, aged 78. He was graduated from Amherst College, 1837, and from Andover Theological Seminary, 1842; was ordained 1843, sailing for Turkey the same year as a missionary; he served first at Trebizond, arriving there in the summer of 1843; removed to Marsovan, Armenia, 1852; went to Constantinople 1856, and has since remained at that place. Since 1895 he has edited *The Messenger*, published at Constantinople in both the Armenian and the Turkish languages. He has also issued various missionary publications in the native languages, such as the "Bible Handbook," in Armenian, and was but little less known as a scholar and successful missionary than the Rev. Dr. Samuel Biles.

Brown, Rev. Frederick Thomas (Presbyterian), D.D., in Manassquan, N. J., January 11, aged 70. He was graduated from Princeton College, 1845; studied theology in Switzerland under D'Aubigné and Gausson for two years; graduated from Princeton Theological Seminary in 1849; supplied for six months the pulpit of the First Church, Dayton, O., 1849; was called to Madison, Ind., 1850; was sent by Board of Domestic Missions to Cleveland, O., 1853; was chaplain Seventh Ohio Volunteers during 1861; became pastor at Georgetown, D. C., 1862; was sent by his Presbytery on a mission to Chicago, 1865; removed to St. Paul to take charge of the Central Presbyterian Church, 1867; thence went to Ann Arbor, Mich., 1875; and became pastor of the church in Manassquan, N. J., 1881. For the last five years he has been editor of the *Illustrated Christian Weekly*.

Bnel, Rev. Samuel (Protestant Episcopal), S.T.D. (Columbia College, 1832, General Theological Seminary, 1834), in New York, Dec. 30, 1892, aged 78. He was graduated at Williams College, 1833; became assistant in St. Peter's, Albany, 1837; removed the same year to become rector of Trinity Church, Marshall, Mich.; removed to Schuylkill Haven, Pa., 1839; did home mission work in Pennsylvania, 1840-41; became rector of Emanuel Parish, Cumberland, Md., 1841, and of Christ Church, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., 1847; professor of Ecclesiastical History and Divinity, at Seabury Hall, Fairbault, Minn., and of Systematic Divinity and Dogmatic Theology in the General Theological Seminary, New York City, 1871. At the time of his death he was professor emeritus, having resigned in 1888. He has written, besides numerous review articles, "The Apostolical System of the Church Defended in a Reply to Dr. Whately on the Kingdom of Christ," "Eucharistic Presence, Sacrifice, and Adoration," and a "Treatise of Dogmatic Theology."

Burrows, Rev. John Lansing (Baptist), D.D., at Augusta, Ga., January 2, 1893, aged 78. He was educated at Andover, Mass.; ordained at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., 1835; occupied in teaching at Shelbyville and Elizabethtown, Ky., till 1839, when he accepted call to Owensborough; he received a call to the Sansom Street Church, Philadelphia, Pa., 1840; founded the Broad Street Church in the same city, 1844; removed to Richmond, Va., 1854; became pastor of the Broadway Church, Louisville, Ky., 1874. He was some years afterward compelled to resign on account of ill health, and has since resided at Augusta, Ga.

Corbit, Rev. William P. (Methodist), in Brooklyn, December 12, aged 75. He did not receive a collegiate education, but entered the ministry in 1841, in Freehold, N. J.; he served a number of years in the New Jersey and Newark Conferences, holding prominent appointments in Newark and Jersey City;

was transferred to the New York Conference, serving in three of the most important churches in this city, and was afterward sent to Baltimore. His commanding presence and impassioned oratory made him an impressive speaker, and he was especially sought as a helper in revival services.

Day, Henry (Presbyterian), in New York City January 8, aged 73. He was graduated from Yale College in 1845, and from Harvard Law School in 1848; was one of the founders of the Equitable Assurance Society, and was concerned in many of the most noted business enterprises of this city. He had been prominent in religious matters because of his knowledge of Presbyterian ecclesiastical law; was one of the leaders in the movement which resulted in the union of the Old and New Schools in 1869, and had been a director of the Union Theological Seminary for ten years. In connection with the latter he was a staunch supporter of Dr. Briggs, writing many articles in defence of the latter, and giving his advice and counsel to the directors. He was also known as an author, having published "The Lawyer Abroad; or, Observations on the Social and Political Condition of Various Countries," and "From the Pyrenees to the Pillars of Hercules."

Heesey, Ven. James Augustus (Church of England), D.C.L. (Oxford, 1846), D.D. (University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn., 1884), Archdeacon of Middlesex, in London, December 25, aged 79. He was graduated from St. John's College, Oxford, B.A., 1836, M.A., 1840, B.D., 1845, and B.C.L., 1846; was ordained deacon, 1837, and priest, 1838; was vicar of Helidon, 1839; college lecturer in logic, 1839-42; public examiner in the University, 1842-44; headmaster of Merchant Taylors' school, London, 1846-70; select preacher in the University of Oxford, 1849; preacher of Gray's Inn, London, 1850-79; Bampton lecturer, Oxford, 1860; Grinfield lecturer in Septuagint, Oxford, 1865-69; Boyle lecturer, 1871-73, and select preacher in the University of Cambridge, 1873-79; appointed archdeacon of Middlesex, 1875; has held governorships in various leading schools in London, and has been examiner for the Indian Civil Service. He was particularly active in the movement against legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister. Among his published works are "Schemata Rhetorica; or, Tables Illustrative of the Enthymeme of Aristotle," "Sunday, its Origin, History, and Present Obligation" (Bampton Lectures), "Biographies of the Kings of Judah," Boyle Lectures on "Moral Difficulties (connected with the Bible)" and "Imprecatory Psalms" (two series), "Recent Controversies about Prayer," and "Sermons."

Olmstead, Rev. Edward Bigelow (Presbyterian), in Bloomington, Ill., Nov. 19, aged 80. He was graduated from Pennsylvania College, 1833; studied theology privately, and was licensed by the Lutheran Synod of the West, 1838; was sent to Union County, Ill., the same year, and was ordained, 1839; joined the Presbytery of Alton, 1847, taking charge of the Bethel Church; organized, in 1852, the Presbyterian Church of Caledonia, which was the scene of his labors till 1885, when he resigned. He was also, during the war, hospital chaplain at Mound City. His aid was given also in founding many churches in the vicinity of Caledonia, showing a large-heartedness which gained him hosts of friends.

CALENDAR.

Feb. 15-18. Sixth Annual Deaconess Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Cincinnati.

Feb. 16-17. Meeting of the Inter-Seminary District Missionary Alliance Convention at New Brunswick, N. J.

Feb. 17. and successive Fridays till March 24, delivery of the Bishop Paddock Lectures by Bishop Cox at the General Theological Seminary, New York City. General subject, "The Repose of the Blessed Dead." Special topics: "Sheol," "The Spirits in Prison," "Abraham's Bosom," "The Descent into Hell," "Paradise and the Just Made Perfect."

March 1. Meeting in New York of the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

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THE SURVEY OF THOUGHT.

MODERN JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY.—The supplementary volume of Hamburger's *Cyclopædia for the Bible and the Talmud*, which completes at last that exceedingly useful but very carelessly printed work, contains several articles which are full of interest to the Christian student because they reveal with tolerable distinctness the present attitude of an important section of the modern Jews to Christ and to Christianity. One point which is very clearly brought out is disappointing to all who long for the conversion of the chosen people. It is painfully evident that the rejection of Christ as Christ is as emphatic as ever. The Rabbis of the nineteenth century whom our author represents are as confident as Caiaphas and his colleagues that Jesus of Nazareth was not the Messiah. In the very remarkable article on "Messiahs" our Lord comes near the beginning of the long list of those said to have falsely claimed to be the Christ; and the constant omission of the word "Christ" or "Lord" in dates calculated according to the Christian era reminds the reader continually of the obstinate opposition which is still offered to His claims by a very large number of His own people. Dr. Hamburger is compelled to adopt the Christian method of noting time, but he is careful to express his dissent from Christian beliefs either by putting simply "after," as when, for instance, in indicating the period of the agitation of Theudas, he writes "in 46 after;" or by giving the figures only. On the other hand, there is a conspicuous absence of blasphemous invective. This modern Rabbi finds much to approve in Christ and Christianity. The practical ethics of the latter, which he considers its chief glory, are declared to be one with those of Judaism. He endeavours, however, like Geiger and some other recent Jewish writers to trace the best elements of Christian teaching as recorded in the Gospels to Jewish sources. Jesus, he maintains, possessed considerable knowledge of Scripture and the Law, which he handled expertly according to the methods of the Pharisees. The golden rule was anticipated by Hillel. The declaration that love to God and love to man constitute the substance of the Law is paralleled by a passage in a Midrash. Christ's teaching about the observance of the Sabbath is pronounced similar to that expressed in two Rabbinical sayings quoted also by the Christian Wetstein, one occurring in the ancient Midrash, the Mechilta: "The Sabbath is given to you, and not you to the Sabbath;" and the other found in the Babylonian Talmud: "The Sabbath is given into your hands, and not you into the hands of the Sabbath." All the clauses of the Paternoster are said to occur in the prayers and teaching of the Rabbis, and it is added that short comprehensive prayers of this kind were composed by almost every teacher of importance. The truth that all men are

brethren, which is so beautifully presented in the parable of the good Samaritan, is proved from the Babylonian Talmud to have been not unknown to some of the Rabbis. Our Lord's opposition to the enactments of the Rabbis is said to have been foreshadowed by the Sadducees. Christian teaching concerning the Son of God and the Holy Spirit is connected in some measure with the Alexandrian doctrine of the Logos as stated by Philo. Christianity is therefore considered to be a daughter of Judaism, and as such to be an ally rather than an enemy. To it, and to the other daughter religion, Mohammedanism, Judaism leaves the task of converting the heathen, fully recognizing that as their mission. Proselytizing is now left to Christianity. The Jew makes no attempt to induce all his fellow-men to profess the faith of the synagogue, resting content if they accept as true its teachings about human happiness. There is little if anything in these opinions which can be pronounced absolutely new, but the moderation of the tone in which they are expressed as contrasted with the boundless hatred of Christ, and everything connected with Him which seems to have been cherished by most Jews during the ages when the Talmuds and the Midrashim were compiled, is a striking and pleasing indication of the decline of uncompromising intolerance in Rabbinic circles. Let us hope that it foreshadows a far more momentous change in the not distant future.

MEDIAEVAL ANTICIPATIONS OF THE HIGHER CRITICISM.—An essay by Prof. Bacher, of Buda Pesth, which first appeared a month or two ago in the Jewish anthology, coming out under the editorship of Dr. Wuensche and Dr. Winter, and has just been reissued in separate form, entitled *Biblical Exegesis from the Beginning of the Tenth to the End of the Fifteenth Century*, shows very clearly that some of the conclusions of the Higher Criticism about which we hear so much to-day, and to some extent its principles, were curiously anticipated by Jewish exegetes during the period which we are accustomed to designate the Dark Ages. The Pentateuch, which had until then been regarded with a blind veneration verging on idolatry, was handled with considerable freedom by several of these advanced thinkers in the Jewish schools. One Chivvi, about the middle of the ninth century, is said to have made two hundred objections to the credibility of the Books of Moses, attacking both the legal and the historical portions, and to have found an appreciative public. Fifty years later his text-books were in use amongst teachers in the district of which Sura was the centre. Another of these forerunners of Pentateuchal criticism was Isaac Ibn Jasus, a grammarian and exegete of the eleventh century, who ascribed the composition of a part of Genesis to the time of Jehoshaphat. It must be allowed that this view, as well as other startling opinions propounded by its author, met with little favour from the greatest of the mediæval Jewish commentators, Aben Ezra, who indeed pronounced them ridiculous; but still the mere fact that such suggestions were made is significant of the intense intellectual activity of mediæval Judaism when stimulated by

Arabian influence. A third Jewish inquirer, belonging to the North of France, Joseph surnamed Bechor Shor, got a glimpse of the occurrence of duplicate narratives in the Pentateuch. He argued that the two accounts in the seventeenth of Exodus and the twentieth of Numbers respectively refer to the same event. A curious though faint adumbration of the documentary hypothesis. One of the boldest of these precursors of the Higher Criticism was Moses Ibn Gikatilla, of Cordova, who flourished in the second third of the eleventh century. He admitted Exilic psalms, and referred the latter part of the Book of Isaiah to the period of the second temple. An interesting example of his freedom in the discussion of Biblical questions has been preserved to us by his contemporary and opponent, Jehudah Ibn Balaam, of Toledo, in the latter's exposition of the passage in the Book of Joshua concerning the standing still of the sun and moon. Jehudah assumed a temporary stoppage of the spheres, whereas Gikatilla supposed the phenomenon to be caused by the continued reflection of the solar light after sunset. "What leads you to this belief?" inquired the orthodox Rabbi of Toledo. "I consider it impossible," replied his speculative brother of Cordova, "that the perpetual motion of the spheres should cease." This, we are told, was one of the many misleading and pernicious opinions propounded by Gikatilla. Another of the same revolutionary type, whose name unfortunately is lost, made a daring onslaught on the text of the Hebrew Scriptures, pointing out nearly two hundred passages in which the substitution of another word for that handed down by tradition would restore the original reading. The same path was in some measure trodden by Abul-walid, a Spanish Jew of the early part of the eleventh century, who repeatedly endeavoured to explain difficulties on the assumption that letters had been confused or transposed, or that one word had been accidentally written instead of another. Yet he accepted the exegesis of the Targums, the Talmuds, and the Midrash, so that he cannot be described as a textual critic in the modern sense. He arrived at similar results, and by apparently similar methods, without fully realizing the significance of his suggestions. He was an unconscious pioneer. We mention last Saadia, who was born in the Fayum in 892 A.D., and became Gaon of Sura in 928 A.D., one of the most gifted and enlightened of the Jewish teachers of the Middle Ages. His Biblical exegesis rested on three pillars: tradition, Scripture, and reason. The interpretation of the Bible, he taught, can tolerate nothing that is unintelligible, nothing which is at variance with logical thinking. God's purpose in giving men the Law was to educate them as reasonable beings and to fit them for His service. Strange that Jewish scholars of the Middle Ages, whose very names are known to few outside of their own nation, should foreshadow in so many ways the achievements of Lessing, Ewald, Kuenen, and Wellhausen!

HARNACK ON THE NEWLY DISCOVERED GOSPEL OF ST. PETER.—The weightiest contribution which has yet been made to the critical study of the

newly discovered Gospel of Peter and Revelation of Peter is contained in the latest number of the *Texts and Inquiries appertaining to the History of Early Christian Literature*, edited by Von Gebhardt and Harnack. The latter scholar has just published revised texts of these extremely interesting and valuable fragments, with a German translation and a commentary. We learn from the preface and from allusions scattered through the volume that, although a very short time has elapsed since the first publication of these strange relics of Christian antiquity, many scholars have already examined them and forwarded suggestions to the editor—among them Prof. Nestle, Prof. Wellhausen, the Bishop of Durham, and the late Dr. Hort—so that this pamphlet of less than a hundred pages represents far more than the opinions of an individual. The texts as given by Harnack correspond very closely in the main with those printed at the end of the Cambridge edition. The most noteworthy variations are the following:—1. Gospel 3 (of the English text). Those who have been scourging Jesus are represented as saying: "With this honour *have we honoured* (*ἐτιμήσαμεν* instead of *τιμήσωμεν*) the Son of God." 2. Gospel 8. The elders say to Pilate: "Give us soldiers that *we may guard* (*φυλάξωμεν* for *φυλάξωσι*) his tomb for three days." 3. Gospel 9. The two angels of the resurrection are seen *approaching* (*ἐγγίζοντας* for *ἐπίσταντας*) the grave." 4. Gospel 10. The question put by a heavenly voice and answered by the cross is given thus: "Hast thou preached obedience to those that sleep?" If this is right, the similarity of these words in the Gospel of Peter to a well-known passage in the Second Epistle of Peter is so close as to suggest an intimate connection of some kind between the two documents. This is by far the most important reading in Harnack's text. 5. Revelation 5. The blessed in Paradise praise God in answering choirs (*ἀντευφήμουν* for *ἀνευφήμουν*). 6. Revelation 5 (end). "This is the place of your chief priests (*ἀρχιερέων* for *ἀρχέρων*), the righteous men." The date of the Gospel is put very early. Prof. Harnack is strongly disposed to believe that it was known to and used by Justin Martyr, that in fact it is one of the Apomneumata which he so often mentions, and concerning which there has been so much discussion. "Considering the fundamental importance of the question for the criticism of the Gospels," he writes, "I abstain from a final decision, but confess that at present I am not able to see how Justin's acquaintance with this Gospel can be disputed." If this use of it by Justin is admitted, the date of its composition cannot have been later than the first third of the second century. Concerning the relation of this new Gospel to the canonical Gospels, Harnack makes some very interesting and valuable remarks. It exhibits, in his opinion, affinities with all our Gospels, but it is not certain that any one of them was directly known to the writer. It is considered, however, to be proved, or almost proved, that he was acquainted with Mark. Use may have been made of a narrative closely related to Matthew's. The Gospel of Luke may have been employed, but our present evidence is insufficient to warrant a final verdict; and the dependence of "Peter" on the Gospel of

John has not yet been demonstrated, although there are some notable points of correspondence, particularly the statement that the crucifixion took place on the fourteenth of Nisan. The amount of fresh or divergent matter in the newly found document is shown to be considerable. The earlier portion which carries the narrative down to the resurrection exhibits twenty-nine peculiarities, and the remainder, though disfigured by obviously legendary elements, has some very remarkable features of its own, particularly the interposition of more than a week between the crucifixion and the first appearance of the risen Lord to His disciples, which is located not in Jerusalem, but in Galilee. The historical value of this Gospel, or rather of the fragment of it which has come down to us, is in all probability much overrated. "The story of the Passion," writes the Berlin Professor, "is told briefly and simply, and on the whole is little if at all inferior to the accounts in the canonical Gospels." In the reference to the first appearance of the risen Lord the Gospel of Peter is said to have followed a tradition which is older than Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and constitutes together with Paul's statement our best authority. This extravagantly high estimate of a confused and in parts fabulous story is not likely to find many to endorse it. None, on the other hand, will deny that it will be impossible in the future for critical students of the Gospels to leave this Gospel of Peter unnoticed. It may also perhaps be conceded that the problem of the Gospels is complicated rather than brought nearer solution by the new discovery, although some will not consider it certain that "it belongs to a period when the substance of the Gospels was still in a state of fusion." The home of "Peter" is thought to have been probably Syria, and the Gospel was written in the interest of a school or tendency, perhaps that represented by the Encratites. Traces of Docetism are less apparent to Harnack than to Mr. Robinson and Prof. Rendel Harris. The most important passage bearing on the subject—the statement that the crucified Jesus was silent as if feeling no pain—admits, it is shown, of a different explanation. The Gospel was not written for a sect, as is evident from the history of its use in the Church, but it contained Docetic and Encratitic features which caused it in later times to be regarded as heretical. The note communicated by Dr. Hort, which must have been penned very shortly before his decease, referred to the bearing of the new Gospel on the interpretation of a passage in the Gospel of John. We read there (xix. 13) that Pilate after leading Jesus out *ἐκάθισεν ἐν τῷ βήματι*, which is usually rendered "sat down on the judgment seat." The verb *καθίζω*, however, can also have a transitive meaning, "cause to sit," "seat," and was so translated in this place by the late Archbishop Whateley. In the new Gospel, as well as in a passage in the first Apology of Justin Martyr, which may have been more or less based upon it, the word is unmistakably transitive. The clause in the Gospel runs *ἐκάθισεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ καθέδραν κρίσεως*, "they seated him on the seat of judgment." It is therefore highly probable, if not certain, that the corresponding clause in the fourth Gospel means that Pilate seated

Jesus in the seat of judgment as a part of the studied mockery by which he endeavoured to appease the ferocious mob thirsting for the prisoner's blood. This interpretation, which has hitherto obtained but little notice, the editors of the Variorum Bible, for instance, not deeming it worthy of insertion among various renderings, is now, thanks to this apocryphal fragment, endorsed by two of the ripest scholars of the century. The Apocalypse is assigned to the former half of the second century. It has points of contact with "the Shepherd" and "the Didache," and must have been in some way connected with the second Epistle of Peter and the Epistle of Jude. It is characterized by a curious blending of the Jewish-Christian spirit with antique ideas and images, and is of considerable interest for the student of Christian art and poetry. The apocalyptic "Peter" may be regarded as the precursor of "Virgil" and "Dante."

JER. xiii. 1-11.—It is very difficult to say whether the strange narrative recorded in this passage about burying the girdle in a cleft of the rock by the Euphrates is to be interpreted as a literal fact or not. The older commentators treat this, and similar accounts of symbolical teaching as real incidents, while in modern times the tendency has been to regard them as visions. In the third volume of the interesting and valuable series of books entitled *How to Read the Prophets*, the Rev. Buchanan Blake, B.D., gives in a very succinct form a good deal of help for the better understanding of the writings of the prophet Jeremiah. In treating of the above passage, he explains it as a literal act, and not as a vision, but he changes the scene from the Euphrates to Ephratah (the poetical name for Bethlehem). "The close relationship," he says, "in which God had been desirous to place Judah to Himself is clearly shown under the figure of the linen girdle. Had that remained pure, it might have remained for ever in use; but having become defiled, it was now to be cast aside. The prophet acted out this truth before the people, having taken a linen garment, such as is worn next the skin in the East, and deposited it in a hole near Jerusalem: when next taken out it was unfit for wear" (p. 203). In the text of the prophecy which Mr. Blake gives he substitutes Ephratah in each of the four places where Euphrates occurs. We think changes like this are utterly inexcusable: the proper place for merely conjectural emendations of the text is in notes upon it. Bochart was the first to suggest the reading Ephratah, and he has been followed by many recent scholars, but we are quite of Ewald's opinion that it is a mere fancy unworthy of serious consideration. The assertion that the Euphrates is usually designated as "the river" in Hebrew is contradicted by Gen. ii. 14 and Jer. li. 63, and we notice that in the latter passage Mr. Blake does not make or suggest any change in the rendering. Some support for the opinion that Jeremiah had really visited the land of the Chaldeans on the above occasion may be found in the fact that he was evidently known to the leading men in that country. Orders in his favour by Nebuchadnezzar (xxxix. 11) seem at any rate to imply some previous acquaintance with him.

THE STANDARD OF VERACITY AMONG THE JEWS.—In *The North American Review*, Mr. Gail Hamilton repudiates in a very spirited manner the statements made by Mr. Herbert Spencer in his *Principles of Ethics*, concerning the standard of morality among the Jewish people. Thus in the chapter on Veracity he says, "We have proof in the Bible that apart from the lying, which constituted false witness, and was to the injury of a neighbour, there was among the Hebrews but little reprobation of lying." Mr. Hamilton very pertinently remarks that the exception signified an immense advance on the other wild and semi-civilized tribes whose opinions and practices are cited in this connection. And he says, "If we, in the nineteenth century, lived up to the standard held aloft by this half-civilized people, if we had completely abandoned the sort of lying which this tribe distinguished itself from its neighbours by reprobating—lying to the injury of a neighbour—a large part of the machinery of our civilization might be allowed to fall into disuse." If Mr. Spencer had made no attempt to prove his statement it would have been somewhat difficult to decide as to its truth or falsity. But the quotations from the Bible adduced in support of it are so ludicrously inadequate as to leave on our minds an impression that after all it is possible that the philosopher is in the wrong. The first proof text is taken from 1 Kings xxii. 22, where it is said that Jehovah commissioned a lying spirit to deceive the prophets of Ahab and lead him to his ruin. Mr. Hamilton points out that this is simply a solemn warning in the guise of a parable to dissuade a rash king from going out to certain disaster. The whole burden of the tale is reprobation of lying. "These men, prophets?" says Micah in their very presence and in the presence of the allied kings: "then they are the prophets of a lying spirit, and not of the God of truth." It is an explanation fanciful in form, but embodying a real and deplorable truth. The incredible spectacle of four hundred pretended prophets leading a great king to his overthrow can only be explained by their being under Satanic influence. "Nor do we find the standard," says Mr. Spencer, "much changed in the days of Christ and after; instance the case of Paul, who, apparently rather piquing himself on his 'craft and guile,' elsewhere defends his act by contending that the truth of God hath more abounded through my lie unto His glory" (Rom. iii. 7). The baselessness of the insinuation is at once apparent when we examine the passages in the writings of the Apostle here alluded to. In 2 Cor. xii. 16 he is defending himself against the charge of making gain out of the credulity of his converts. He had received no salary from the Corinthians, nor had he got any money from them in a crafty and underhand manner. For the sake of argument, he allows the charge, in order to see how it tallies with the facts. He is, in short, repudiating the statement that he had acted with "craft and guile." In Rom. iii. 7 he is quoting the supposed reasoning of a sophistical opponent in order to reprobate it. No one who looks into the passages quoted, and examines them in a fair and intelligent manner, can fail to see that they do not bear the construction Mr. Spencer has set upon them.

For once, at any rate, he has been caught napping. Philosophers and critics need to bear in mind that the same obligation rests upon them as upon other men, of knowing what they are talking about.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.—Dr. C. H. S. Davis, writing in *Biblia*, gives a description of the very curious literature of ancient Egypt, entitled the *Ritual*, or more correctly *The Book of the Dead*. An immense number of copies of this work are scattered among the various museums of Europe, and no fewer than fifty have been recently found at Thebes, and are now deposited at Boulak. Since the first copy was found in the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes this remarkable work has excited more than an ordinary amount of interest, but owing to imperfect knowledge of hieroglyphic writing, and the mystical nature of the text itself, a perfect translation has not yet been made. It is not a book in the usual sense of the word; it is not a literary whole, with a beginning, middle, and end, but is a mere unmethodical collection of religious compositions, as independent of each other as the Hebrew Psalms. Extracts from it were placed in the coffins of the dead, either on the inner side of the chests which held the mummies, or in the linen bandages in which the corpse was wrapped, or on the inner walls of the tomb, or sometimes on all three. *The Book of the Dead* was destined to instruct the soul in that which would befall it after death, and is a collection of prayers and incantations, which, while foretelling to him what would have to be passed through, also by their efficacy secured him against the dangers feared, and assured him the blessings desired. It was, according to Egyptian notions, an inspired work, and claimed to be a revelation from Thoth, or Hermes, who thought it declared the will of the gods. Portions of it are expressly stated to have been written by the very finger of Thoth himself, and to have been the composition of a great god. To the soul they assured a passage from the earth, a transit through the purgatory and other regions of the dead; the entrance through the empyreal gate by which the souls arrived at the presence of the sun; the admission into the orb of the sun; and protection from the various adversaries who sought to accuse, destroy, or detain the soul on its passage upwards. It is very singular that we find no trace of these ideas in the religious records of the Jewish people, to whom one would think they must have been very familiar during their residence in Egypt, especially when we consider the close affinity between many parts of the religious ritual of the two nations. It yet remains to be explained why so complete a silence should have been maintained in the Mosaic books on the condition of the soul after death.

TATIAN'S DIATESSARON.—In a very interesting pamphlet published by the *Catholic Truth Society* (London) Father M. Maher, S.J., gives an elaborate history of this celebrated work, from the first scattered notices of it down to the time (1888) when an Arabic version of the original was published from two newly-discovered MSS. From the references to the *Diatessaron* in the writings of the fathers, it was understood to be a harmony

of four Gospels; and as Tatian flourished at such an early period (c. A.D. 112-180), the question as to whether the four were our canonical narratives or not was of very great importance. The question was virtually answered in 1876 by the discovery of a commentary of Ephrem Syrus on the *Diatessaron*, from which an accurate idea of the original itself could be gathered. The phrases quoted and the incidents commented on fully proved that Tatian made use of the canonical Gospels, and of no other. The value of this early testimony to the authenticity of the sacred writings can scarcely be overestimated. The final stage in the almost romantic history of the *Diatessaron* consists in the discovery of the book itself in an Arabic version. Father Maher points out the significance of this recovery of Tatian's work in these terms: "In the first place, it establishes beyond the possibility of dispute henceforward that already in the middle of the second century—within fifty years of the composition of St. John's Gospel—our present four canonical Gospels held, in the universal esteem of the Church, an absolutely unique position, standing out in the boldest relief from all other writings dealing with our Lord's life. Secondly, through the extreme pains and care devoted by Tatian to preserve in his narrative even the most minute fragments and words of these Gospels, the *Diatessaron* proves that in the minds of the Christian world of that day every sentence and syllable, every jot and tittle of these Gospels possessed a peculiar sacredness, which distinguished them from all other human writings. Thirdly, this work presents new and powerful confirmatory evidence of the integrity of our present Gospels as regards their entire contents. For we find here, and therefore forming part of the received copies of the Gospels in Tatian's time, numerous passages attacked as interpolations by modern critics on more or less plausible grounds." It is to be noted, however, that the pericope John viii. 1-11 is not to be found in the *Diatessaron*. It contains both Mark xvi. 9-20 and John v. 4.

CHRISTIAN THOUGHT.

THE STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS OF EVANGELICALISM.

By REV. A. H. CRAUFURD.

MR. COTTER MORISON in his strange and futile book, "The Service of Man," especially singles out for severest condemnation the central core of Christianity, the Evangelical doctrines of the forgiveness of sins and of the possibility of genuine moral transformations of character, whether these doctrines are propounded by Mr. Spurgeon or by Dr. Pusey.

Reading Mr. Morison's book as a convinced Christian of the Broad Church school, I was most deeply impressed with a renewed sense of the vast moral power of the teaching so loathed by this stern philosopher. Towards the close of his volume this fierce opponent of our religion makes this pro-

foundly significant confession: "Nothing is gained by disguising the fact that there is no remedy for a bad heart, and no substitute for a good one." It is instructive to contrast this mournful and depressing admission with the buoyant and refreshing hopefulness that pervades the whole teaching of Jesus: "They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick." It was to the *lost* sheep that Christ felt that He was most truly sent. That the Divine Man, age after age, "receiveth sinners," ought not to be deemed a reproach to Him by a moralist who is reluctantly constrained to confess that he himself can do nothing for them.

Of course, if a man were perfectly dehumanized, if he had become a tiger or an ape, nothing short of a miracle could redeem him. But Mr. Morison was not speaking of such a case, but of the vast mass of ordinary sinners. I rather wonder whether this unrelenting and unhopeful philosopher ever heard of Charles Reade's wise and touching story, *It is Never Too Late to Mend*. Therein he might have seen those very processes of moral conversion being actually accomplished which he had pronounced to be impossible.

To me, at the present time, it appears that one of the bits of work best worth doing would be to detach the really saving and operative truths of Evangelical religion from the great mass of futile and repulsive absurdities in which they are now imbedded. The husk of what is commonly called Low Church Christianity is unsightly enough, but that is no real reason for casting away the kernel.

The work called *Lux Mundi* has shown us that the High Church party is drawing nearer to "Broad" ideas. And, in a similar way, I think that the marvellous popularity of Mr. Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* has testified to the fact that there is a widespread conviction that a *philosophy* of Evangelicalism, or a recasting of its fundamental doctrines, is a *desideratum*. But certainly intellectual redemption will not come by the methods used by Mr. Drummond. Philosophy cannot be satisfied or lured into allegiance either by the detection of fanciful analogies or by the quotation of irrelevant texts of the Bible.

On the whole, it seems to me that the intellectualizing of Evangelicalism, the rational statement of its deepest moral and spiritual ideas, is a far easier and more hopeful enterprise than a similar attempt with regard to High Church teaching would be. The seat of authority in religion is fundamentally the same in all sane Protestantism, whereas in Romanism and High Anglicanism it is widely different. The eyes of these latter religions are in the backs of their heads. Their favourite formula or war-cry, the "*Semper, ubique, ab omnibus*," is a kind of negation of progress, a declaration that their religion is essentially a quotation. They live by precedents. Thought in their case can never be adequately free. The *idea* of an Œcumenical Council, as a protest against the supposed decease of the Holy Spirit and the sealing up of the sources of inspiration, is excellent; but in *practice* such Councils are narrow, essentially sectarian, and unprogressive. The doctrine of development in the Church seems to open the way for the

reception of new truths, but the new truths almost always turn out to be only amplifications of old dogmas, devitalized petrifications dressed up in a modern garb, and vainly claiming affinity with modern thought. At the best, when baptizing new truths, the Church usually takes care to dwarf and distort them.

On the other hand, the best and finest sort of "Broad" religion appears in many ways to be a sort of Evangelicalism that has "come to itself," reconciled itself with reason, and learnt, like Paul, to "put away childish things." All genuinely Protestant thought is potentially "Broad."

Let us, therefore, inquire briefly as to what constitutes the moral force of Evangelical religion, wherein consist its chief defects, and how far the former can really be detached from the latter.

Now, to me it seems that the doctrine of the free forgiveness of sins, so far from being immoral in its results, as Mr. Cotter Morison declares it to be, is a vast storehouse of moral strength and renewal. Pardon is often far more truly remedial than punishment. Pity moves the heart of man incomparably more than bare justice ever does. Which of us does not perceive that Mrs. Browning's noble interpretation of the look which Jesus cast on cowardly Peter is the right one, and that the reproachful compassion of Christ, with its implicit promise of undying love, and its fine latent innuendo as to Peter's capacity for higher things, was a greater and more constraining moral force than any amount of merited denunciations could have been?

Truly, we often wish to turn our backs on our past lives, in some way to cancel them, and then to rise on our dead selves to higher things. And nature often freezes incipient penitence by her stern declaration of the irreparable consequences of bygone transgressions. Even fear of the better sort implies some dim faith in the Divine mercy, as the Psalmist perceived. The doctrine that "whatsoever a man soweth that"—and (by implication) nothing else—"shall he also reap," taken alone and without mitigation through co-operating sympathy, would, in a vast number of cases, fill the sinner only with the hopeless apathy of despair. The "eternal Gospel" of God's pitying Fatherhood is a necessary moral complement to the appalling sternness of the ethics of nature. Nature teaches fatalism. She denies that a man can redeem himself, and so she opens the way to religion with its doctrine of vicarious suffering and redemption wrought for us by a power higher than our own conscious selves. Since we cannot reconcile ourselves to God, if help is to come to us at all; it must come from God reconciling us to Himself. God must justify us or bring us into a right relation with Himself. The dislocated limb cannot restore itself.

Moreover, self-forgiveness is often exceedingly difficult. We often loathe ourselves. And here Evangelicalism often aids us greatly. Its doctrines of justification by faith and of imputed righteousness really mean justification by *anticipation*. That is the vital significance of these apparently irrational doctrines. God, the great Idealist of the universe, sees the glorious end even in the unpromising beginning, and is thus "satisfied," and loves His children,

not for what they actually are, but for what they have it in them to become. Thus we are potentially rich, whilst actually beggars. We are genuine "heirs" of the vast moral riches of God. What Jesus was on earth, that we are destined to be eventually. He is our ideal, the true self of each of us, the permanent root of our transient moral characters, at once a haunting reproach and a blessed encouragement, a secret "well of water" safe from all possible defilement, and springing up into life eternal.

The ways of the Eternal Spirit are full of surprises and paradoxes. Age after age "God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise." Intellectually, the Evangelicalism of John Newton and of the poet Cowper had, to fastidious tastes, "nor form nor comeliness." Yet with the lowly *peasant* form of that despised religion it might well be thought that the Eternal Pity itself had freely communed, till its heart was on fire, and "burned" with quenchless moral enthusiasm. Sentiment, disdained by Rationalists of the shallower sort, and disdained also by High-and-dry divines, found a dwelling-place in the hearts and homes of simple-minded Low Church piety. And sentiment is, in reality, a far more potent moral force than mere reason.

Man's bodily ailments are often best ministered to by the tonic agency of poisons. And in the ethical and spiritual world the highest life is frequently quickened and invigorated by teaching usually stigmatized as dangerous and pernicious. Many a saint has been well nourished by abhorred heresies. Antinomianism has often been a source of sublime moral energy and power in the religious world. The very life of Evangelical teaching has frequently been in its supposed weakness. Mr. Cotter Morison attacks Mr. Spurgeon just where he was strong, viz., when he forgot all about his Judaic curses, and poured out love and compassion upon erring sinners. The words of the great Baptist preacher which so offended the strict moralist were these: "You great sinners shall have no back seats in heaven. There shall be no outer court for you. You great sinners shall have as much love as the best, as much joy as the brightest of saints. You shall be near to Christ."

Even so one thinks that "Dinah Morris" must have preached to sinful rustics. And who that knows anything of the heart of man can for one moment doubt that the fullest and freest declaration of God's fathomless love has, in millions of cases, touched and stirred the souls of the wicked, deep down in their very depths where no storms or thunderbolts of anathemas can ever reach? Perhaps the old story of the Prodigal Son is more efficacious as it is, with its tender and profoundly human antinomianism, than it would be if the father were made to go forth with his hands full of tracts about fire and worms, or dry treatises on the claims of an austere and pedantic justice. It is by loving the unworthy that we enable them to become good.

To the Evangelical party we all owe a great debt. It proclaimed the abiding love of God for sinners far more effectually than the old High-and-dry Anglican divines ever did, though I am thankful to say that some modern

Ritualists have learnt the secret which their predecessors ignored or despised. Refreshing, indeed, was the tender pity poured forth so freely over the unworthy in Cowper's hymns, when compared with the dry didactic wisdom contained in that most unimpressive book, once so widely read, *The Whole Duty of Man*. However much the old Low Church teachers may have erred in their views as to hell, to those within the fold, to those who accepted Christ, they were far more pitiful than High Anglican divines were. They *alone* in England, excepting perhaps a Unitarian here and there, fearlessly proclaimed the *unchanging* and *absolute* love of God and Christ, the great fact that "having loved His own, He loved them unto the end," that no sins caused Him to desert them. And in this fact was even then implicitly contained the "Broad" teaching as to universal salvation.

The High Church party were, and to a great extent still are, far too much inclined to overrate the moral efficacy of that "law" which St. Paul found so futile as a helper. We must work from within to without. Of what use are more laws if the same old law-breaker is to keep them? Did any one ever yet obtain strength in his legs by staring at a sign-post? Enthusiasm is more potent than any amount of laws; and enthusiasm or fervour such as that of Luther is often in direct antagonism with recognized law.

Hence we find that, even in our days, rational Evangelicalism is far more suited to meet the needs of very *vivid* natures than High Anglicanism is. It does not make authority so oppressive. It has more room for emotional and moral originality, even though these should be without precedent. It realizes far more than its old opponent does the apparent lawlessness of genuine emotional life, that "the wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth." It does not expect Divine grace to flow always in one appointed channel. In this respect Evangelical religion is more human and genuinely Catholic than High Church religion is. It is nearer to the "multitude" still leading the old instinctive life. Thus I have found by experience that it is more suited to soldiers with their strong feelings and their undeveloped intellects. Priestly theories also tend to diminish the sense of the radical oneness of human nature; they seem implicitly to deny that the whole world is kin. And so, in a very real sense, we may say that to be clerically minded is death and isolation, but to be humanly minded is life and fellowship.

The lofty spirituality of Low Church piety has also been a great power. High Church doctrines often seem a kind of denial of the fundamental truth that "the kingdom of God is within us." As an *ideal*, Quakerism is far higher than Sacramentalism. The seer in the Apocalypse saw no temple in the great realm of realities behind the veil. Evangelicalism is also free from the ludicrous teaching of the High Anglicans as to regeneration, though it has some errors of its own on this subject. It is free to join with Broad Church teachers in proclaiming the truth that Ecclesiasticism is a foe of true religion, that the external and conventional are of only transient value, that

the soul is greater than any ordinances, and the Divine kingdom far larger than any existing Church. "God is a Spirit." The wish in some measure to localize the Divine operations seems to link High Church theology with its old enemies the English Deists, whose fatal belief it was that God's agency on earth is transitive and occasional, and not immanent and abiding. Even in the Roman Catholic Church a kind of semi-Evangelical mysticism has been to some extent a corrective of semi-Deistic errors.

The defects of ordinary Low Church religion are many, grave, and palpable. In the first place, its theory as to the subordination of reason and the plenary inspiration of that great library called the Bible is obviously absurd. Nothing can be plainer than that the Bible contains widely varying degrees both of intellectual and of moral insight. Inspiration was not given to fetter reason or cancel genius. On the contrary, it presupposed certain high mental and spiritual endowments. In the Bible we see the noblest thought *in the making*. Jesus, with His sublime faith in the infinitude of the soul of man, had evidently no belief whatsoever in the finality of any written revelation. For Him the Holy Ghost was neither dead nor dying. Throughout all ages He would have us keep open the avenues to higher knowledge, and resist the soul-cramping tyranny alike of Churches and of libraries. No inspired men care much for precedents. Very vivid moral and spiritual natures often rebel against a despotic Bible just as much as against a despotic Church. Luther found the Epistle of St. James quite as irksome as any Papal decrees.

That fine irony which pervades all human life seems often to concentrate itself in the history of religion. And thus we find in our own days the somewhat startling fact that the "good news" and the doctrine of eternal torments, though absolutely incompatible, are taken to be but two aspects of one revealed truth. "Out of the same mouth proceedeth blessing and cursing." The old Jews were a little more consistent. They kept Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal separate. We need no more learned treatises about eternal torments. All free intellects perceive clearly what the instincts of the unsophisticated multitude feel strongly, viz., the truth that God cannot be at once love and hatred towards the same creatures. The way in which Evangelicals cling to the doctrine of eternal torments reminds one very much of the way in which the Jewish Christians clung to the faith of the damnation of the Gentiles. In both cases alike the letter of the Bible favoured the narrower view, and the whole genius of the religion clamoured loudly for the broader one.

Evangelicalism must also learn to be more natural and less mournful, if it would remain a real moral power. The austere sectarian gloom of Puritanism was utterly alien from the very genius of Jesus, who loved nature and the simple human instincts of our race. The erroneous idea of the early Christians, that the end of the world was immediately coming, has darkened and impoverished the life of Christendom long enough. To redeem and ennoble the world is a better work than to frown on it. Whilst astronomy

has lessened the apparent importance of our planet, *time* has vastly enhanced its significance as the scene of a gloriously progressive moral education for hundreds or thousands of generations of noble spirits. To St. Paul this world appeared as an evanescent vestibule of the great hall of judgment. To us it is a grand and enduring university for souls. And so our Bibles cannot be to us merely railway guides to another world.

One of the very greatest hindrances to the efficiency of Evangelical teachers in the past has been their strange lack of all sense of humour. They must learn to laugh with those that laugh, if they would really influence mankind.

The Low Church teaching as to man's total depravity and as to the nature of conversion has been, and still is, false and misleading, as well as morally discouraging. Evangelicalism must study psychology more carefully. It must learn that man's *whole being* is indeed "an awful place," that God besets us "behind" as well as before, that the Infinite lurks even in the rudest forms of nascent heroism and unselfishness, that God's immanent agency stretches down to the very roots of our nature, and plants the germs of loftiest sanctity amidst the blindly groping primal instincts of our pilgrim race. The true regeneration is profoundly natural. It "cometh not with observation." This "miracle" does *not* mean "monster." It is "one with the blowing clover and the falling rain." The ways of the Eternal Spirit are finer and more subtle than ecclesiastics perceive. The High Church doctrine of baptismal regeneration is but a coarse travesty of an inward and essential verity, a mimicry of hidden vital processes by a materialistic mechanicalness. And the Low Church teaching of sudden conversion through terror and alarm is but an expression of man's spiritual incompetence to discern the indwelling Divine activity touching to fine issues, with master hand, those glorious potential faculties which, like the material atoms, are never really stagnant and at rest, but throbbing with the vitalizing force of an imperceptible inspirer. The doctrine of God's *occasional* presence in man's soul seems to imply and emphasize the fact of His habitual absence.

Mr. Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, though interesting and suggestive in many ways, only deepens the early darkness of Evangelicalism as to conversion. This writer makes the great gulf between the converted and unconverted greater than ever. He teaches that there is as much or more difference between the finest characters in the natural world and the lowest in the spiritual world as there is between a stone and a plant. Obviously such doctrine is ethically and spiritually fatal. It is but a pseudo-scientific rehabilitation of the old soul-depressing Calvinism. No truly philosophical observer can receive such doctrine; and its religious effects can only be deplorable. It gives men a perfectly valid and logical excuse for neglecting religion. Their only strength henceforth is to sit still. In his desire to differentiate spiritual life, Mr. Drummond has hopelessly limited its area, and has totally ignored the plain Biblical declaration that "every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from

the Father of lights." God paints the wayside flowers of the moral and spiritual worlds quite as truly as He paints the glorious pageantry of their sun and moon and stars. To ignore God's homelier activities, whilst marvelling at His prodigies, is assuredly to exhibit the innate vulgarity of shallow and unbelieving belief.

Evangelical religion must also, if it wish to survive, reshape its doctrine of the atonement, and drive the money-changers out of its temple. Once more the glorious sacrifice of Christ must be brought into closest harmony with human heroism and disinterested love. Theories of the atonement and schemes of salvation—as if the power of God were sorely hampered by the evil one—do not help us in the least. The simple faith of our Lord's earliest followers, the sublime conviction that "the Good Shepherd giveth His life for the sheep," is what we really need. All else on this subject is but verbiage, or the ambitious systematizing of ignorant children. We know that Jesus came to reconcile us to the Father, and that is enough. In His wounds all human sorrows can hide themselves.

Low Church religion has in past times been terribly coarsened by its semi-commercial theories as to the atonement. The noblest of all moral qualities, disinterestedness, has been in great measure denied to God and altogether denied to man. The one was represented as rigidly demanding the very fullest compensation—as if any addition *could* be made to His infinite riches—and the other as stoutly sticking for his bond. Assuredly George Eliot was quite right in exposing the coarse selfishness of the religion of Dr. Cumming and the poet Young. A goodness that is devoid of generosity is no real goodness. In our days we are learning a deeper moral philosophy than that of Paley and his school. We perceive that disinterested admiration and keen sympathy are the very best and most operative ingredients of man's higher life. These influence the heart and soul down to their very depths, whereas fear and prudential self-regard touch only the *surface* of our spiritual nature.

Lastly, I quite believe that the illumination of Evangelical religion is perfectly possible, that its deep and pathetic moral and spiritual truths can be detached from its disfiguring errors. It will then be the same, and yet not the same, as it was, just as the true but cramped hearts of the earlier Christians were enlarged and altered by the subsequent outpouring of the Holy Spirit. The religion of Erskine of Linlathen, of Maurice, and of Robertson, was but the old tender religion of the poet Cowper after it had been enlarged by listening to those "many things" which age after age the Spirit of Jesus has to say to those prepared to "bear them." If Evangelicalism will but arise and shine now that its light has come, if it will welcome reason, if it will discern in altruism a nearer approach to the sacred character of Jesus, and in universalism a more adequate interpretation of His undying love; if it will put on henceforth the glorious apparel of a disinterested devotion to goodness and a profound faith in humanity and its splendid destiny; if it will frankly abandon the provisional Judaic teaching of Moses

and Elias, and be content to commune with the universal Spirit of Jesus only, then it may fearlessly chant its "Non Omnis Moriar," even now in the days of its apparent decrepitude, and the hellish gates of a devastating Atheism shall not prevail against it. For man cannot live long on mere negations. Till man's mind shall cease to wonder, till man's spirit shall cease to aspire, till man's heart shall cease to ache and yearn, Jesus the revealer of God's moral wisdom and the very incarnation of God's deathless pity, Jesus the very prototype of all true Evangelicals, will live, and breathe, and energize in our struggling, complex, and most miraculous nature. "Why seek ye the living among the dead?" Not in the Judæa of withered and decaying dogmas, but in the free Galilee of a broadly human fellowship, shall we most truly find that great Interpreter and Master of the soul of man, who, age after age, dies in order that He may more really live, sheds the transient that He may disclose the eternal, and through the very grave and gate of death, through black abysses of despair and unbelief, leads His astonished followers on to nobler heights of knowledge and more glorious worlds of love.

BIBLICAL THOUGHT.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

By REV. J. E. H. THOMSON, B.D.

THE two opposed views of the date of the Book of Daniel involve opposed views of its structure. It is clear that if the ordinarily received critical date of Daniel—the age of the Maccabees—be accepted as true, then the book must be regarded as a work of imagination, a sacred romance written for the purpose of encouraging the Israelitish people in their resistance to the Hellenic kingdom of Syria. It follows from this that there is no prophecy in the ordinary sense of the word in Daniel, that the appearance of prophecy is merely a literary device to bring the lessons from the events alleged to have occurred in Babylon during the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and of Darius the Mede into line with the times and struggles of the Maccabees.

The orthodox traditional view of Daniel is that it recounts events that really occurred at the time and in the connection in which they are recorded. This view necessitates the maintenance of a date for Daniel much earlier than critics would agree to. Many of the orthodox traditional school have gone further, and seem to think there is no possibility that those who oppose them have any claim to the title Christian, that the denial of the historicity of Daniel involves the denial of inspiration, of miracles, of prophecy, and of the Christian faith generally.

This attitude is at once unfair and unwise; unfair, because many maintain Daniel to be a historical novel, and yet maintain that the Divine Spirit

inspired the author to write this book as the author of Job, that yet greater work, was inspired for his task ; unwise, because it involves the essentials of the faith in regard to a matter that in itself, at all events, is not essential. The evidence of the Lord's resurrection is one thing, and evidence for the date of Daniel is a totally different thing. It is a matter simply for scientific investigation. Of course, the rationalistic critics are in many instances as unfair and yet more unwise. They answer arguments at times merely by supercilious sneers, and that is unfair ; and it is unwise tacitly to assume principles of judgment which, if carried out to their legitimate conclusion, involve consequences not dreamt of by many of their supporters.

It seems a comparatively simple matter, and certainly it is an obviously necessary one, to see what might be reasonably expected to be the characteristics of such a religious romance as Daniel is supposed by critics to be. In doing so, we must bear in mind it is a religious romance with a definite purpose, and that purpose, we are assured, was to stimulate the courage of the Jews against Epiphanes. If the Book of Daniel is a romance of that kind, it must manifest the characteristic features of such romances. Human nature is, in the main, the same in all ages ; and the laws of composition, therefore, must be essentially the same also.

The primary characteristic that, as a work of fancy and of art, such a romance must necessarily present is *unity*. This unity must be obvious and striking, for the vogue the Book of Daniel gained so shortly after its publication—if it was published in the days of the Maccabees—proves it, if a romance, to have been a consummate work of art. It not only was received by the Essenes, who dealt in apocalyptic literature, and led them further in their course of apocalyptic composition, but gained the favour of the Pharisees and Sadducees. The Pharisees were full of Messianic enthusiasm, but very soon broke from the Hasmoneans ; the Sadducees had no Messianic hopes, but supported John Hyrcanus and the later Hasmoneans ; yet both acknowledged Daniel. Its artistic power must have been great to have bridged over such oppositions. But artistic power is manifested by the springing up of imitations. The whole range of apocalyptic literature is due to Daniel. As a work of art, unity must be its first characteristic.

But it may be objected that the Koran has had immense influence, and no one can accuse it of being a unity ; nay, no one can say that more than a minority of the *suras* are unities. Of course, as a matter of literary history the origin of the present Koran by the editing of the confused fragments left by Mohammed easily explains the want of unity ; but the reason of the popularity, despite this, is to be found in the unique personality of Mohammed. Had Mohammed merely written the Koran, and had he been nothing more than its author, the Koran would never have been known beyond Mecca in point of space, or the generation of Mohammed in point of time.

On the other hand, unity is not necessary to the popularity of a record of facts. If in the time when the mind of a community is yet heaving with emotion, the facts connected therewith are put on record, then the book

narrating these facts may become popular, although it has no artistic unity. Thus the *Scots Worthies*, written by Howie of Lochgiel, the Covenanter, was so popular in the end of last century as to be in almost every cottage in Scotland; yet it has no literary quality whatever, but is a record of facts that had been centres of emotion in a generation but just passed away.

Let us now see whether there are any tokens of this unity in the Book of Daniel. This unity must be a unity of a purpose which shall be obvious in every part of the book. To that purpose every portion of the whole must be subordinated. The purpose assigned by critics is certainly an adequate one, the encouragement of the Jews in their struggle against Epiphanes. Nebuchadnezzar is said to be the representative of Epiphanes, and the lycanthropy of the former a reference to the punning nickname *Epimanes*, given by the Antiochian mob to this king—the fact that Nebuchadnezzar associated with the beasts pointing to Epiphanes associating with low companions. If this be the case, certainly there is an adequate purpose, and the central figure, one suited to sustain the stress of being the proof of this unity, the centre round which the parts revolve. But does careful study of the book bear out this view? We, for our part, think not.

It is quite true that in the first four chapters Nebuchadnezzar is the central figure, but he disappears in the fifth chapter, and Belshazzar reigns in his stead, either as king or deputy-king; while in the sixth chapter we have Darius the Mede on the throne. The latter six chapters are all visions, and not one of them is even dated as in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. If, however, we restrict ourselves to the chapters in which Nebuchadnezzar is mentioned, do we find any parallelism between the character ascribed to Nebuchadnezzar and that of Epiphanes, or any similarity between the feelings excited by the character of Nebuchadnezzar and those excited by the character of Epiphanes? Take the character first. Certainly Nebuchadnezzar was arbitrary and imperious, but that is merely saying that he was an Oriental monarch. There is nothing small or pitiful in his character. We can never think of the Nebuchadnezzar of Daniel throwing aside the cares of empire in order to boose with mechanics. That is recorded of Epiphanes by Polybius. The back of Epiphanes is always ready to cringe to the Romans, if his hands are ready to tear in cruelty races subject to him, but there are no signs of cringing in Nebuchadnezzar. Again, no one can fail to notice how sensitive Nebuchadnezzar is to the spiritual influences. The interpretation of his dream at once brings to his lips the confession of the greatness of Jehovah. The deliverance of the three Hebrew children deepens the conviction he has, and leads to a stronger acknowledgment of it. When he recovers from his lycanthropy he practically acknowledges himself a worshipper of Jehovah. No one would accuse Epiphanes of any such sensitiveness. Any one who asserts an identity between the character of Epiphanes and that ascribed to Nebuchadnezzar must do so in defiance of fact, simply because his theory demands it.

Let us now compare the feelings excited in the Jews by the one and the other as exhibited in the Book of Daniel. We here assume, for the sake of argument, the critical position that Daniel was written in the days of the Maccabees. Let us, then, see how the writer describes Epiphanes. In the eleventh chapter, twenty-first verse, he is described as "a vile person," *וְאִישׁ נִדְבָּשׁ* one despised. No one can say that Nebuchadnezzar is so represented in Daniel. When he interprets Nebuchadnezzar's vision of the four empires, Daniel says, "Thou art this head of gold." The monarch whose symbol was the "golden head" could never be the symbol of the vile person. The power and character of Nebuchadnezzar are represented as having impressed Daniel so much that he regards him as the most godlike of monarchs. When again Daniel stands before Nebuchadnezzar to interpret to him the dream that foretells his lycanthropy, Daniel is overwhelmed with sorrow, and says, "My lord, let the dream be on them that hate thee, and the interpretation on thine enemies." It cannot be said this is due merely to Eastern courtliness, because in the very next chapter Daniel takes up a totally different attitude in regard to Belshazzar. He, the captive counsellor, has a love for the grand impulsive despot. No Jew could have that feeling toward Epiphanes, the despised person who obtained the kingdom by flatteries. As a matter of fact, I do not think the eleventh chapter to be part of the original Book of Daniel, but I do think it was written during the time of the Maccabees. As such it gives the impression made by Epiphanes on contemporary Jews. To assert that Nebuchadnezzar is intended to represent Epiphanes is simply to deny facts. There is, therefore, no unity so far as the central character is concerned.

Another idea is that the history of Daniel as a romance is modelled on the history of Joseph. Certainly both Joseph and Daniel are captives, both dream and interpret dreams, and both are raised to high estate. But a little careful consideration will show the essential differences subsisting, which put in the shade these superficial points of resemblance. As we learn from the 105th psalm, and from Stephen's speech, Acts vii., two points in the history of Joseph impressed the Jews—the fact that his brethren who had sold him for a slave had accepted benefits from his hands, and that his captivity in Egypt was intended by God to further the deliverance of His people ultimately. In neither of these points is there any resemblance to what occurred to Daniel. The temptation would have been considerable to a romance writer of the age of the Maccabees to give his hero a prominent share in the return from Babylon, seeing there was a Daniel who did occupy a prominent position as we see from Ezra viii. 2. Although, according to present punctuation, he is called the head of the sons of Ithamar, if we neglect this, he might as naturally be regarded as the head of the sons of David. If it be objected that the date of Ezra rendered it impossible for Daniel to have been living then, it must be answered, No one who knows anything of Jewish literature would believe that any Jewish romance writer would regard that as an obstacle. He would either have made Daniel live a couple of centuries, or have ignored

the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses, and Xerxes. Such accuracy is not after the manner of the Jews. Nor can we avoid noticing the fact that while Joseph is made the *second* person in the kingdom, Daniel is only made the *third*. This, however, we would not press.

If we look at the purpose assigned to the book—strengthening the courage of the Jews in the struggles against the Seleucid kingdom—and regard it as a piece of rhetoric, do we find it eminently suited for its purpose? I confess I do not think so. Rebellion against Epiphanes and resistance to his commands was the duty impressed upon the Jews by Mattathias and his sons. There is no hint at rebellion against Nebuchadnezzar being ever contemplated. We could have imagined how a stirring story could have been composed which should have shown how the armies of Nebuchadnezzar were foiled and overthrown by the valour of Israel under the direction and with the help of Israel's God. It might have shown that weak instruments might be chosen for this end, so that Jewish valour was, so to say, put to the one side; but discomfiture of armies must have formed a marked portion of the narrative. We see the kind of thing that would have been produced if this purpose had been the formative cause of Daniel in the Apocryphal Book of Judith. Every critic regards that book as the product of a period of struggle, and intended for the encouraging of the combatants on the side of the holy people, whether we place it as early as the Maccabean conflict or as late, with Volkmar, as the days of Bar-coch-ba. And it was eminently fitted to encourage combatants engaged in a struggle like that of the Maccabees.

Had the assumption been that Daniel was composed of real historical incidents selected with a view to a given purpose, there might be less of unity than in a work of fiction. The unity would be even less if the incidents were selected and arranged, not with any general purpose, but simply from the recognition of something interesting and striking in the incidents themselves. In such a case a book with little artistic unity might have great popularity. Few books, as we have said, have less claim to be artistic than Howie's *Scots Worthies*, yet few religious books are as popular in Scotland. The popularity of this book was due to this—that it was fact, not imagination. Judging by the eleventh chapter of Hebrews, the Book of Judges was much more inspiring than the Book of Daniel. The aged Mattathias certainly quotes Daniel on his death-bed as an encouragement to his sons, but a little consideration will show, although this was the case, the instances chosen were not naturally fitted for the purpose designed, and therefore evidently, as we hope later to show, those actually used by the dying priest.

Further, there are certain negative characteristics, the want of which at once puts a book outside the pale of art. If the book is to be an artistic work, it must have no *obvious* contradictions. We use the word "*obvious*" advisedly. There may be contradictions which the minute critic may discover by comparing portion with portion; if these, however, do not obtrude themselves on the ordinary reader, the work is none the less artistic. Some

critic has discovered that in *Nicholas Nickleby*, between two meetings of the hero and his sister, the one passes through three weeks, the other as many months. The work is none the less artistic because of this inaccuracy, for the contradiction would not be noticed by any one who was not intent on making a chronology of the novel in question.

On the other hand, history may show what appear glaring contradictions, yet fulfil its functions, provided there may be some way out of the apparent contradictions. Thus Guizot, in his *English Revolution of 1640*, after giving an account of how December, 1648, was spent in preparing for the trial of Charles, brings us, without warning, into January, during which the trial actually took place, followed by the execution of the unfortunate monarch. He proceeds then to tell us that on the lid of the coffin was this inscription, "Charles Rex, 1648." This seems an obvious contradiction, till we remember that in those days, in England, the civil year began on March 25th.

One of the alleged self-contradictions in the Book of Daniel is that while in the first chapter, verse 21, we are told Daniel continued until the first year of Cyrus, in the first verse of the tenth chapter we have the third year of Cyrus dated from When we learn that Cyrus was two years king of Nations before he assumed the title king of Babil, the first chapter states the termination of Daniel's life according to the chronology of Babylon, whereas in the tenth chapter Cyrus is dated from as king of Nations. Thus the contradiction is removed. The Book of Daniel in this respect is more like a historic work than a work of fiction.

Another negative characteristic we may notice, but only notice, is that no successful work of fiction ever was composed in two languages. Historic works often contain in notes or appendices—devices unknown for centuries after Daniel—long portions in various languages different from that in which the main body of the book is written. It is notorious that the Book of Daniel is written partly in Hebrew and partly in Aramaic. Of course every one is aware of the various reasons assigned for this twofoldness of the Book of Daniel. Yet if the introduction of Aramaic was due to the destruction of exemplars so that of six chapters only an Aramaic version remained still, as the popularity of Daniel was achieved when it had been thus mutilated, the peculiarity we have referred to yet remains. If it is a work of imagination, it is unique; it was written in two languages, and was yet popular.

Further, it seems difficult to conceive a work of imagination composed in two separate divisions, the one historic and written of the man who gives the name to the book, the other visionary and purporting to be written by him under whose name it goes. It seems difficult to conceive any way better fitted to dissolve all unity than this. It seems impossible to think that any writer capable of composing the visions of Daniel could have been so blind to the defects of such a method. The phenomena in question, that is to say the two chronologically arranged series, the one biographical, containing incident, and the other prophetic, containing visions, could be explained on Dr. Wright's hypothesis, with variations, that our Daniel is an epitome of

two works, one a biography, the other an apocalypse ; or, as it seems to us, more easily explicable on the theory that Daniel was originally composed in "broadsheets," and then collected, much as Mohammed's Koran was collected.

Another point to be noted is that the more rigid the unity in a work, the less liable is it to interpolation ; but the less of a unity it is, the more is it liable to suffer from false additions. The symmetry of the 119th psalm has preserved it from interpolation ; on the other hand, no book has suffered nearly as much as the *Oracula Sibyllina*. No Biblical book has suffered nearly so much from the hands of the interpolators as has the Book of Daniel.

Another line of investigation may be taken. When a pseudepigraphon was published, the name annexed to it had usually something either from its meaning or from its historic connotation which afforded a starting-point for the book in question. Let us see whether on any of these grounds there is a reason for the name Daniel being ascribed to the book.

Let us look at the name. It is certainly a significant name, but that is not saying much, as all Hebrew names were significant. It may mean either "God is my Judge," or, following the analogy of Gabriel (גַּבְרִיֵּאל), it may mean "the Divine Judge." If the contents of the book fitted either of these significations, something might be said for it being a fictitious composition. On the hypothesis that the first exhibits the true meaning of the name, the only incident that seems to fit this significance is the story of Daniel in the lions' den, related in the sixth chapter. Even it, however, does not so clearly exhibit this as might have been expected. The incident rather shows God's defence of His faithful servants than His vindication of their righteousness, which certainly is the characteristic of the Divine nature suggested by this interpretation of the name Daniel.

On the other supposition that Hitzig's suggestion is correct, that the name Daniel means "the Judge of God," "the Divine Judge," then there is no portion of the canonical Daniel which has any trace that the name on this hypothesis had anything to do with the structure of the book. The story of "Susanna and the Elders" at once shows the kind of thing that would be produced by the imagination acting merely on the name. This story suits the name Daniel so admirably that M. Renan is sure that this represents the original form of the Daniel legend. That, however, is a mere travesty of criticism. The canonical book has no trace of being written up to the name Daniel in this latter sense.

If, however, we take the later Jewish apocalypses, and guide our expectations by them, we should expect to find that Daniel was a very noted man, one to whom revelations had, according to Scripture or tradition, been made. The most noted of these apocalyptic books is the Book of Enoch. Tradition and Scripture had alike pointed him out as one who had received revelations. Noah was a preacher of righteousness, and had it revealed to him that the flood was coming, hence the composition of those Noachian fragments included in the second Book of Enoch. Adam, the first father of the race, had revelations made to him : hence we have the Testament of

Adam. There were also Testaments of Abraham and of the twelve patriarchs. No man had more revelations made to him than Moses, so we find the Apocalypse or Assumption of Moses. We might go on to speak of the Psalter of Solomon, the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Apocalypse of Elijah; all these bear out our contention that the men in whose name these apocalypses were composed were men of mark. When we turn to the few references to Daniel outside the Book of Daniel, there seems nothing to suggest such a character as a suitable one to affix revelations to.

There is no doubt that there was a person, actual or legendary, named Daniel—the references in Ezekiel prove this. If we find the characteristics assigned to Daniel in Ezekiel are such as are fitted to suggest the incidents and visions of the Book of Daniel, then a fair case might be made out that it was the product of a *falsarius*. We do not in the first instance consider the question of the actuality of Daniel, but only the character attributed to him by Ezekiel. The first thing to be noted is that Daniel is placed along with Noah and Job, and the three reckoned so supremely righteous men that their presence might have been supposed to guarantee the safety of Jerusalem if they had been in it (Ezek. xiv. 14, v. 20). While there is nothing in the Book of Daniel to contradict this view, and much to confirm it, there is nothing to indicate that it has been written with a view to illustrate this. The story of the three Hebrew children may be regarded as the greatest exhibition of righteousness, but Daniel has neither part nor lot in their trial. In Ezek. xxviii. 3 super-eminent wisdom is ascribed to Daniel. In this chapter the prophet is engaged in denouncing the iniquities of Tyre in the person of its angel prince. He says, "Behold, thou art wiser than Daniel; there is no secret they can hide from thee." What was the Jewish notion of wisdom, חכמה, at the time when critics say Daniel was composed? Slightly earlier than the date to which Daniel is assigned was written Ecclesiasticus, and shortly after the Wisdom of Solomon. In neither of these books is there any hint that apocalyptic visions had anything to do with wisdom in these books, as in Proverbs and Ecclesiastes are sententious statements of the dictators of prudence. In Job wisdom means the discussion of intricate questions; but that it should mean apocalyptic, this is a new thing. Certainly the interpretation of visions was part of wisdom, but not the only portion. What is said of the Prince of Tyrus, "No secrets they can hide from thee," would rather point to the power of reading riddles, which, as all know, was regarded as a leading test of wisdom in the East. But there is nothing of that sort in our Book of Daniel. It is evident, then, that the Book of Daniel was not written up to the reputation of the man.

Before leaving this, we may look at the question of the date at which the man Daniel referred to by Ezekiel actually lived. Certainly the fact that his name is introduced between Noah and Job would seem to indicate that Daniel was regarded as having lived in a period remote from himself; but it does not necessarily do so. When in any way a contemporary rises

head and shoulders above his fellows, there is a tendency to couple his name not with those of his contemporaries who approach most nearly to him in talent, power, or influence, but rather with the worthies of a bygone age. Instances will easily suggest themselves; not only so, but in states of high excitement even lesser men have a halo thrown round them.

Consider the unique position occupied by Daniel according to the Book of Daniel. He, captive as he is, is raised by his talents and probity to the head of all the wise men of Babylon, to be something not unlike the Chancellor of the Empire in Germany. Would his fellow-captives dwelling by the river Chebar not be prone to exaggerate even the power and importance of their great compatriot, and compare him with such men who had lived aforetime? His youth, so far from lowering him in the minds of his contemporaries, was more likely to heighten the impression made by his rapid elevation.

Leaving the question of the author, a problem difficult of solution is the reason of the two languages used in Daniel. The phenomena are certainly peculiar. Not only is the first chapter of Daniel in Hebrew, but the second chapter opens as if the author intended to write in Hebrew throughout; but in the fourth verse it abruptly said, "Then spake the Chaldeans to the king in Syriack"; and thereafter the book, to the end of the seventh chapter, is written in Chaldee. With the eighth chapter begins the Hebrew anew, and is continued to the end of the book. There are several theories advanced to explain this.

1. There is the theory of Lenormant, supported, with some slight variation, by Mr. Bevan. It is that originally the whole book was written in Hebrew, but that the portion extending from ii. 4 to the end of vii. had been lost, but that an Aramaic version had been preserved of the missing portion, and that this was inserted in the place in manuscripts where the blank occurred. He explains the word אֲרָמָיִת as merely a note placed originally at the margin of a manuscript to indicate that at this point the Aramaic began, which slipped into the text through the mistake of a copyist. He has the same theory as to the force of the word אֲרָמָיִת in Ezra iv. 7. Bevan explains the loss of the Hebrew by the efforts of Epiphanes to destroy all the sacred writings of the Jews. Since Daniel was not inserted in the regular synagogal readings, there were relatively few copies extant, and therefore, he argues, it might easily happen that only one exemplar survived, and it defective. He thinks the author probably wrote two versions of his book, one in Hebrew and the other in Aramaic.

Certainly, in favour of this view is the accidental, hap-hazard way in which the Aramaic enters the narrative. Further, there is the fact that in the Talmud the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra are called *Targum*. However, we must not assume that this meant that the opinion of the Talmudists coincides with that of Lenormant and Mr. Bevan. They simply meant that these portions of Daniel and Ezra were written in Aramaic, the language of the *Targums*, hence they maintained that, although Targum, they "defiled the hands," i.e., were canonical. Further, against this opinion is

the repugnance there was to commit to writing any translation or Targum of the Scripture. We all know that it was probably two centuries after the time of our Lord before the Targum of Onkelos—the earliest of the Targums—was committed to writing. Mr. Bevan's hypothesis of the author himself making an Aramaic version seems devoid of probability, as it certainly is devoid of proof. It seems scarcely likely that any one would desire to palm off "Daniel" as a veritably ancient and sacred book, and yet lessen its sanctity by translating it into Aramaic.

2. There is, next, the theory of Eichhorn, adopted, with variations, by Meinhold, that the Aramaic portion is by a different author from the Hebrew. Meinhold regards the seventh chapter as due to the author of the Hebrew. On any hypothesis of the relative date of the two portions of the Book of Daniel, it seems strange. On Meinhold's hypothesis, that the Aramaic portion is the older by a century and a half, it is difficult to understand why the book was originally written in Chaldee; and, in the next place, it is still more difficult to understand why an imitator who could pen the seventh chapter should depart from his model so far as to write all but the seventh chapter in Hebrew. This latter applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the opposite hypothesis that the Hebrew portions are the older.

3. Another theory is that the difference of language represents difference in date. It is maintained that the Aramaic portions were written—for this view is traditional—under the Babylonian supremacy; the Hebrew under the Persian. The fatal objection to this view is the fact that the eighth chapter, which narrates the vision of the ram and the he-goat, is dated in the reign of Belshazzar, but is written in Hebrew, while the incident of Daniel in the den of lions occurred when Darius the Mede was king. The framers of this explanation have failed to note that there are two columns of dates—one applying to incidents ending with the sixth chapter, the other of visions beginning with the seventh chapter.

4. Merx, according to Lenormant, advances another theory. He maintains that the difference in language was due to the different audience contemplated. Where the contents were relatively simple and suited for the ordinary Jewish society, the language used was Aramaic, the language of commerce and of social intercourse at the time in Babylon. On the other hand, where the visions were more recondite, they were recorded in Hebrew, the language of the learned class. There is certainly a probability that during their captivity the Jewish people were gradually learning the common tongue of Babylon, and losing command of the sacred tongue. It is also certain that Hebrew was kept up by some, probably a learned class. But, waving the question as to whether Daniel is written in Eastern or Western Aramaic, Lenormant's answer seems sufficient. The first chapter, which is simply narrative and therefore by hypothesis fitted for the common people, is written in Hebrew; whereas the account of the combat of the ram and the he-goat, is written in Aramaic. Moreover, there is no proof offered that a

learned class had reached such a definite development as to suggest the use of a different language for them.

5. The view supported by Dr. Pusey and Prof. Keil is that the difference of language is due to a difference of reference. Prophecies that affected the heathen primarily, and the great world-empires, were couched in Aramaic, while visions that referred to the people of God were written in Hebrew. One objection to this view is that it takes no account of narrations. Thus the first chapter, which recounts the training of Daniel and his three companions, is in Hebrew, while the third chapter, which recounts the constancy of the three companions, is in Aramaic. But even in regard to prophecies it is difficult to see on what grounds it can be maintained that the seventh chapter with its account of the four monarchies is more applicable to the heathen world than the eighth chapter with its account of the combat and empires of the ram and the he-goat.

6. The theory of the origin of Daniel which Dr. Wright has indicated in his Introduction to the Old Testament, as that of his forthcoming Commentary, necessitates a special theory of the origin of the two languages. Dr. Wright regards the canonical Book of Daniel as an epitome from a larger work, much as Kings and Chronicles are epitomes. No one who considers the phenomena of the book can fail to see a good deal that is at least plausible in this view. He has given no hint as to how he deals with the question of the two languages. It would seem the most natural way would be to hold that there were two works by Daniel, one in Aramaic and the other in Hebrew, and that one canonical book was an epitome of both; the epitome and extracts from the Aramaic book being in Aramaic, while the Hebrew was epitomized in Hebrew. The main difficulty one feels in adopting the theory of Dr. Wright is that the epitome does not follow the method adopted by the writers of Kings and Chronicles. In Kings and Chronicles intervals of time are bridged over by a sentence or two, in the most compendious method certainly, but still the space is bridged over; but in Daniel there is no attempt to bridge over omitted spaces. Further, the phenomena of the Chigi version are not explicable on that principle.

7. The phenomena presented by the text of the Codex Chisianus as compared with that of the Masoretic has suggested to me another solution of the problem of the two languages, and of the problem of the structure of Daniel. As our readers may remember, the Septuagint Greek differed in some chapters from the Masoretic text in a way that indicated that the received Masoretic-Hebrew text had been interpolated, while in other cases the Chigi seems to have suffered from the interpolators. Such a state of matters indicates, as we said in our former article, that the portions of which our Daniel is composed were published as tracts, and had an individual history external to the collection which forms our canonical book. We would suggest this theory with all diffidence. Should it be urged that the fact that the book according to both recensions contains practically the same portions, we have only to imagine that although the collection of these pamphlets

was practically made from a pure text, the facts were floating about independently, and were getting additions made to them, and thus these additions were inserted into the Masoretic text. Other additions were made to another set of manuscripts, and these additions were transferred to the Chigi. Some of these sacred tracts were in Hebrew, and others in Aramaic, and in the main the Hebrew remained Hebrew and the Aramaic, Aramaic. In the beginning of the second chapter the editor condensed the beginning of the tract that forms that chapter, and made his condensation in Hebrew.

The reason of the use of the two languages seems to have been political rather than anything more recondite. The vision of the four monarchies set no term to the fall of the Babylonian monarchy under which these prophecies were published, so they were written in Aramaic. Belshazzar's feast was not committed to writing till the reign of Darius the Mede. So it could be published in Aramaic also. But when the vision told of the fall of the Persian Empire before the Greek power, with which Cyrus had come in contact already, that was concealed in Hebrew to escape the eyes of the Babylonian public, under the authority of Cyrus. We submit this with some diffidence, yet it seems to us a simple solution. Of course, we may regard the first chapter as added some time after the death of Daniel, in the reign of Darius Hystaspis or Xerxes.

THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

A NOTE ON BISHOP COPLESTON'S "BUDDHISM, PRIMITIVE AND PRESENT, IN MAGADHA AND IN CEYLON."¹

BY PROF. MAX MÜLLER.

Buddhism, Primitive and Present, is a startling title. Much as Buddhism has been studied of late, there are few scholars, if any, who at present would undertake to write a history of Buddhism from its first beginning to the present day. Bishop Copleston himself has evidently felt the magnitude of his undertaking, and has wisely limited his Buddhism, primitive and present, to Magadha and Ceylon. Even that is an enormous task, yet Bishop Copleston might well have felt that there were few scholars better prepared than himself for undertaking so serious and difficult a work. His book certainly contains a great deal of valuable information, and will be welcomed by all students of Buddhism. It may claim a place in that small class of books which describe Buddhism from its own authentic documents. Dr. Neumann in his *Buddhistische Anthologie* has lately divided the large number of publications on Buddhism into five classes: 1. Those which are founded on the ancient and genuine Buddhist canon, the Tripitaka, such as

¹ Published by Messrs. Longman & Co.

Oldenberg's *Buddha*; 2. Those which depend on ancient and modern Pāli texts, mostly known before and not always trustworthy, such as the excellent works of Spence Hardy, Köppen, Rhys Davids, Sangermano, Bigandet, Alabaster, &c.; 3. Those which have taken their information from the northern degenerate Buddhism, whether from Nepalese, Tibetan, Chinese, Mongolian, or Japanese sources, such as the works of Burnouf, Schmidt, Csoma Körösi, Féer, Beal, Bunyiu Nanjio, Wassiljew, &c.; 4. Those which give a general historical survey of Buddhism, often from very insufficient materials; 5. Those which contain either enthusiastic panegyrics of Buddhism, such as Olcott's *Buddhist Catechism*, or depreciatory criticisms and unfair comparisons of Buddhism with Christianity—their number is very large!

Bishop Copleston has no doubt availed himself of the works of his predecessors, and of the numerous translations of portions of the Tripitaka which are now accessible in the *Sacred Books of the East*. But he has used them critically, and he has likewise studied original Pāli texts which had not been utilized before, and thus made valuable additions to the common stock of Buddhist lore.

But by limiting his work to Buddhism in Magadha and Ceylon, we regret that he has been induced to leave out one of the most important, though no doubt at the same time one of the darkest, phases in the history of Buddha's religion, namely, its division into two schools, or, more correctly, into two religions, commonly, though inaccurately, called Northern and Southern Buddhism. The Bishop can hardly plead that Northern Buddhism has nothing whatever to do with Magadha and Ceylon. If Hiouen-thsang, the great Chinese traveller, be right, the Buddhists of Ceylon in his time, i.e. in the seventh century, belonged principally to the Mahāyāna school. But even if his account were wrong or exaggerated, the schism itself is one of the most critical and interesting events in the whole history of Buddhism, and to leave it out of consideration in a history of Buddhism, primitive and present, is worse than leaving out the Reformation in a history of the Christian Church, primitive and present. This schism concerns the South as well as the North. Besides, it is at present the great crux of all historical students of the Buddhist religion, and we had a right to expect that the Bishop would have given us the results at which he himself has arrived with regard to this unsolved historical problem.

Whoever has studied Buddhism knows that what is commonly called Buddhism is not one, but at least two religions, which differ from each other, not simply as Protestantism differs from Roman Catholicism, for here we have to deal with the restoration of the primitive form of Christianity, which existed before Roman Catholicism, but quite as much as Mohammedanism differs from Judaism. That there is some historical connection between the two cannot be doubted. It is clear also that the one is older and more primitive than the other. I proposed some time ago to distinguish the two by calling the older religion *Buddhism*, the more recent *Bodhism*.

In the former, Buddha Sâkyamuni himself is the most prominent personality, in the latter the Prince of Kapilavastu is but one out of many teachers, and the absorbing subject is the obtainment of Bodhi, knowledge or enlightenment, through which man may become a Bodhisattva, a Buddha designate, and finally a real Buddha. Bodhi, knowledge, or enlightenment, is the result, buddhi, understanding, the instrument, while Buddha means the Enlightened. This Bodhism calls itself Mahâyâna, lit. the Great Go, and seems to have conferred on the other the name of Hinayâna, or Little Go. Burnouf translated these names by *le grand Véhicule*, or *le petit Véhicule*, others explain them by the large and the small boat for crossing the ocean of the world. It has generally been supposed that what Burnouf called Northern Buddhism is the same as the Mahâyâna, and what he called Southern Buddhism the same as the Hinayâna, and that the sacred texts of the former are composed in a more or less corrupt Sanskrit, those of the latter in Pâli. Bishop Copleston seems to incline to this opinion, but he has not thought it necessary to produce his reasons. We should remember that the distinction between Northern and Southern Buddhism is unknown in India. It was made by European scholars. By Northern Buddhism they meant that of Nepal, Thibet, China, Mongolia, and Japan; by Southern Buddhism that of Ceylon (since third cent. B.C.), of Burma (since fifth cent. A.D.), and of Siam (since seventh cent. A.D.). But it has never been proved that this distinction corresponds to the distinction between the Mahâyâna and Hinayâna schools. Neither locality nor language can serve as a real distinction between these two schools. Yet there are some most striking features by which to distinguish one from the other. Thus, to mention a few only, in the Hinayâna school the question whether Buddha, after his death, continues to exist anywhere is declined, and answered neither in the affirmative nor in the negative. In the Mahâyâna school the Buddhas are distinctly immortal, and their believers expect to join them after death, in their various paradises. Again, it is one of the most characteristic features of the Hinayâna school that *Karma*, i.e., work done here on earth (*oramattaka*), goes on working for ever whether for good or for evil, and that every future existence is determined by a man's deeds in this life, just as his present condition in this life was determined by his acts in a former life. In one of the Mahâyâna-sûtras, the Sukhâvatî-vyûha, which I published in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, we are told on the contrary that beings are not born again in the paradise of Buddha, as a reward and result of good works performed by them in their present life (*avaramâtraka*), but that if a man will only at the approach of death repeat the name of the Buddha Amitâbha for ever so many times, then that Buddha, surrounded by innumerable Srâvakas (disciples) and Bodhisattvas (future Buddhas), will appear to him, he will depart this life with a tranquil mind, and be born in Sukhâvatî, the blessed paradise of Buddha Amitâbha. This is no doubt a much easier process, and might be called the large vehicle, as being the vehicle most popular with the majority of mankind. We know from

travellers how this system is practised at the present moment in Chinese monasteries, where the monks, worse than praying-wheels, go on repeating the name of Buddha day and night, till they reduce themselves to a state of utter idiocy. But we know also how beautiful this dying prayer may become in the mouth of Mahāyāna Buddhists, how they would decline to reap any reward for the good deeds performed by them in this life, and simply trust to the mercy of Buddha. This is shown by the death-bed scene of Hiouen-thsang, the famous Chinese pilgrim, who visited India in the seventh century, and died in China with the following prayer on his lips: "I desire to see the merits of my good deeds returned on all mankind. I desire to be born in the heaven called Tushita, to be admitted among the disciples of Maîtréya (the coming) Buddha, and to serve him as my teacher and affectionate Lord. I desire to be born in future births here on earth, that I may accomplish with unceasing zeal my duties to humanity, and at length arrive at the condition of supreme wisdom (Abhisambodhi) and attain Nirvāna."

It is easy to see that locality, whether North or South, has but little to do with the distinction between Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. The Buddhists themselves ascribe the foundation of the Mahāyāna-Buddhism to Nāgārjuna and to the Fourth Council, held in Kashmīr in the first century A.D., while the Hīnayāna school dates from the death of Buddha, or at least from the Council of Vaisālī, held 100 years after Buddha's death. During the two centuries after Buddha's death eighteen sects of the Hīnayāna school are said to have arisen, and by the time of Asoka, in the third century, six more had been added. The Mahāyāna was originally but one sect, when it arose after the Council in Kashmīr. But it was by no means confined to the North of India as little as the Hīnayāna sects were to the South. No doubt Ceylon was originally converted by Hīnayānists, even before they had that name, but in the time of Hiouen-thsang (678 A.D.), many of the 20,000 friars of Ceylon had turned Mahāyānists. This may be doubtful, but even Fahian, in the fifth century, knows already of Mahāyānists as far South as Orissa. On the other hand, one of the Hīnayāna sects is called Uttarāpathaka and Uttarīya, another Haimavata, names that clearly point to the North of India.

As to language again, the Hīnayāna canon was, no doubt, composed in Pāli, while the language employed at the Mahāyāna Council, under Kanishka, is said to have been Sanskrit. But the Mahāvastu, for instance, which is ascribed to the Lokottaravādins, a subdivision of the Mahāsāṅghikas, and therefore a sect of the Hīnayāna, which Hiouen-thsang knew as settled as far North as Kashmīr and Bamiyan, is written not in Pāli, but in vulgar Sanskrit. So is the Divyāvadāna, which, according to Prof. Rhys Davids (*J.R. As. Soc.* 1891, p. 413), is to be reckoned as a Hīnayāna work. The Lalitavistara, the legendary life of Buddha, on the contrary, which calls itself a Mahāyāna work, and is written in vulgar Sanskrit, is ascribed by some Chinese authorities to the school of the Sabbatthi-vādins, a Hīnayāna school, and under a slightly differing title to the Kāsyapīyas, which may be the old Hīnayāna school of the Kassapikas, or possibly a Kashmīrian Mahāyāna

school. We also know from Hiouen-thsang that at his time there existed schools which studied both the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna.

It is clear from all this that the origin of the Mahāyāna school and its relation to the Hīnayāna in later times forms a subject of supreme importance in the history of Buddhism. Bishop Copleston has certainly shown a proper discretion in not mixing up, like other writers, these two totally different religions. There was a time when the Jaina religion was looked upon as a mere variety of Buddhism, whereas now it is treated as an independent form of faith and worship. Yet the Mahāyāna is more remote from the Hīnayāna than the Jaina religion is from either. We are truly grateful to Bishop Copleston for what he has done, but we should have felt more grateful still if he had rendered his excellent account of Buddhism, past and present, more complete by a chapter on the branching off of the Mahāyāna school or Bodhism in the first century of our era.

CURRENT AMERICAN THOUGHT.

THE ELOCUTION OF THE PULPIT. By Rev. JOSEPH V. O'CONNOR (*The Catholic World*).—Hearers have become so accustomed to the solemn cadences of the "preaching voice," that they are startled at hearing a preacher talking from the pulpit in an easy, conversational tone. Under a misapprehension of the true aim of preaching, and of the dignity of the pulpit, good and effective preachers have been deluded into adopting a style of elocution the farthest removed from the natural. Mr. O'Connor writes to warn against the pretentious professors of elocution who catch the "unfortunate clergyman, and drill him in hollow, dismal tones, varied now and then with a spurt of 'explosive orotund' which, the good man is assured, will thrill the most apathetic congregation." After detailing an amusing personal experience with one of these elocutionist professors, the writer deals with the simple rules which have been verified in the experience of all successful preachers, and commend themselves to our common sense.

The first requisite of all public speaking is that the words should be easily understood by the audience. The intelligibility of the speaker is the *primum oratoricum*. All the graces of oratory are valueless unless first of all the words reach the hearers plainly and distinctly. This rests on two simple laws, the law of articulation, and the law of measured speech. In articulation pay attention to the consonants only. The vowels take care of themselves. False elocution dwells upon the vowel, and results in what Shakespeare calls "mouthing." That false and disagreeable tone which is proverbially associated with the pulpit comes from drawling the vowel and neglecting the consonant. Strike the consonant clearly and sharply.

It seems strange to say that you cannot be *too* slow. There is always the danger of speaking at a rate of speed incompatible with perfect intelligibility. The master of the art restrains his ardour in the very tempest and whirlwind of passion. Speak for awhile as though you saw a comma after every word; and even then the probabilities are that you speak too fast. It takes time for sound to travel, and what

seems to you a dragging of words is just the very condition which your distant hearer needs in order to understand you perfectly.

Dare to be yourself. A man's speech is part of his character and personality. Your manner of utterance is the result of your mental and bodily organization. Correct any faults resultant from carelessness in delivery, and be yourself at your best. We cannot all be orators, but we all may become good speakers. No time is better employed than in practising aloud the proper pronunciation of words.

The law of emphasis is simplicity itself. We never make a false emphasis in our daily talk, because we never emphasize what is obvious, well-known, and self-evident. It is only in the pulpit we declare with tremendous force that the wind *blows* and the rain *falls*, and that the servants should place a ring on the prodigal's *hands* and shoes on his *feet*.

The close of the sentence is the hardest to manage from a tendency to drop the voice a tone too low. Few can keep the voice up at the end of a sentence (which is often the key-word) by stressing a little the words that immediately precede the last. Gesture cannot be taught. The most you can do is to have a judicious friend point out any awkwardnesses, and have the good sense to follow his advice.

The style and manner of speaking most agreeable to the American is the simple, direct, and conversational. The great political leaders instinctively adopt this style in addressing mass meetings.

THE PLACE OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE IN MODERN THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION. By Prof. JOHN PHELPS TAYLOR (*Andover Review*)—Never were the twin lights of science and democracy shining more brightly on the path of the Biblical scholar. This is the hour when press and pulpit vie with one another in discussing Biblical inspiration and authority. What the sixteenth century discovered the nineteenth century is rediscovering—the *English Bible*. And the English Bible should have the foremost place in modern theological education. This is not a truism, nor a presumption. Science is of priceless value to the minister. It promotes exact observation and love of truth, besides imparting a breadth of vision and richness of symbolism all its own. The languages, ancient and modern, are a preacher's second self. They are so many doors into the many-chambered palace of truth. The history of dogma and the traditions of the Church he cannot over-estimate he will not under-estimate. By all means let the Christian student open his soul to Christian experience. Christian consciousness, Christian philosophy, Christian personality. But let him see to it that each and all of these faculties do obeisance in the present crisis to the English Bible, which in some sort illustrates and epitomizes them all, as it takes precedence of them all.

A first reason why the English Bible should hold the primary place in the instruction of the ministry is to be found in what the English Bible *is*, and is *seen* to be *to-day*. It is no amulet from the skies. It is no urn of magical verses. It is no dialect of archangels. It is no Hebrew calculating machine. It is no shorthand report of the past. It is no iron clad programme of the future. It is no law-book of a nation in the clouds. It is no prayer-book of the Jerusalem above. It is no idyl, or proverb, or narrative, or drama or biography, or correspondence, or apocalypse unruffled by human feeling and unstained by human crime. Rather is it a library and a literature palpitating with the presence of the living God, and vibrating with the accents of living men.

The sacred record has its stages of historic growth. The writers speak from their own individuality and environment, none the less, but all the more, that they were moved by the Holy Ghost. It is the most human of books. "Its every page is stamped with exile, poverty, shame, persecution, martyrdom, by its heroic

translators. Its sacred names are precious to human hearts and homes, to the stranger, the traveller, the widow, the fatherless, the captive, the soldier, the labourer, the bride, the little child, the great legislator, the poet, and the sage: The Psalter alone touches every key in the gamut of human sorrow and joy, fear and hope, wrath and love, prayer and praise." It is asked whether this volume of humanity is without human error? Calvin and Luther thought not. Modern scholarship agrees with them.

A second reason for the pre-eminence of the English Bible is found in its relation to other theological disciplines. The English Bible is at once the fountain-head and the masterpiece of sacred literature. Biblical history is a sham and a snare apart from the vernacular version. The sober, patient, accurate, truth-loving exegesis, which alone is worthy of the name, must either flow from or centre in the English Bible. What can we know of Christian ethics without drawing from the English Old Testament the ethics of Judaism, and from the English New Testament the ethical ideal of Christianity? Theology itself feels this groundswell, and shows it in two ways. First, by a more critical use of the Scriptures in buttressing dogma. Second, and more notably, by passing from the systematic to the Biblical stage.

A third reason is found in the fact that the light of modern discovery in and around Palestine has largely emanated from it. Lovers of the English Bible are the supporters of the Palestine and Egypt Exploration Funds, and Prof. Taylor skilfully summarizes the remarkable discoveries which have both illuminated and reassured our confidence in the English Bible. But these are familiar to our readers.

A fourth reason may be given. Current *English literature* is contributing works of unique importance concerning it. Ten years ago Robertson Smith's *Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (1882) and Prof. George T. Ladd's *Doctrine of Sacred Scripture* (1898) were creating much alarm, because those works embodied the results of German Biblical criticism. Very different is the feeling now entertained. The epoch-making book of this year (1892) is Cheyne's *Bampton Lectures on the Psalms*. By its side must stand a work in which every modest, candid, independent, reverent student of the Old Testament will detect a spirit kindred to his own—Canon Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*. His "lists of Hebrew words and phrases are a monument of indefatigable scholarship. His independent views on the Babylonian authorship of Isaiah ii., on the inferiority or superiority of the LXX. text of Jeremiah to the Masoretic, on the probable Maccabean date of the book of Daniel in connection with the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, on the idealized history of the Chronicles, with traditionary foundations, are models of lucid and compact statement. To the lovers of Ruth he brings the welcome opinion that the delicious pastoral breathes the air before the Exile. To the admirers of Job he adduces attractive grounds for locating the masterpiece of Hebrew religious philosophy in the era when the Jews hung their harps on the willows of Babylon."

A decade ago there was virtually nothing in English on the Canon of the Old Testament that was up to date. Now we have Ryle's "Canon of the Old Testament," a work commendable for its style, learning, and spirit. He places the virtual completion of the threefold Old Testament book a century before the Advent. It must have been before the antagonism of the Pharisees and Sadducees, and the rise of the great Rabbinic schools. The Pentateuchal analysis has received its best exposition in B. W. Bacon's *Genesis of Genesis*, of which Dr. Mendenhall says, in the *Methodist Review*, "The work is as able in plan as it is masterly in execution." Prof. Taylor also notices, with qualified commendations, Dr. C. A. Briggs' work on *The Bible, the*

Church, and Reason, and Prof. Robertson's Baird Lecture for 1889 on *The Early Religion of Israel as set forth by Biblical Writers and by Modern Critical Historians*.

What are some of the methods by which the English Bible may secure and perpetuate its empire over the ministry and the Church of the future? 1. By resisting secondary influences tending to discredit the Bible. Materialism, Rationalism, Romanism, Socialism, Paganism, were never more united and more desperate in their efforts to shatter the word which is the sword of the Spirit. More insidious and threatening is the tone of unfairness in newspaper discussions, and the tendency to uncharitableness in denominational councils respecting the Bible itself! "When a journal, a divine, an organization, attempt to impose a *theory* of the English Bible for the English Bible itself, they lay thereby a yoke on the neck of the Pilgrim Church, which neither we nor our fathers are able to bear. To the cry of Biblical authority it is time to raise the counter-cry of Biblical liberty. The latter is the more Protestant watchword."

2. Make the most of the original languages of the Old and the New Testament. "To drink thus from the golden pipes of the Hebrew and the Greek at the fountains of the English Bible would go far to restore it to its proud pre-eminence with ministers and congregations. 8. Another step in the same direction would be the preaching of the *morality* of the New Testament. It is too late to say that this morality is too ethereal for the modern world. Even as sentimentalized by a Tolstoi, the Sermon on the Mount has moved contemporary Europe. Character is the preacher's aim, and these ethics revolve around character. Expressing principles, they express them in detail. They seek to regenerate society through its individual members, and in the practical details of conduct. "The Old Testament prophet is a tract for the times. Amos handles the social question of the hour with a depth of sympathy for the poor, and a moral indignation against the rich, which Savonarola only echoed. But the preaching of the Carpenter of Nazareth has a poise in the midst of its penetration which the demagogue cannot understand. 'The moral positiveness of Jesus' ethical teaching has the sunny certainty, the quiet and reasoned confidence of physical science.' It is present, personal, human, superhuman. It sets its ministers as immovably against the despotism of amalgamated iron as the despotism of amalgamated gold."

(4) By emphasizing the witness of the fourth Gospel to the Divinity of our Lord. Of course the humanity of our Lord is also delineated there. But never is the Master's intellect scholastically unreal, or the Master's teaching theologically fallible, or the Master's character ethically wrong. His manhood is like, yet unlike, ours. But the organ-note of the fourth Gospel is the Deity of Jesus. The pre-existent Christ, the eternal Son of God, the Logos who was in the beginning with God, and who was God, is its sublime and triumphant picture of the Master. Concerning the fourth Gospel, Bishop Lightfoot said, "I feel from my heart that the truth which this Gospel more especially enshrines—that Jesus Christ is the very Word incarnate—is the one lesson which, duly apprehended, will do more than all our public efforts to purify and elevate life here by imparting to it hope and strength, and the one study which alone can fully prepare us for a joyful immortality hereafter." There is no theology to be compared with the theology of John. He who sees and scatters this light is bearing witness in his own world-tongue to the light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world.

WHEN IS THE POPE INFALLIBLE? By Rev. E. M. BRANDI, S.J. (*The North American Review*).—This article is valuable as corrective of prevailing impressions, and giving precision of knowledge on a subject of some complexity. It is written

from a sympathetic point of view, and does not discuss the question whether the Pope has just grounds for claiming any sort of infallibility. The inquiry is concerned only with the limitations under which the so-called infallibility is placed.

In 1870 the Pope's infallibility was solemnly defined by the Vatican Council. It is a supernatural *assistance* of the Holy Ghost, whereby the Pope, as head of the whole Church, is preserved free from error whenever he defines a doctrine that belongs to faith or morals. In Catholic theology, an infallible Pope does not mean one gifted with inspiration, or commissioned to reveal to the Catholic world new dogmas. The gift of inspiration is chiefly positive, whilst the gift of infallibility is negative; infallibility is *only* an assistance securing the Pope from the possibility of declaring error to be truth and truth error. All Catholic theologians agree in denying the existence of any new Catholic revelation after the times of the Apostles. The special assistance of the Holy Ghost is given to the Pope for the *only* purpose of preserving, explaining, and defending the revelation already made to and through the Apostles.

An infallible Pope does not mean one who is sinless, or cannot sin. Impeccability and infallibility must not be confused. Impeccability is a gift of the will; infallibility is a gift of the understanding. Impeccability implies a permanent gift that makes the receiver agreeable to God, and it is given chiefly for the good of the person who receives it. On the other hand, infallibility is a transitory gift, gratuitously given for the good of the universal Church, and only then when the Pope, as its supreme doctor, is teaching the Church. This point needs to be clearly apprehended. The Pope is not infallible in his private conversations or teachings. It belongs to him *only* in his official capacity, as the supreme teacher of the Church; and *only* when, in virtue of his Apostolic power, he defines a doctrine that belongs to faith or morals.

A doctrine may belong to faith in two different ways: (1) *Directly*, if it be a revealed truth; (2) *Indirectly*, if it be in contact with revelation, and necessary for the custody, exposition, development, and defence of what has been revealed. These may include some *facts* which, because of their intimate connection with a dogmatic truth, are called "dogmatic facts." Catholic theologians agree that such facts are within the sphere of the Pope's infallible teachings. But this must not be misunderstood. Every truth belonging to faith or morals may be infallibly defined by the Pope; but from this it does not follow that every truth infallibly defined by the Pope is a dogma of the Catholic faith, and therefore to be believed with a Divine and Catholic faith. "To be a dogma of Catholic faith, a doctrine must be a *truth revealed* by God, which the Pope defines to be such. If the doctrine or fact defined be *not* a revealed truth, then, although it too must be unhesitatingly believed, it is so believed *only* with an *ecclesiastical* faith, that is to say, with a faith that has for its motive 'the authority of God's Church defining,' not of God Himself directly revealing."

The Pope speaks infallibly (*ex cathedrâ*) when the four conditions laid down by the Vatican Council are met. They are: (1) The Pope must speak *as Pope*, as Head of the Church; (2) The Pope must speak for the whole Church, no matter whom he directly addresses; (3) The Pope must *define* the doctrine—he must pass a final judgment, giving sufficient indication of his intention to oblige the interior assent of Catholics; (4) The doctrine thus defined by the Pope must be one which is contained within the sphere of the subject-matter of infallibility.

These explanations and limitations are applied by the author to the utterances of the last two Popes, Pius IX. and Leo XIII.; but into these illustrations it is not needful that we should enter, as we have no wish to even seem to uphold such a

dogma as that of the "Immaculate Conception." It need only be said that, from the Catholic point of view, the four necessary conditions were fulfilled in this case.

The position taken by the writer, which guides and tones the article, is indicated in his closing paragraph. "The Apostle Peter, to whom Christ, the Divine Founder of the Church, 'gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven' (Matt. xvi.), and whom He appointed to be His vicar, 'to feed His lambs and His sheep' (John xxi.), still lives in his successors, the sovereign Pontiffs, the Bishops of Rome. To each and every one of them, as represented in the person of St. Peter, Christ has said, 'I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not,' and 'Do thou confirm thy brethren' (Luke xxii.). Hence Peter's voice has never been silent. As it spoke of old by the mouth of Linus and of Clement, of Leo and Gregory the Great, so, in these our days, has it spoken to the Catholic Church, against which 'the gates of hell shall never prevail,' by the mouths of Pius IX. and of the reigning Pontiff, Leo XIII."

THE NEW NATURAL THEOLOGY. By Rev. JOHN W. BUCKHAM (*The Andover Review*).—In no branch of theological science is reconstruction more necessary and urgent than in that of Natural Theology. What does nature really teach concerning God, if, indeed, she has any definite and coherent revelation of Him to make to man? It seems quite impossible that science can have robbed nature of her theology when we consider what power of revealing God nature has possessed for men in all the ages. In the Book of Job the revelation of God in nature furnishes a sufficient answer to the darkest problem of human perplexity, and calms the malady of a soul in utmost distress. After the most intense mental suffering, torn by throes of doubt, Job accepts the testimony of nature as both a vindication of God's providence and a revelation of His person. If natural theology is sufficient for such a result, it may be assumed that the instinct which turns to nature for a revelation of God is a true one. Take the distinctive truths concerning God which nature manifests to us, and see if they are annulled by the discoveries of science.

1. The Transcendence of God. The incomprehensibility of nature is one of her chief disclosures of God. It might seem that, with all that modern science has found out, the realm of the inscrutable had been taken captive. Not so. Is it not one of the great confessions of science that she cannot discover the origin of life? The borderland of mystery will never be crossed, however far it is forced back upon the confines of the infinite. There is a place where one must pause at length before the unknowable, blinded by the intensity of the light. The tendency of scientific research "to kill out wonder" is only a transient and accidental phase of the scientific spirit. Irreverence is not a necessary characteristic even of those who are most ardent in the study of natural phenomena. A larger and less hasty induction will reveal to us that science has only discovered the transcendence of God the more clearly by confronting us more sharply with the territory where God works in His inscrutable absoluteness of power and wisdom. Nature is always testifying that God is above her. Infinite Wisdom alone can account for the mysteries of nature, Infinite Power for her forces.

2. The Immanence of God. Formerly the *mathematics* of nature provided the evidence of God. Now *life* has become the absorbing study of science. Generalizations, classifications, and nomenclatures have given place to investigations into the operation of forces, and the movement and development of sentient life. Theology has, unfortunately, lent her strength to the combating of the new facts. It has been forgotten to ask if God may not be as truly revealed in the processes of life as in the painting of a feather or the structure of a crystal. Action is more wonderful than adaptation. Life is more admirable than form. Paley's watch, like nature, is

nothing in its power to reveal God in comparison with this wondrous thing we call *life*, which God is everywhere displaying and perfecting. This truth of the Divine immanence pantheism has discerned in nature, and, discerning, been overmastered by it, to the losing of the consciousness of its great corollary, the transcendence. But it has done good service in witnessing to the "feeling of a highest Being standing behind the phenomena as their true cause." Christianity must be, if it is the true and universal religion, so far a natural religion as to recognize fully the fact of the Divine immanence both in nature and in the human heart.

8. God as a God of Love. It is often inferred that nature makes nothing known regarding the *moral* character of God. But beneficence is surely a sign of love. Food, and sleep, and warmth, and healing—these are the universal largesses of nature which reveal the love of God. Disease and suffering are not natural, but unnatural, issuing from some infringement of natural laws. Even the great law of strife in the animal world may be beneficent and productive of the largest good. Unless a sense of the love of God towards His creation results from the observation of nature, meaning by nature "the integrity of impression made by manifold natural objects," it argues, I think, some defect of vision in the observer, physical or spiritual. Nature is not only beneficent, but beautiful, and beauty is the reflection of love. If there is beauty, there seems to be also ugliness; if there is grace, so also there seems to be deformity. But Kingsley was probably right when he said, "I have never been able to get rid of the belief that the ugliest beast . . . and the most devilish has been created because it is beautiful and useful to some being or other." The ugliness and repulsiveness of animals comes to us from our seeing them perform actions which in ourselves would spring from malignant and selfish motives. The greater part, if not all, of that behaviour in animals, which we instinctively refer to the Satanic impulses, is only the reflection of ourselves seen in them.

The natural evidences of God in His transcendence, His immanence, His love, have been represented as obtained by reflection and deduction. But in truth it is by intuition that they make themselves most deeply felt. While very much is invisible and inaudible to us, we all discern far more spiritual truth in nature than we are conscious of, and the knowledge of God, which we thus unwittingly gain, is greater than we suppose.

Natural theology has also the seal of revelation. Christ sanctioned it, and incorporated it into His teaching. And natural theology has its eschatology. From contemplating nature as she is, we are led to inquire what she shall be. Modern science has discovered to us that nature is in process of steady advancement from imperfection to perfection, from the less perfect to the more perfect, from the simple in form to the manifold, from the less admirable to the more admirable. And this is in harmony with the teaching of Paul. As man has an eternal life and destiny, so likewise has nature. The elements may be consumed with fervent heat, or all animate life may perish in the chill atmosphere of a cooling planet, but the creative ideas which constitute the reality of all things must remain. The very meaning of nature is the *Becoming the about to be*. This has been her character from the very primordial germ. The promise of her eternal perfection will not fail.

CRITICISM AND THE COMMON LIFE. By Rev. A. A. BERLE, Brighton, Mass. (*The Bibliotheca Sacra*).—Three causes have brought about the remarkable changes in the religious opinions of our generation. The revival of critical science in all its forms, the rapid succession of objective and experimental examples of the method, and the changes within the domain of Biblical criticism itself. The doctrine of evolution is

now almost universally accepted, and is even influencing theology. A great literature has arisen, having for its problem the reconciliation of traditional views with the new doctrine, or the annihilation of the old views, and the presentation of the supplanting new ones. These books and articles urge the need of bringing the religious thinking of the time into line with the new movements that are demonstrating their presence so effectively in other sciences. No age but has fancied itself one of general and unprecedented scepticism. At no period has the Church lacked a sufficient number of zealous advocates who predicted her utter ruin unless certain changes were instantaneously incorporated into her creeds. The verdict of history is that the cause of true religion has never been endangered by any one particular view, and that the calm judgment of the Christian Church, arising from her appeal to experience and practical worth, has been nearly, if not quite, correct as to the real force of the ideas brought to her notice.

It is a fact that the Church is now making the most widespread and exhaustive re-examination of the fundamental truths of Christianity which she has ever made. The popular conception of the truths of Christianity is permeated by a spirit which cannot be called other than scientific. Christianity is being examined with a view to determining what its form should be, and what its popular presentation should include. But it must not be supposed that Christianity itself is on trial. The question before us is, What is Christianity, and how shall we at the earliest possible moment secure its world-wide adoption? Such an inquiry must begin with the Scriptures. Upon the ground of Christian experience no final statutes can be enacted. Upon the phases of the spiritual activity which from time to time make their appearance no argument can be builded. Against the various benevolent enterprises no word of criticism, except as to method and results, can be raised. Hence, if the Church deals with the adequacy or inadequacy of a doctrine, she has been forced to attack its Biblical basis or authority. No attack is thus made upon the Bible itself, only upon the Biblical basis of some particular statement of doctrine. Any attack upon the Bible is a renunciation of Christian faith. But the acceptance of the Divine authority of the Bible does not, cannot, and never did involve the acceptance of any given view of the character, authorship, or purpose of any book in the Bible, and cannot be affected by any such view except as such a view distinctly and unmistakably has for its conclusion the rejection of the Bible as the Divine standard of faith.

Just in proportion as this or that doctrine has played an important part in the common religious life will the critical gaze be fastened upon it, and its right to continue as a part of the common life be questioned. The healthfulness of this process cannot fail to be evident to any intelligent observer. It enables the Church to keep her vital doctrines from being encrusted with error, or being superseded by simply fleeting impressions which for the time obtain an unworthy pre-eminence. That the critical study of the Bible is no novel thing is shown in the striking fact that it is itself the product of a sifting process. From the many early books some have been selected, and have become canonical. The discrimination could only have been based on the correspondence of the facts in the writings with the experience of the Church. Those which were accepted as of Divine authority were so accepted solely because they met the spiritual need, and corresponded to the spiritual type of the Churches accepting them. This could be the only test, and certainly the only rational test. But in some of the books thus accepted were doctrines and ideas diametrically opposed to doctrines and ideas found in others. There is evidently no fixed type of Christian experience, and it was found necessary to admit both; the New Testament thus becoming a Mosaic with certain fundamental elements of

unity, but an innumerable array of minor and subordinate differences which crop out everywhere, and in the full understanding of which alone can the types of Christian experience be discovered and described.

Questions of various kinds are perpetually appearing and requiring the judgment of the Church as to their bearing upon the faith of Christendom. And it must be borne in mind that no idea or doctrine claimed to be in the Scriptures and a part of them can be pronounced against the historic faith unless with such classification goes a decree of rejection of Christianity itself, as represented in the Bible, its objective standard.

The historic method of criticism is the practical application of the theory of natural development, applied to the literature of religion. Objectively speaking, the faith of Christendom is its Bible. It may be argued that there was faith before the existence of the Bible; but the Bible alone gives us the record concerning it. The Church and the future of Christianity are inseparably bound up with the fate of the Bible. And this means the canon of Scripture, as the experience of centuries has defined it. There it must look for the record of the types of Christian living, and there it must expect the revision of its religious ideas. The Bible has become the final authority within the Church for the standards of her own life and practice.

The work of the critic has nothing to do with the Bible itself, considered with reference to its Divine authority and power. His work seems to have to do merely with the arrangement of the material in its best form so that the Christian judgment may most easily know just what its Bible contains. As to what the Bible is, or how much she shall accept or reject, the Church does not ask her critics at all; she settles these questions in the court of experience. All that her critic as such can do is to work over the material with a view to presenting it in the best light. "The Church of to-day, while she is interested in whatever discoveries are made bearing upon the authenticity and credibility of the various books of the Bible, cannot, and does not, raise these questions because she has the slightest doubt on these points. As regards the faith of the Church, the question whether Moses ever saw the written documents now comprising our Hexateuch amounts to nothing. The same is true about the Psalms, or the second Isaiah. It is true of almost every one of the leading critical questions under discussion. All these documents are in the Bible; they are the product of the Church; the Church cannot deny herself."

Has the uncritical majority in the Church anything to do with the state of critical opinion? To this large class the critics have almost always stood in an attitude more or less of opposition. The reason may be that, unable to comprehend the exact bearing of the statements made by the critics, and conscious that the spirit of evangelical piety was not usually the ruling spirit, they have assumed hostility. The critics, on the other hand, have usually had little but contempt for the multitude, and have not hesitated to express it with more or less freedom.

What are the legitimate elements of the criticism from which the Church may be expected to derive profit and inspiration, together with material for the furtherance of her task of saving the world? It is possible to classify the elements which should enter into critical judgment under groups which may be more or less intelligible.

- (1) The historical element. The philosophy of history must be recognized as equally true with the remaining philosophies. It must be applied to religious history.
- (2) The psychological element. The Old Testament presents the finest collection of illustrations for psychological investigation found anywhere in literature. The study of the varieties of imagination found there will reveal wonders to those not initiated.

All literature is, in a sense, the expression of an inner impulse which seeks literature as the medium of communicating with the world. It is this inner impulse of the Scripture writers which is the most necessary, and the most elusive of all the elements of sound critical judgment. (8) And rational criticism has a necessary practical element. There is a notion that the scholar has little or nothing to do with the practical outcome of his studies; but the real leaders of progress in thought, as well as in practical benevolence, have almost universally been the preachers of the Church rather than her profound thinkers. Criticism must have the practical touch which makes the critic co-worker with the expositor, and the fellow-labourer with his brethren in the Church.

The common experience which belongs equally to all rational minds is the link which ought to bind criticism and the common life together. After all the various sources of human knowledge have been searched through, whether satisfactorily or not, the retreat is upon the personal life and the inward witness. This personal element is one factor always common to criticism and the common life. The recognition of the value of the personal life with its infinite capacity, and yet its singular dependence, constitutes the most unique of all the forces which move the mind of man. The unity of all life in a common dependence, and looking to a common redemption should be the ruling element in criticism, as it is already the dominant thought in the common life. Pietism without critical insight must produce intellectual degradation, but criticism without piety means sterility of thought and lifelessness. The common life is the great storehouse of the facts that most nearly relate to life and its culture and nurture.

WHAT WAS MAN BEFORE HE WAS? By the late RICHARD ABBEY, D.D. Yazoo City, Miss (*Christian Thought*).—This article deals with the origin and antiquity of the corporeal being man, in view of modern suggestions in the line of evolution. Science and revelation are our sources of information, but they do not testify on the same points. The Bible states as a mere unexplained fact that God formed or created man, but is rigidly silent as to any mode of doing it. Science testifies solely as to the manner in which man came, whatever may have been the prime agency in producing him. So there is no necessary conflict.

Everything has its antecedence. To trace it, if it can be done, or as far as it may be done, is the business of science. Absolute origination is to us wholly unthinkable. Some scientists trace human antecedence upward through distant animal races or species. As a purely scientific question the theologian is not concerned with it, because it does not deny the Biblical statement of Divine creation, but deals only with the method adopted by the Divine wisdom. In the line of heredity man is said to have descended from the monkey. If so it must have been in one of two ways: 1. Somewhere in remote antiquity, some one full-blood female monkey gave birth to a full-blood man child, and, about the same time, this monkey or another gave birth to a full-blood female child, and thus the human race began. But no scientist will admit this mode of human origin, because it is unnatural; there is no precedent for such radical and sudden change. 2. Away somewhere in high antiquity, some one monkey family or tribe, or possibly more than one, began, by most likely imperceptibly slow degrees, to separate, disunite, or switch off from the main stock. It was a secession or withdrawal from monkeyhood proper, becoming, generation after generation, less and less brutelike, and more and more manlike, until, in sufficient time, the offshoot became as we see him now, a separate race, and we call him human. But before we can receive this theory we want explanation on the following points:—(1) Was it ever known in any other department of nature

that an entirely new race of animals was produced in this way? (2) What could have set on foot this man-making enterprise in the first place? (8) Another seemingly inexplicable thing to be accounted for in this world-transforming enterprise is, that in raising up this new and powerful ruler he should undergo such great degeneracy as is obvious. Men are two to four times as large as monkeys, and, size for size, have half their strength, and one-tenth their agility. Have we not lost a full half or more of the entire physical constitution of our animal ancestors? Man is the slowest, clumsiest, and most helpless animal on the earth. This well-known degradation and natural inferiority must have a cause, and it is the duty of science to show it. (4) The two and only great animal powers of mind by which life is sustained and reproduced are instinct and reason. The former belongs exclusively to brutes, and the latter exclusively to men. Man has no use for instinct. Brute has no use for reason. There was a time when *man*, though he came down through the monkey, did not exist, and so reason did not exist. It is important to be informed when, where, and how this new and wonderful power of reason got here. It was as new in the world then as would now be the introduction of a new race of animals with absolute vision, or any other utterly unknown endowment. By no possibility could reason be inherited from any living animal race then more than now. How did reason get into the world? Who wanted it? Why was it either sent or suffered? (5) Again, not only did this monkey family in the course of its procedure in acquiring humanity become the great patron and possessor of this new power which we call reason, but they lost their own great native power of instinct. How could that be? No monkey can do it now, even if he desired to do so.

Some object to the idea that man is the progeny of a seceding monkey tribe, and say that the theory called evolution does not confine itself to monkey ancestry. Formerly there may not have been an animal answering to the modern monkey, and so the monkey-succession argument fails. But monkey-origin need only be taken in the sense of animal ancestry of some kind, known or unknown. The theory and teaching is, that mankind is the product of some pre-existing forms of life that possessed the powers of instinct, and not reason. If that is not the hypothesis, then man was absolutely and independently primordial—essentially the same from a beginning. There can be no question about his origin unless there was an origination.

It is agreed on all hands that man is a new comer, and not of earth's original inhabitants. The world was well inhabited, and all conceivable demands of nature were supplied under a general system of animal instinct. Then it seemed that an entirely new kind of inhabitant of earth would be useful. But how useful? No general betterment of the world could be conceived of. But we are told that at length, "Some ancient member of some anthropomorphous sub-group gave birth to man." So the great monkey-kingdom divides into two races. The old, regular stock pursued its natural course, and occupies its proper place in the forest to-day. The seceding branch pursued a most unnatural course, it changed into a new and utterly unknown race. It looks impossible that such parentage could produce such a progeny.

Supposing the difficulties to be all removed, and the monkey-origin of man to be an acknowledged theory, how does the case then stand as between the sceptical scientist and the polemical theologian? Who is gainer and who loser? The intelligent Christian may say to his sceptical friend, "If your theory is correct, you have done the Church good service; you have told us what we did not know before

viz., *How God made man.* The Bible teaches merely that God made him, or created him, with no intimation as to any mode of doing it." There is no theological ground of objection to monkey-origin, or any other mode of origin for man. Touching Divine actions of any kind, the Christian has no creed relating to any temporal or mundane surroundings, such as geography, time, horticulture, skill, manipulation, handicraft, or anything tangible or visible. As Scripture mentions no mode of human origination, how can we deny any particular alleged mode, however apparently false such mode may be? Many theologians, failing to discriminate carefully between the literal and the figurative language of early Genesis, lead sceptically-inclined men into the error of supposing that a visible mode of man-making is presented to the reader, when nothing is intended to be clearly taught but the fact of Divine agency.

The theologian has to do only with man as man, and not with something else that may have anteceded him. From the foregoing considerations it follows: 1. That the natural foregoing or antecedence of man, or of anything else, is legitimately in the keeping of natural science, and not of religion. 2. Therefore, when men, in the pursuit of physical science, began to speculate about something which may have had some agency in a future introduction of a rational or reasoning animal upon earth, the theologian in his proper vocation has no right to interfere. 3. All that scientists can pretend to do touching man's antecedency is to point out certain natural phenomena or processes leading to a then future manhood. 4. Therefore the question of fact whether God created man or not is not debateable. There are three popular theories of man's origin: 1. That he grew naturally, and without Divine direction, from certain primordial forms of life. 2. That he was divinely manufactured, on a certain day, at a certain locality, out of certain material. 3. That God created him.

THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST IN THE EARLY CHURCH. By the EDITOR (*Andover Review*).—Those who lived the Christian life in the early times regarded it as something distinctive and new. They had come to it through various processes, and out of many schools of thought and religious belief. The "Epistle of Barnabas" describes Christians as "a new type of men." There was a re-invigoration of conscience, a higher standard of piety, a new ideal of virtue, and, together with this, a belief that perfect virtue can be attained. Virtue was not only an obligation, but an inspiration and an enthusiasm; no longer merely a surpassing ideal, but something that could be achieved. "Particular stress was laid upon adherence to the truth, upon purity, upon love to men, emphasized in manifold relations and particularized in many special services, upon patience and endurance, upon love to God and Christ, and gratitude for redemption and salvation, upon a confession of Christ in blameless lives and in deeds of compassion and kindness. Morality is taken up into religion; religion is carried into every relation and duty of life." There was a new and very definite and practical sense of a union of God with man in all his needs and capacities.

Who is recognized as the author and source of this new and Divine life? The definite newness of Christianity, its "singular pre-eminence," is found, not primarily and mainly in its religious truths and ethical precepts, many of which it inherited from Judaism and paganism, but "in the advent of the Saviour, even our Lord Jesus Christ, and His passion and resurrection," "in the Gospel in which the passion has been manifested to us and the resurrection fully accomplished," and which is "the completion of immortality," the full revelation of eternal life, and of the way in which it may be gained. Every religious duty and moral obligation discovered by human reason or enforced by previous Divine revelations gains through Christ a new

claim to observance. He is the pattern we are to copy, the sphere of conduct, the source and reality and object of life. The life of the early Church, as this is revealed in its literature, makes the same impression, as respects its relation to Christ, that is produced by its direct testimony. What in the one representation He is affirmed to be, in the other He is received as being, in a fellowship marked by sincerity, vitality, moral and spiritual fruitfulness.

There are other expressions of this same relationship to Christ. The Church comes forth from the days of the Apostles with usages and rites and sacraments which express its judgment and conviction of the true character of Him whose name it bore. It had a day of worship, which it called "the Lord's," in joyful memory of His resurrection, and in homage to Him who, in the natural creation, separated light from darkness, and in the new creation brought forth life from death. The day is a testimony to Christ's religious significance to the early Christians. Admission to the Church was by baptism. In the formula used the Son is associated with the Father and the Spirit. With the rite of baptism was connected, either implicitly or explicitly, from the beginning of the Church's history, a confession of faith in Jesus as the risen Saviour and Lord. The old Roman creed was a baptismal symbol, and was in use at Rome at least as early as the middle of the second century, and probably somewhat earlier. It presents, as the object of religious trust and hope, one God the Father Almighty, and Jesus Christ His only-begotten Son our Lord, and the Holy Spirit. Early Christian hymns speak of Christ as the Word of God, and affirm His Divinity. Doxologies appear early, and in these Jesus Christ is associated mediatorially with God. Early preaching was unconventional and missionary, mainly in the line of an allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament, whose main design was to glorify the nearest object of the Christian faith, the suffering and glorified Christ. The culmination of the Christian worship was at the Lord's Supper, and in its observance. "It is impossible to explain the extravagant and even materialistic theories of this sacrament, which afterwards became current, without the recognition of an intense faith, at the beginning of the history, in the presence of Christ with His disciples when they participated in it."

With these testimonies to the place Christ held in the life and worship of the Church should be combined that of martyrdom. The confession of the martyr was: "I am a Christian." It was a testimony to the name—a name which was invested by Him with Divine perfections.

Further evidence is found in the fact of the Christian Society. It was a unique creation. It had a spirit, a law, a method of its own, and lost its prerogative just in proportion as it parted with its distinctive excellence. Its spirit was the inspiration which came from Christ; its law was His perfection; its method, the imitation of His life—obedience, service, sacrifice like His own. What impresses us is the power, the virtue, that went out from Him.

It may be objected that the early Christian literature often represents Christ as distinct from God, and subordinate to Him. But if the Divine nature and life were really expressed through the Man Christ Jesus, they must appear under the forms and conditions of our humanity. Distinction and subordination are necessary aspects of the revelation which the faith of the early Church accepted as true and real. How it adjusted its belief in Christ to its strict monotheism the early epistolary literature gives us no suggestion.

From what source did the early Church derive its faith in Christ as God? It accepted the Jewish Scriptures as a Divine revelation, and used them freely in support of its beliefs. Yet it is plain that there was a motive to this searching of

these ancient writings which came from another source. The Church went to the Scriptures from Christ and because of Christ, as well as to Him because of the Scriptures and from them. It had also, some time before the middle of the second century, more or less generally in use the substance of our New Testament.

The faith of the early Church in Christ was a fellowship which included all the Apostles of Christ, and knew of no disagreement between them as to His person and history. And it bears no mark of being the product of a theological evolution, or, we should more exactly say, revolution, by which a Being first known to the Churches as only a man was afterwards deified by them. It is distinctly not a theology, but a life; it holds its truths, not as dogmas, but as motives; it rests in a Person, not in propositions; the truth of Christ's Divinity is used, not defended—presented by implication as the ground of trust, hope, courage, service, devotion to the highest ends, as something involved in being a Christian and in Christian experience. A strenuous endeavour is now making to explain the rise of the belief in Christ's Divinity by a reflective and theological process which sprung up after His death. His disciples, in order to idealize Him, invented or credulously reported stories respecting His miraculous birth. It were nearer the truth to say that out of the Church's life came its belief in Christ's Divinity. But neither is this the exact truth. It lived because He was Divine, and in its life His Divinity manifested itself.

This faith in the Divinity of Christ, held in the beginning, is attended with many difficulties to thought. It has faced these difficulties; it has made ever-repeated efforts, by this theory and by that, to remove or relieve them, and not wholly without success. Yet again and again the result has shown that the new theory would change the faith, that the faith could not be held in its integrity if thus explained. When such a result has become evident, the theories, one by one, have disappeared; not the faith. The life of the Church is from the life of Christ. It believes, and has always believed, that in Him is the eternal life, and that He can and does give this life to all who hunger and thirst for righteousness and for God. The Divinity of Christ as a doctrine lives, not only by Apostolic testimony, but in this perpetuated experience.

CHINESE AND MEDIEVAL GUILDS. By FRED. WELLS WILLIAMS (*The Yale Review*).—This is the continuation of an article which we summarized a few months since. Some of the information contained in this portion will be fresh and interesting to our readers. These Chinese guilds, in their relations with the police and the public welfare, must be regarded as both conservative and preservative forces of civilization. China is divided into a number of provinces, each governed by an officer. Within the provincial governor's jurisdiction troops are raised and sustained, justice administered, and the civil service maintained. These conditions exert a sensible influence upon the life and conduct of trading companies, who have long since learned the value of living on good terms with the authorities, and of resolving the laws, if possible, in harmony with their interests. The guild in China has never, so far as we know, become identified with the town government, but there are many instances in which it supplements the functions of the magistracy, and earns the favour of local rulers by unflinching obedience to their lawful decrees. Some guilds go so far as to uphold good ethics in trade, and to interdict fictitious buying and selling in their members. Immoral business methods are not uncommon in China, but the good effect upon a community of this insistence on commercial rectitude and good faith is incalculable.

The first impact of foreigners upon the empire was met by one of these corporate bodies, and trade across the water continued for more than a century to filter through the now famous Co-Hong guild at Canton. Their monopoly dated from the year

1720, and came to an end with the opening of the five ports to foreign commerce in 1842. It was a convenient means adopted by the Emperor for managing the foreign tea-trade without officially recognizing the unwelcome traders.

Guilds are common among Chinese who live in foreign countries, their institutions in the Pacific Islands and Straits Settlements being described as similar to those at home, the business being conducted in a similar way. Mr. Williams gives in full the ordinances of one of the guilds, but it is much too long and too elaborate to be transcribed here.

Less is known about the other class of guilds, the *Kung So*, or trades unions. They resemble more closely than the *Wei-kwan* their parallels in Europe and America, where they are quite as common, and exert their strength along much the same lines. Their development does not appear to be as perfect in China as in the West. Amongst mechanics the unions generally embrace masters and workmen as against society; journeymen or apprentices, except in a few of the largest centres, seldom uniting exclusively by themselves. To account for this would necessitate a careful examination of the whole social system of China; but there are deep-lying reasons for this phenomenon, among which may be suggested the ignorance and poverty of the menial class, the sharp distinctions in society from the lowest to the highest, the phlegmatic calm of the national temperament, &c. Strikes and combinations against employers are extremely rare, and always peaceably conducted; but in this regard we must remember that large factories and the huge plants they involve are unknown. Industrial life in Asia is practically where it was some two centuries ago in Europe. The unions are concerned principally with the regulation of work and wages, discountenancing cheating, resistance to unjust oppression from officials, arrangements as to apprentices, and mutual assistance to members. They do not always possess club-houses, their meetings being held in temples, tea-houses, or in any convenient public place. The same tendency towards making fines and penalties, to cover the expense of a feast or theatrical show, is seen among them as with their superiors, but fines are necessarily ineffectual in the case of a poor labourer who never has and never will have cash in his pocket. As might be expected, they are severe in respect to the employment of female labour, which is almost always prohibited in the arts and trades, though women are everywhere great field-hands and shopkeepers. Needle-makers allow exceptions in favour of the wives and daughters of their own craft, who are permitted to acquire the difficult art of drilling needle-eyes; but should either ever marry out of the union, employment would be withheld.

Clannishness is a Chinese characteristic, which renders sectionalism everywhere rampant. Many occupations form unions, membership in which is restricted to fellow townsmen. Fish-hook making at Wénchow is confined to men of that trade who belong to Fukien, and no Wénchowese is allowed to acquire the art. Needle-makers allow only Taichow and Kiangsu men to work in the city of Wénchow. Tallow-chandlers and tin-foil beaters are cited as the two most truculent classes, owing to their sectional jealousy. These men will not work with others of their craft who happen to belong to another prefecture: as it is, though labouring in different establishments, they are perpetually involved in feuds and fights. The practice of boycotting is perfectly understood in these as in the other associations, but it is usually applied without undue cruelty.

In China the guilds have for the most part preserved their primary function in sustaining civilization and elevating society. Under the incentive of the guild, every trader, every artisan, is made responsible in conduct and work to directors whom he trusts and cheerfully obeys, because he has himself appointed them; who are

therefore altogether different from those civil authorities whom he distrusts and tries to withstand. In a society which changes as slowly as that of China, or of mediæval Europe, where, in spite of occasional wars, the conditions of industrial life remain fairly stable, but where for various reasons the civil authority is unable or unwilling to maintain justice and equity between man and man, such an institution as the guild, once thoroughly established in the land, commends itself to the community as the sole reasonable resource against oppression on the one hand and anarchy on the other. Its drawback lies in the pretensions that spring from conscious power. In usurping, as it often must, the province of public authority, it incurs the risk to which every government within a government is liable. Apart, however, from its shortcomings, the guild performs the invaluable service of keeping alive a spirit of self-reliance and independence. It teaches the value of personal industry, integrity, mutual aid, and all the elementary virtues of social existence, and with its capacity—within limits—for change and expansion it provides fairly well the mediation needful for orderly and comfortable living.

Whatever may come to be the needs of the future, the Empire at present depends largely for its internal security upon these associations of its industrious inhabitants. They practically represent duty both to Church and State, and if they embody and typify the conservatism of Chinese character, they also sustain the elements in it that make for honesty and self-restraint, preserving it, as did their counterparts in Europe two or three centuries ago, for progress towards more liberal government and a regenerated religion.

LEADERS OF WIDENING CHRISTIAN LIFE AND THOUGHT. By Miss AGNES MAULE MACHAR (*Andover Review*).—It is not our purpose to give any sketch of the life of John McLeod Campbell which Miss Machar presents in such an appreciative and sympathetic spirit. But there is in her article an outline of the position and arguments in McLeod Campbell's most famous book, and this cannot fail to interest our readers, and it may be specially helpful to those whose minds are engaged just now on the Atonement questions. McLeod Campbell's great work, *The Nature of the Atonement*, was written in 1855, after a prolonged and comprehensive course of preparatory reading. The germs of it may be found in his earlier writings which deal with the subject.

The work is from beginning to end a protest—not negative, but positive—against the artificial conception of the Atonement as an “arrangement” by which sinners may be relieved from penalties due to sin, through the transfer of punishment to a Divine Redeemer, believed in as a substitute for their own endless punishment. His main thesis is to show that “it was the spiritual essence and nature of the sufferings of Christ, and not that these sufferings were penal which constituted their value as entering into the Atonement made by the Son of God when He put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself.” It is a *spiritual* as opposed to a *mechanical* conception, and therefore one which does not stop at the surface, but reaches down to the nature and heart of things.

The original source of failure in the more artificial and limited systems to grasp a true conception of the Atonement has arisen from inadequate conceptions of its nature. Mr. Campbell holds as false and inadequate the view which maintains (1) that the sufferings of Christ were *penal* and *substitutionary*; and (2) that justification is a mere alteration of “legal standing” instead of a working in us of the realization of the longings of a Father's heart, and consequently taking out of the Atonement its revelation of the character of God as *Love*, as the righteous *Father*, seeking in us the realization of His holy and loving will.

Conscience responds or witnesses to the revelation of ourselves made to us in the Gospel; to the needs-be for an atonement, retrospective and prospective, and the gift of eternal life. The vague self-reproach felt in the comparative spiritual darkness of heathendom is contrasted with that keen sense of sin which arises on coming into the full light of the moral law of love to God and man. The appreciation of the gift of eternal life implies a development of conscience and clearness of inward light beyond even the fullest reception of Scripture teaching on sin, guilt, and eternal death; yet a development of which the conscience is quite capable. And as ordinary religion, so-called, is too ready to resolve itself into a struggle to secure an unknown future happiness, all true preaching should be directed to raise the conscience to the appreciation of the glorious spiritual reality of eternal life.

Dealing with the objection that the doctrine of the Atonement seems to introduce an unnecessary complication into the simplicity of God's love and forgiveness, representing the love of God as not at liberty freely to express itself, but as having difficulties and hindrances to encounter, the removal of which involved such an unfathomable mystery as the incarnation and self-sacrifice of the Son of God, Mr. Campbell appeals to the awakened conscience of man as evidence that the very elements in the Atonement which cause difficulty are the very elements which give its power to be that peace and hope for man which the Gospel contemplates, and which a simple intimation of the Divine clemency and goodness could not quicken in him. It is that God is contemplated as manifesting clemency and goodness at a *great cost*, and not by a simple act of will that costs nothing, that gives the Atonement its great power over the heart of man. While the very holiness and righteousness of God do seem to interpose difficulties in the way of the full forgiveness of sin, there is, on the other hand, a truth too often ignored, that that very holiness which, by its repugnance to sin, would seem to banish the sinners to outer darkness, must, by virtue of its very essence, desire that the sinner should cease to be sinful. There is hope for him, therefore, not from the love and mercy of God alone, but from His very holiness and righteousness. Mr. Campbell's own words may be given: "Not that it tends to make an atonement less necessary, but that it may greatly affect the nature of the Atonement required; for it implies that the prospective aspect of the Atonement—its reference to the life of sonship given in Christ—has been its most important aspect as respects the demands of righteousness and holiness, as it confessedly is as respects those of mercy and love. This is so; while, assuredly, it is also true that the retrospective aspect of the Atonement as connecting the pardon of sin with the vindication of the honour of the Divine law is not less a meeting of a demand of Divine love than of the demands of righteousness and holiness. How could it be otherwise, seeing that the law is love."

Miss Macher does not attempt to give an outline of the critical or constructive portion of the book, nor to follow out Mr. Campbell's illustrations of his positions by the partial history of the life and work of Christ, the continuity of His life of Sonship, His ministry as the outcoming of that life—the mysterious sufferings which suggest "not a wrath coming forth from the Father, but a power of evil which the Father permitted to have its course, and yet which was to be met, not in the might of *power* at all, but in the might of realized perfect weakness, whose only strength was the strength of faith, as is conclusively shown in the words of Christ Himself when about to meet the hour and power of darkness: 'And yet I am not alone, because the Father is with Me.'"

In the close of his volume, Mr. Campbell brings his readers to that ultimate rest in the love of the Father which is too often obscured by interposing the idea

of "legal standing," and imputation of Christ's merits. "Yes, indeed, our right confidence in the Father is *direct*, and is confidence in His Fatherly heart towards us, as also our confidence in the Son is *direct*, namely, our confidence in Him as our proper life."

Mr. Campbell's was an epoch-making book. It is unfortunate that its style is so involved, the reverse of epigrammatic; and perhaps the representative human character of Christ has come into greater prominence since his day, and has given a new direction to speculation on the nature of the Atonement. But no student of that subject can afford to neglect Mr. Campbell's most spiritual and suggestive book.

CALVIN'S DOCTRINE OF HOLY SCRIPTURE. By DUNLOP MOORE, Lansdowne, Pa. (*Presbyterian and Reformed Review*).—The subject of the inerrancy of Scripture is now prominent. Calvinism can be held only on the supposition of the infallibility of the Bible. Calvin was no daring speculator in theology; never was there a man more submissive to what he believed to be Divine revelation. Dr. Schaff says, "Calvin, though one of the most logical minds, cared less for logic than for the Bible, and it is his obedience to the Word of God as the infallible rule of faith that induced him to accept the *decretum horribile* against his wish and will." Low views of the inspiration of Scripture have generally characterized latitudinarian divines. We see this in Castellio and others in the time of Calvin; in Clericus and his party in a later age; and the concurrence is strikingly exemplified in our own time. Arminius said, "Calvin is incomparable in the interpretation of Scripture." There is a strong presumption that Calvin held the Bible to contain the truth of God without any admixture of error. Guizot, in his *Life of Calvin*, finds fault with his doctrine of the plenary inspiration of Scripture.

It is, however, now asserted that the first reformers of the sixteenth century freely conceded the existence of errors in the sacred writings; and Calvin has been singled out as holding free views on the subject of inspiration. How far is this true? In expounding Scripture, Calvin manifested a singular freedom from doctrinal bias, and he was careful to note difficulties. He had to confront the passages which modern critics condemn as tainted with error. He could not have avoided letting his judgment be clearly known on the question of the inerrancy of Scripture. But has he done so? His tendency was conservative; his great aim was the setting forth of positive truth. Whatever was delivered in the sacred Scriptures ought, in his judgment, to be received with meekness and docility, and without exception; he would give no room for the exercise of the so-called "Christian consciousness" in discriminating Divine truth from human error in the Bible. He taught that whatever is recorded in Scripture is to be held by us as the teaching of the Holy Spirit, and as written for our learning.

On the passage 2 Tim. iii. 16 Calvin says, "This is the import of the first clause, that the same reverence is due to Scripture which we pay to God, because it flowed from Him alone, and has no admixture of what is human." On 1 Peter i. 25 he says, "God wished to speak to us by apostles and prophets, and their mouths are the mouth of the one God." On Acts i. 16, 20 he says, "Such forms of speaking win greater reverence for the Scriptures, while we are admonished that David and all the prophets spake under the sole direction of the Spirit, so that they themselves are not the authors of the prophecies, but the Spirit who used their tongue as an instrument."

On the sufficiency of Scripture as a rule of faith Calvin expressed his judgment with clearness and force. In his commentary on John xx. 9, he affirms that the Scripture is so full and complete in every part that any defect in our faith is to be

ascribed to our ignorance of Scripture. He admitted that there might be in the works and words of God and Christ what would not agree with our understanding. In such a case we are not, with unbridled boldness, to clamour against it, but rather to preserve a modest silence until that which is hidden from us is made known from heaven. The fact that the human author of a book of Scripture was not known did not give Calvin any anxiety, or make him disposed to question its Divine authority. He denied the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, but he contended for its apostolic authority. In regard to 2 Peter, he inclines to the view that it was composed by one of the disciples of Peter, at his instigation, when he was very old, and thus bears his name. While mentioning the doubts about James and Jude, he maintains the authority of both.

Calvin makes God to such a degree the Author of Scripture that all its peculiarities of diction and choice of materials have His sanction. The marks of apparent defect in Scripture he deliberately attributes to the Divine intention; and from this point of view an inspired error is utterly inconceivable. As to the diversities observed in the Gospels, it is the constant contention of Calvin that it never amounts to a contradiction between them. He never acknowledges irreconcilable discrepancies. He has a solution for every difficulty that he can discover. In treating the genealogy of Christ in Matthew, he admits error through the carelessness or fault of copyists, but he does not concede that there existed any error in the two genealogies in the original Gospels, and he attempts a solution of every apparent discrepancy now found in them. In the varying accounts of the resurrection he sees nothing contradictory. In his works there is not a single example of apparent disagreement between the Gospels which Calvin pronounces incapable of a satisfactory solution.

In regard to the quotation of the Old Testament in the New, Calvin acknowledges the freedom with which this is done by the Apostles; but he is careful to show that they never make an unjustifiable or improper use of the Old Testament. He would not admit that a New Testament writer was liable to error in his exposition of Old Testament Scripture. We are not to exclude Divine inspiration from any part of Scripture, on the ground that the *language* is unworthy of the God of glory. He can humble Himself to employ our low forms of speech.

But it is now asserted as an indisputable fact that Calvin freely confesses that there are mistakes in the Bible. For instance, Van Oosterzee says, "Errors and inaccuracies in matters of subordinate importance are undoubtedly to be found in the Bible. A Luther, a Calvin, a Coccejus, among the older theologians; a Tholuck, a Neander, a Lange, a Stier among the modern ones, have admitted it without hesitation." And Farrar says, Calvin "did not hold the theory of verbal dictation. He will never defend or harmonize what he regards as oversight or mistake in the sacred writers." Calvin does admit that the name "Jeremiah" *crept in* to Matt. xxvii. 9 and that it is an error for "Zechariah"; but he evidently holds a corruption of the original text of Scripture. Calvin does not charge an error on Matthew, or on God who spake by him. On Acts vii. 16 Calvin says, "It is well known that there is an error in the name Abraham." But he only admits the existence of a mistake; he does not charge it to the Evangelist. It is a copyist's error, which is to be corrected.

It is said, What advantage is there in resting in the belief that the autographs of the books of Scripture were free from error if the text as we now have it is not such? We reply that if the Scriptures in their original form were errorless, we can believe that God was their author. Writing on 1 Cor. vii. Calvin shows that the Apostle does not in this chapter express any doubt as to his own inspiration, or confess that he se

forth in any case his own private opinions which were not to be regarded as Divine oracles. He will not concede that the Apostle anywhere in his epistles delivers a merely human counsel or fallible judgment. Calvin has been sharply censured for not distinguishing properly between the different parts of the Bible. Farrar more especially makes this a leading point.

How may Scripture be certainly known as the Word of God? Its self-evidencing power is strongly asserted by the Reformer. He strenuously contends against the doctrine that the deference due to Scripture depends on the authority of the Church and its determination. The perfect conviction of the pious that God is the Author of Scripture is derived not from human reasons, or judgments, or conjectures, but from the secret testimony of the Spirit. This is the highest proof of Scripture. The only true faith is that which the Spirit seals in our hearts. Those inwardly taught by the Spirit acquiesce completely in Scripture, and do not ask for arguments or probabilities. Scripture is credible in itself, and is seen to be such by those enlightened by the Spirit. But while Calvin speaks deprecatingly of human reasons for establishing the truth of Scripture *in comparison with the secret testimony of the Spirit*, he yet regards them as very strong and convincing, and sufficient to *reduce to silence* those who deny the Divine origin of Scripture. He professes his own ability to silence the most cunning contemners of Scripture, and to refute their cavils without much difficulty.

He goes too far when he represents it as a great insult to the Holy Spirit to doubt that His inward testimony is sufficient to decide absolutely the books that ought to be admitted into the canon of Holy Scripture. We are not prepared to admit that the inward testimony of the Spirit makes it evident, without human testimony, that *every* book of the Bible was written by Divine inspiration. We do well to maintain that there is a self-evidencing power in Scripture to those taught by the Spirit of God; but this does not render superfluous the process of historical proof which Christian apologists, Calvin himself among them, have been wont to employ.

A WORLD OUTSIDE OF SCIENCE. By THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, Cambridge, Mass. (*The New World*).—We live in an age of science. It is said that modern science has transformed the world of thought; it certainly has transformed the world of action. The advance of science has gone hand in hand with the progress of democracy. Beneficent or baleful, saving or slaying, the sway of science has come. With this has naturally come a shifting of the old standards of education, and the claim that science, as such, is exclusively to rule the world. The writer recalls to mind the effect on Darwin of devotion to one branch of scientific research. It was simply that on the whole side of his intellectual being was paralyzed, a loss which all the healthy enjoyment of the other side could scarcely repay. "Yet it is possible that the lesson of Darwin's limitations may be scarcely less valuable than that of his achievements. By his strength he revolutionized the world of science. By his weakness he gave evidence that there is a *world outside of science*." We cannot deny that Darwin represented the highest type of scientific mind. Nor can we deny the value and validity of what he *ignored*. It would be easy to multiply testimonies from high scientific authority to this limitation and narrowing of the purely scientific mind. The following is by Clarence King, formerly Director of the United States Geological Survey: "With all its novel powers and practical sense, I am obliged to admit that the purely scientific brain is miserably mechanical; it seems to have become a splendid sort of self-directed machine, an incredible automaton, grinding on with its analyses or constructions. But for pure sentiment, for all that spontaneous,

joyous Greek waywardness of fancy, for the temperature of passion and the subtle thrill of ideality, you might as well look to a cast-iron derrick." For all these, then, we must come back to the world *outside* science.

If there be an intellectual world outside of science, where is the boundary line of that world? We pass that boundary whenever we enter the realm called intuitive or inspirational, a realm whose characteristic it is that it is not subject to processes or measurable by tests. The yield of this other world may be as real as that of the scientific world, but its methods are not traceable, nor are its achievements capable of being duplicated by the mere force of patient will. Science cannot tell us how "Macbeth" or "Hamlet" came into existence, or reveal the mystery of any poetical or artistic creation. But if poetry represents a world outside science, is there nothing else outside? There is unquestionably much in common between the poetic impulse, the impulse of religious emotion, and the ethical or moral instinct, if instinct it be. Dr. Lewis G. Janes says that "the art-impulse, spontaneous, vital, creative, breaks through the bonds of constraining legalism and restores the soul to freedom." But after the art-impulse has burst through and claimed its place in that world, who knows but the *devout*-impulse, at least, may also take its place by the side of the art-impulse, and the soul be restored to freedom in good earnest? And if the devout-impulse takes its place with the poetic, why may not the ethical emotion take its place also? "At present, the followers of Mr. Herbert Spencer claim to have utterly captured, measured, and solved it from the point of view of science; and they dismiss the whole conception of Intuitive Morals as completely as Bentham thought he had annihilated the word *ought*, when he said frankly, fifty years ago, that it was meaningless, and should be expunged from the English language, or, at least, from the vocabulary of morals." An American Spencerian declares that "the moral sense is not ultimate, but derivative; it has been built up out of slowly organized experiences of pleasure or pain." But if this is all that the most modern phase of science can offer, it seems to be an involuntary admission that science has here stepped beyond its limits, and that it may be necessary to remand not only poetry and religion, but ethics, to the world that lies *outside*.

NOTE ON THEISM. By Prof. NOAH K. DAVIS, University of Virginia (*Christian Thought*).—Hypothesis plays an important and prominent part in scientific investigation. It is an approved feature of the inductive process. Much of physical science is built up on hypotheses that have not been established; and some of these hypotheses, by their very nature, can never become demonstrated theories. It is an error to mistake hypothesis, which is mere supposition, for theory, which is demonstrated truth; but it is legitimate to use hypothesis in an inductive search after truth, and to hold a good hypothesis firmly even where the procedure falls short of demonstration. "Newton made an hypothesis concerning the cause of celestial motions. First, he assumed a *vera causa*, that is, a cause known to be by proof apart from the hypothesis. Second, he proved that his hypothesis fully explained the facts. Third, he proved that no other hypothesis could possibly explain the facts. By this third step, what before was merely hypothesis, became demonstrated truth. It is one of the few cases in which hypothesis has logically passed into theory." The undulatory hypothesis of Huygens or Young explains the phenomena of light. But the proof that no other hypothesis will explain the facts is lacking, and the cause supposed, the luminiferous ether, has not been shown to be a *vera causa*. The development hypothesis is as old as Anaximander. Darwin assigned for it a cause, natural selection combined with it heredity, and proved the

this is a *vera causa*. But the hypothesis is imperfect, for it does not fully explain the facts; and it cannot be regarded as exclusive, for it has rivals.

When we look abroad on the world of nature and of history we behold a bewildering multitude, a vast complexus of facts and events. We inquire into the origin of this world of phenomena. Only two hypotheses have been offered—that of an infinite regressus of causes, and that of a personal first cause. The first of these merely pushes the explanation back and away out of reach, in effect denying that it is attainable. The hypothesis of a personal first cause fully, completely, and sufficiently explains all the phenomena, and so has the first mark of a legitimate and good hypothesis. It also has a *vera causa*, i.e., a cause well known to exist independently of the hypothesis in question. Every person knows himself and his fellows to be causes, original causes, creators or builders of new things from materials at hand. If we could take Newton's last step, and prove strictly that no other hypothesis can possibly explain the facts, then this hypothesis would become a theory, a logically-demonstrated truth. No rival hypothesis is proposed, but this in strictness is not sufficient; there must be direct proof that no other can explain the facts. The hypothesis is, however, strictly legitimate and scientific. It is better than the hypothesis of a luminiferous ether, for it posits a *vera causa*. It is better than the development hypothesis, for it explains all the facts, and it has no rival.

Standing on the same inductive basis as the sciences of light and natural history, with the excellences of both, and the defects of neither, how can physicists and naturalists reject theism? Bacon, the founder of induction, says, "It is true that a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion; for while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no further; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity." La Place, when asked by Napoleon why he made no mention of God in his *Mécanique Céleste*, replied, "Sire, I had no need of that hypothesis." The astronomer may not, but the man and mankind have. Said Voltaire, "If there were no God (though all nature cries out that He is) it would be necessary to invent Him." Upon this hypothetical basis let Him stand so long as the physical sciences stand.

We have taken very humble ground. The unity of the Deity, that He is more than a demiurge building the world out of matter already at hand, and that He is infinite in glorious attributes, are points not touched in this note. It only posits hypothetically a personal first cause. As initiative and a simple attendant upon other proofs, this seems to be reasonable, and likely to be helpful.

CURRENT CANADIAN THOUGHT.

THE NATURE OF CHRIST'S ATONEMENT. By Rev. W. JACKSON, Perth, Ont. (*The Canadian Methodist Quarterly*).—This article is introductory to an endeavour to form a consistent Arminian Methodist theory. It is interesting and suggestive as treating some of those primary questions on which those who would discuss this great doctrine need to be agreed. It is manifest that those argue hopelessly who have not fixed the connotation of their terms God, and Law, and Sin. This article is discursive, but it brings some points of grave importance into view.

Considered as a doctrine, the Atonement is to Christianity what the keystone is to the arch, the bond that constitutes it a unit, the secret of its strength, and the crown of its symmetrical proportions. Considered as a life, the Atonement is to Christianity what the heart is to the human body, the fountain whence it springs, and the motive power by which it acts. It is simply impossible to think about the Atonement without building up a theory; the moment we begin to think, that moment we begin to theorize. Dr. Dale says, "To speculate is perilous, not to speculate may be more perilous still."

No discussion of Atonement can be of much value that either ignores, or slightly deals with, the question of God's moral government. The fact of a moral government is established by an appeal to man's nature and environment. The arguments of Bishop Butler have never been superseded or answered. Man's moral nature implies a basis or standard of righteousness prior to it, a standard to which the consciousness of each individual makes its appeal. This standard of righteousness must centre in a person; no abstraction meets the requirements of the case. What is the nature of that law which man is under obligations to obey? M. Littré, as a physicist, says, "When we have discovered a general fact in the forces or properties of matter, we say that we are in possession of a law." Blackstone, as a jurist, says, "Law is a rule of civil conduct prescribed by the supreme power in a State, commanding what is right, and prohibiting what is wrong." Mr. Austin, as another jurist, defines law as "a rule laid down for the guidance of an intelligent being by an intelligent being having power over him." We may say that "moral law is the rule of conduct laid down by the Supreme Sovereign for the regulation of the lives of all His moral creatures, commanding what is right, and prohibiting what is wrong, the observance or breach of this rule determining the relation of the subject to the Sovereign." The essential elements of moral law indicated in this definition are—rightful authority on the part of the lawgiver, the obligation to obedience on the part of the subject, associated with the utmost freedom of action. Herein lies the essential difference between what, by an admissible figure, are called physical laws, and those designated moral; the former represents but one will, that of the lawgiver; the latter represents the will of the ruled as well as that of the ruler. What men call natural laws are but the modes in which Divine power operates in the material universe. The indestructible distinction between so-called physical and moral law is that the former intimates what actually and universally *is*, the latter what *ought to be*. Law signifies that which is *laid down*, fixed, or appointed by the sovereign authority. It contemplates the possibility of willing obedience to a command, or conformity to a rule, necessarily implying the possibility of disobedience. Its application to nature is therefore figurative, since in the working of nature there is neither disobedience nor nonconformity. We must keep this essential difference between the law of force and the law of command perpetually before our minds.

The philosophical discussions concerning the origin of moral obligation require to be noticed. To understand them, we must distinguish between moral law and moral government. Law is the truth by which intelligent responsible beings ought to shape their conduct; whereas government is the authoritative declaration of the truth by which moral subjects ought to regulate their life, such a declaration as enforces obedience to its commands by appropriate sanctions. We distinguish between law as the eternal principle of right and law as the governmental application of these principles of right to particular instances. Admit the most generally-accepted view, that moral law takes its rise in the will of God, then the disciple of Herbert Spencer might say, "Then, were there no knowledge of the Divine

will, the acts now known as wrong would not be known as wrong." This theory makes the will of God the standard of His own perfections, whereas the Divine perfections are the limit and rule of the Divine will. And it may be added, that no act of will can create a moral obligation; there must be antecedent obligation to give any command the force and authority of law.

But why does God will as He does? Dr. Dale's distinction between the conscience and the will of man—the former recognizing the authority of what he calls "the eternal law of righteousness," and the latter the personal authority of God—is arbitrary; one which finds no warrant from the facts of man's nature, the experiences of human life, or the pages of inspiration. It seems an indisputable axiom that what is the true for the reason is the right for the will. What the Divine Reason perceives to be true, that the Divine Will chooses as right. Here, we imagine, is the fountain whence law takes its rise; and this is the true relation of the Divine Will to law. But while moral law does not originate in the Will of God, it is here seen to be inseparable from His person. It has its roots in His being, its embodiment in His character, and its expression in His government. The only objection that can be urged against this position is that it puts law above God. But, "in appealing to the Divine nature, we do not affirm that God was necessitated to create, as if He were subject to the constraint of a superior power, or as if His power were not exercised in accordance with will; it is simply affirmed that the action of Deity must be in accordance with the perfection of His own nature—can never fall beneath it."

The violation of moral law cannot be permitted with impunity. This is evident from the penal sanctions attached to it. We have no disposition to exalt law above God. But law does not express the entire relations which exist between God and His moral creatures. And yet some theories of Atonement are built upon that assumption. God is also the Father of men, and we claim that the Fatherhood is the primary relation of God to men, and that all the other relations exist for the purpose of carrying out the beneficent ends of the Fatherhood. The Fatherhood does not change the sovereignty, but it does qualify it. We must also keep in mind the Divine prerogative. It is true that no act of mere prerogative can set a sinner right in his relation to God and law; yet, unless law leaves room for the exercise of prerogative, no atonement would be possible, salvation for the sinful would be out of the question. It is a theological fiction which represents one attribute or prerogative of the Deity as in conflict with another. There is not a single intimation in Holy Scripture that any perfection of the Deity was in any way opposed to the sinner's recovery from sin. John Calvin and his followers have fastened their gaze on the sovereignty of God, but they have failed to see that it is the sovereignty of a Divine Fatherhood.

What, then, is the precise relation of atonement to moral law? Does it provide for the salvation of the sinner by the substitute's enduring the penalty which the law pronounced as the just desert of transgression? This is not the same as asking, Did the vicarious sufferings and death of Christ answer the ends of law as well as the punishment of the transgressor would have done? The question now before us is, Did Christ bear the actual penalty due to the sins of the elect? If He did not, He must have endured something in its stead; but in that case the claims of law must have been relaxed, if not dispensed with. The Atonement is not so much an affair of law as of sovereign will, as is evidenced by the entire voluntariness of the Redeemer Himself. The intervention of Christ for man's salvation does not consist in anything He has done to relax or dispense with law; but by the sacrifice of Himself He procures the delay of the execution of the penal sanctions of the broken

law, and offers grace adequate for the restoration of the sinful to the image as well as to the favour of God. We claim that this view exalts the Divine law, and brings out its immutability as no other does, making man's motives to obedience stronger than ever.

THE BIBLE, THE CHURCH, AND THE REASON. By Rev. W. S. BLACKSTOCK, Toronto, Ont. (*The Canadian Methodist Quarterly*).—This is a review of the work, bearing the same title, written by Dr. Briggs, which was the occasion of charges of heresy in the Presbyterian courts of the United States. We have no concern with that matter, but we may usefully follow Mr. Blackstock in his endeavour to set forth, without prejudice, the actual teachings of the book.

Dr. Briggs maintains the complete independence of the Holy Scriptures, as carrying with them the means of their own authentication and interpretation. He takes equally strong ground respecting the self-interpreting power of the Holy Scriptures, accompanied by the illumination and guidance of the Holy Spirit. The Church is a great fountain of authority, but is not a revealer or discoverer of the will of God. It neither gives authority to the Holy Scriptures, nor is it the divinely authorized interpreter of their meaning. But there is something through which God makes Himself, in some sense, known to men, and His authority felt by them, other than either the Bible or the Church. His converse with man began before either of these had an existence, and there is no reason to doubt that He converses with them still where both the Bible and the Church are unknown. The distinction between right and wrong, and the sense of moral obligation, are universal. The word "ought," or its equivalents, are found in every language. This universal sense of obligation and accountability suggests the idea of some One, not ourselves, to whom we are accountable. Man is everywhere a religious being. This Divine thing in man Dr. Briggs calls the *Reason*. He does not mean the understanding or logical faculty, but rather the intuitive part of our spiritual being, that by which we see and know things, of which we can give no other account or proof but simply that we see them and know them. It is this Divine element through which God speaks to the individual soul—"the light that lighteneth every man that cometh into the world"—which lifts man above the plane of merely intellectual animal existence, and makes him a proper subject for religious instruction. The Bible, the Church, and the Reason are the three great media through which God speaks to man, the three grand instruments by which He produces conviction and certitude in the human soul. These are not co-ordinate fountains of authority, or on the same level. The Bible alone is the infallible rule of faith and practice. The mediæval Christian had the Church and the Sacraments, but had not the Bible, and knew little of its contents, yet he often attained to a real saintliness of character. There may be those without the Church who find the Bible, with the illuminating influence of the Holy Spirit, a sufficient support for their faith. And it may be reasonable to admit that there are cases in which men who have failed to find rest in either the Bible or the Church have found it in the Reason, or in that faculty of the soul which brings it, as it were, face to face with God. Of this class Dr. James Martineau is suggested as an example.

Of course, the normal state of things is that in which these all operate in harmony and conjunction. They may be separated as matters of thought, but they are too closely united in the great saving work which the moral Governor of the world is carrying on among men to be separated in practice. However clearly the Christian finds himself indebted to the Bible and the Church, he will find, if he carries the analysis of his experience far enough, that these do but bring the soul into direct

personal contact with God Himself, in the person of the Holy Spirit, and make him feel his immediate, absolute, and continuous dependence upon Him, and Him alone.

As to the question of the inerrancy of Scripture, Dr. Briggs says that the Scripture makes no such claim for itself, and no orthodox creed has ever made such claim for it. He recognizes its supremacy in the domain of faith and morals, and admits that it contains errors in minor matters. "If one should find errors of chronology and geography, of historical statement and description of events, of geology and astronomy, of natural history and archæology, they would not be in contravention of the statement that the Scriptures are the only and infallible rule of faith and practice." The errors are in circumstantialia, not in essentials.

It may even be urged that the inaccuracies and errors in minor matters add to the trustworthiness of the Scriptures, for they show the absolute genuineness and simplicity of their narrations. Of course, many so-called errors are mere slips of the copyists, but when these are discounted there remain inaccuracies in the actual substance of the writings; but they are not such as to shake the faith of any well-balanced mind in the entire trustworthiness of the Word of God. "They indicate that the authority of God, and His gracious discipline, transcend the highest possibilities of human speech and writing; and that the religion of Jesus Christ is not the religion of the Bible, but the religion of personal union and communion with the living God."

"Let us have faith in God, and we shall have faith in His Word, and its ability to endure the severest strain that can be put upon it. But in our zeal for the defence of the Holy Scriptures it may be possible for us to load them with responsibilities that the inspired writers themselves have not assumed. We should not claim less for these writers than they claim for themselves; but we should be careful not to claim more. We should hold them strictly responsible for the exact and infallible correctness of what they professed to be inspired of God to teach. But to go beyond this, and to assert of them and for them what they do not assert for and of themselves, is surely to assume a grave responsibility, and to impose a strain upon the faith of honest students of the Bible which it ought not to be called upon to bear. It should be remembered that the writers of the sacred books were the religious teachers of the age in which they lived. As such their paramount duty was to instruct their own contemporaries. But in order to do this, one of two things was necessary—either for them to adapt their teaching to the existing state of knowledge, or to teach the people to whom they were sent a perfect system of science, of history, and indeed of everything pertaining to the secular aspects of human life, as a preliminary step in the process of instruction. But as the latter was impossible, they were by necessity shut up to the former." They could have been no teachers of their age if they had spoken in any other than the sphere of associations which belonged to their age.

CURRENT GERMAN THOUGHT.

WENDT'S POSITION ON THE JOHANNINE QUESTION. By Dr. E. HAUPT, Halle (*Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1893, No. 2).—The theory of the fourth Gospel on which Wendt's *Teaching of Jesus* proceeds is that the discourses of Christ which it contains come from St. John, but that these have been edited by a later hand, and that the difference between the two parts of the Gospel is plainly discernible by certain marks. The Matthew-Logia and John-Logia together give us the genuine teaching

of Jesus, and the two are in essential harmony. The grounds of this theory are stated in the first part of Wendt's work, which has not been translated. Dr. Haupt subjects this theory to a long and searching criticism in the above article, and, while commending the sincerity and ability of the author and the attractiveness of many of his suggestions in the highest terms, comes to a decidedly adverse conclusion. "The reasons given do not prove the case; the alleged difficulties are capable of other explanations; the Johannine authorship is still the most probable theory," is in substance the conclusion he comes to. We can, of course, give only specimens of his reasoning.

The two principal reasons adduced by Wendt for this theory are (1) the existence of passages which interrupt the order of thought, and so look like interpolations, and (2) the different conceptions of the same subjects found in the Gospel.

A good example of the first is John i. 15, which at first sight seems to break the connection between two closely-related passages. The phraseology and import of ver. 16 seem to join on to ver. 14, not ver. 15. Wendt also points out that vers. 14 and 16 base Christ's superiority on a fact of experience; ver. 15 bases it on authority. Haupt replies, first, by asking how, if ver. 15 be omitted, the "for" of ver. 16 is to be explained. Our receiving of His fulness cannot be the cause or reason of our beholding His glory, but the reverse; and if it is supposed that the original reading was "and," not "for," how could a difficult reading like the latter be put for a simpler one? And, still further, supposing with Wendt the connection between vers. 14 and 16 to be so close, why did the editor interrupt it by inserting ver. 15 here, instead of after ver. 17? The discussion of ver. 15 goes along with that of vers. 6-8, which also relate to the Baptist, and which Wendt is also obliged to assign to the later editor; but in this case the "true" of ver. 9 loses its support, for it only has any meaning as it expresses a contrast with the Baptist of vers. 6-8. Moreover, if vers. 6-8 be removed, the emphasis would fall on the light *coming* into the world, though this is contrary to the order of the words; and after it has been said, in ver. 5, that the light is already shining, it is superfluous to say that it is coming into the world.

Haupt suggests another explanation of the entire passage. Assuming that the prologue, vers. 1-5, is a complete whole, as it seems to be, describing as it does the true nature of the Word, ver. 6 then begins the historical narrative. There is every appearance of this. The opening, "There came a man," is as formal as possible. There is nothing parenthetical about it. But the remark, "He was not the light," suggests the twofold reception which the light met with in the world; this is the subject of vers. 9-14. Then in ver. 15 the Evangelist resumes the narrative of ver. 8 in order to give the actual testimony which the Baptist bore to the true light. Then again, in vers. 16-18, the Evangelist interrupts his narrative in order still further to illustrate the thought just uttered, viz., the eminent position of Christ. It will be seen that Haupt precisely reverses the view of the passage taken by Wendt, making vers. 6-8 and ver. 15 the narrative proper, and vers. 9-14 and 16-18 parenthetical explanations. Vers. 16-18 bear just the same relation to ver. 15 as 9-14 do to vers. 6-8. We cannot reproduce the minute analysis by which Haupt supports his position, but can only say that the exposition seems exceedingly natural. If so, it completely upsets the proof derived from this passage by Wendt for his theory of the composition of the Gospel.

We may mention one or two points of interest in the exposition. Ver. 14 does not begin a new section. This could only be the case if the previous verses referred to the pre-incarnate Word. But they do not, for vers. 12, 13 state one great spiritual

result of the incarnation. Haupt places the emphasis of ver. 14 on the "beholding," of which the becoming flesh and tabernacling among us are presuppositions. After dwelling in vers. 12, 13 on results of the incarnation, it would be strange to go back in ver. 14 to the fact itself as the chief thought. Let it also be noted that in ver. 5 the point of incarnation is reached; the shining of the light assumes its presence. Ver. 5 really indicates the subject of the entire Gospel. "In each one of its main parts the shining of the light, offering itself to the world, and the non-reception by the world, are set forth."

The other passages in the Gospel, adduced by Wendt as interpolations, are subjected to a similar analysis, xiii. 16-20, vi. 27 ff., vii. 15-24, viii. 12 ff., xii. 44 ff. Each one of these is discussed in detail. In the first passage Haupt acknowledges that vers. 18, 19 have no connection with the context; ver. 20 joins on to ver. 16, although he would prefer to say that ver. 20 looks more like a later addition. But then, why should a later editor insert vers. 18 and 19 so incongruously? In point of fact, the Gospel contains many examples of passages apparently brought together by the writer on some other ground than inner connection of thought. Here the purpose seems to be "to show how the thought of the traitor filled the mind of Jesus that evening. Hence it breaks out on every occasion. The entire thought of the example of Jesus, which the disciples are to follow, reminds Him that it does not hold good for all: one is present, to whom Jesus is no example, who does not inwardly belong to this circle." In all the other cases Dr. Haupt first criticizes the explanation given by Dr. Wendt, and then gives a counter explanation. One thing is certain, that, on Dr. Wendt's theory, the editor or reviser was a man of the weakest capacity; no one else would have deliberately introduced passages having no connection with the context.

Wendt attaches greater importance to his second argument—that the discourses of Christ in the fourth Gospel, and the supposed editorial additions, exhibit different religious views. The first example given is that of "signs" and "works." In the discourses "sign" is secondary or absent, "work" prominent; in the other parts the case is reversed. This, it is argued, is more than a verbal difference, it is a difference of conception. The reference to "sign" finds the proof of Christ's Divine authority simply in His miraculous acts; the use of the term "work" synonymously with word (*ἔργον*) finds it in Christ's ethical work.

Haupt altogether disputes the interpretation here given both of signs and works. The former are not displays of mere power, but always have a moral aim as well. It is so in the raising of Lazarus, the healing of the blind man, the miracle at the pool, the feeding of the multitude, the nobleman's son. The first miracle was to confirm faith in Christ as the resurrection and the life, and in all the other cases some moral end is answered. "From this it follows that no single miraculous account has merely the character of a display of power, but all, even those which Wendt ascribes to the editor, seek to reveal the moral and religious character of Jesus. Moreover, several of these—that of Lazarus, the blind man, the feeding—are used as allegories of what Jesus is willing to do in the inner sphere, and that at Bethesda at least as a proof of what He can do in the higher sphere." The same is true of the miracles of knowledge, as in the case of the Samaritan and Nathanael; in both there are moral ends in view. "It is therefore highly improbable that the editor understood by sign miraculous acts merely as manifestations of a higher power. Rather these mighty acts are called signs, as speaking a language of signs; they are not signs of higher power, but these mighty acts in the natural sphere are signs of what Jesus is or will do in a higher sphere. Just for the peculiar character of the Johannine miracles there

is no apter designation than this one. As in the Synoptists Jesus wishes to reveal heavenly things in the parables, but the people do not understand them, but stop at the outward history; so in John the miracles are meant to be signs, but the people only see wonders in them."

Haupt also contends against the identifying of "works" and "words." Wendt's proof-passage is xiv. 10 f., which is not conclusive. Another view of the meaning is that Christ sets the words and works beside each other: I speak not from Myself, I act not from Myself; both are from the Father. Of course, the works embrace, not merely the miracles, but also the entire saving work of Christ, iv. 84, v. 20, 86, ix. 8. But elsewhere the miracles are evidently the chief thing thought of, vii. 8, 21, x. 82, 87. On the other hand, there is no case in which the words of Jesus are described by the substantive "work." The "greater works" of v. 20 are not words in distinction from miracles, but religious effects in contrast with bodily. Above all, xv. 24, compared with xv. 22, is decisive against Wendt. If the words here mean works, or are even included in them, the second saying needlessly repeats the first. "Certainly in the fourth Gospel Jesus has described *not merely* His miracles as works, but His entire work as Saviour (v. 80, 86); but it is a confusion for Wendt to suppose that His words are included therein; *not the words themselves, but their effect*, the restoring of new Divine life, is reckoned among the works. . . . The true position is almost the reverse of what Wendt thinks. By signs the miracles are scarcely ever marked out as mere displays of power, their religious import is emphasized thereby. . . . On the contrary, just in those parts which Wendt himself ascribes to the Apostle John, Jesus appeals repeatedly, under the title of works, to the miraculous side of His acts in the proper sense as a proof of His Divine mission, x. 25, 82, 87, xv. 24; not indeed as the proper proof, standing by itself in the foreground, but as the one obvious to the senses. It is thus proved that we have to do here, not with two self-contradictory modes of view, but with a deeper and fuller view of the significance of miracles as signs, and a secondary view which has the force of an *argumentatio ad homines*: If you will not believe on the higher grounds, at least believe in the miraculousness of My deeds."

Why, then, does the word "sign" occur so seldom in Christ's own discourses? "Precisely because, as it seems to me, in no passage where we read 'work' is the significant, symbolic side of the miracles meant to be emphasized." "If our exposition is correct, if the writer has aimed at exhibiting the nature of miracles not in the outward miraculous fact, but in their significance for the religious life, it is no mark of an inferior standpoint when at the close he adduces the signs as a proof of Christ's Divine Sonship. Not the wonders in their outward occurrence, but the circumstance that they are a sign-language makes them capable of being evidences of Christ's supramundane nature, of attesting Him as the possessor *not merely* of Divine power, but of God's saving truth."

Dr. Wendt, again, contends that the idea of faith in the discourses differs from that given by the editor. The former means, he says, the practical acknowledgment of Christ's Divine saving character, such as is shown in accepting and following His teaching; the latter the theoretical conviction of His Divine power, such as His miracles might produce. Dr. Haupt contests both points. He shows that in the portions ascribed by Wendt himself to the editor, where the faith which is the product of miracles is mentioned, it is treated as imperfect. So we are told in chap. ii. 23 that some believed on the ground of miracles, but it is added that Jesus did not commit Himself to them. In iv. 48, again, He expressly complains of the craving for this kind of evidence. In the narrative of Nathanael, also, a

higher ground of faith is referred to. As to the idea of faith in the great discourses of the fourth Gospel, Haupt thinks, first, that Wendt lowers its meaning to mere assent or consent. It is a much more inward, spiritual conception. According to chap. vi. 85, it is a coming to Christ, a feeding on Him, cleaving to Him. To let the Spirit of Christ, speaking to us in His words, really enter into and govern us; to be one with Him, not merely in action, but in our whole being—this is faith. "But this highest conception of faith does not prevent the same word being used also for inadequate beginnings of a right relation to Christ, even if they are mixed with error or only transient. This follows from the simple fact that the peculiar terminology of the author does not prevent him using also the current Christian phrases, as is the case also in Paul with reference to the same idea."

After referring to other points of the same kind, Dr. Haupt sums up: "Wendt's hypothesis of a twofold source has not been shown to be necessary at any point; in many points it is anything but successful in solving difficulties. His analysis has no sufficient basis. The result, to which he comes, is very attractive. The greatest stumbling-blocks found in the fourth Gospel disappear. The miracle at Cana, the feeding of the multitude, the details at least in the case of the blind man and Lazarus, are left with the editor. The properly historical part is found in the great discourses of Jesus, and these also lose many of their difficult elements in the exegesis of Wendt. There is left at last a remnant, which the modern mind can accept. But I must confess that this result fills me with mistrust. Not that for a moment I wish to suggest that a man like Wendt wished to arrive at such a result. He has reached it by the path of honest labour. But still it makes me distrustful: I cannot at all conceive that Jesus really thought in such modern ways. I also have the feeling that His words are robbed of the meaning which they have for an unprejudiced eye. We cannot escape from the difficulties of the fourth Gospel by the notion of a revision of historical discourses of Christ. We must accept it just as it is. We may regard it as historical, ideal-historical, unhistorical, but there is no ground for separating the several parts. I have intentionally made no reference to the question of genuineness, so as not to complicate the question. But I will not close without confessing that I come again and again to this result, that the difficulties are most easily solved on the supposition of the Johannine authorship. But it is a great gain that by the most recent labours of Wendt, Schürer, and Harnack a broad space is won, on which supporters and opponents of the genuineness may meet and work together."

THE APOSTLES' CREED. By Dr. R. F. GRAU, Königsberg (*Bew. d. Glaubens*, Jan., 1893).—A sharp controversy is raging in Germany around a pamphlet by Harnack, in which the clause, "Conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary," is virtually repudiated. A cloud of pamphlets has appeared on one side and the other. Dr. Grau emphasizes in the lecture he has given on the subject the essential Rationalism of the Ritschl school.

Dr. Grau points out, first of all, that the clauses affirming Christ's supernatural birth belonged to the earliest form of the Creed, viz., the old Roman creed, which is traceable to the first half of the second century, as Harnack himself says. Those were the days of the Apostolic Fathers, days of tradition rather than of creation. From this it is argued that the substance of the Creed may claim at least indirect Apostolic authority. It arose at the same time as the New Testament canon, and out of similar causes, as a security against false doctrines. "But if we thus go back to the original *Apostolicum*, this does not mean that its several clauses as such are the substance of our faith and the foundation of our trust. The substance of our faith

can only be a Person, and that is the Lord Jesus Christ. The Apostolicum treats of Him ; He is its centre and soul. The outward form of the original Creed shows this most clearly. For whereas two clauses refer to the Father, and four to the Holy Spirit, nine treat of Christ. And again, none of these words can be taken by themselves ; they utter a great mystery of faith—the nature and the work of our Lord and Saviour. Neither can be severed from the other. It is the Son of God, and Himself true God, who was nailed to the cross for us, and, moreover, He was born of the Virgin Mary by the power of the Holy Ghost. This is the universal faith of Christendom and the faith of the simple. They could not believe in that work of salvation and a forgiveness of sins, unless they were certain that the true Son of God wrought it ; and therefore also they believe in the birth from the Virgin."

The question is asked, How is it, if the miraculous birth is of the first importance. it is mentioned only in the first and third Gospels ? One could scarcely expect a fact of this nature to be made very prominent. As to St. Mark's Gospel, the position given to Christ as the Son of Man, the dispenser of forgiveness, the Bridegroom of the Church, is quite in harmony with, if it does not even demand, the fact. As to St. John, are his prologue and his entire presentation of Christ consistent with a natural birth ? "Or can any one suppose that the Apostle Paul, who even before the fourth Evangelist teaches the creation of the world by the Lord Jesus (1 Cor. viii. 6), yet believes that the heavenly Man, the Spirit who gives life, is inferior to the Adam created of the earth, that He is begotten of the flesh, in which dwells no good thing ?" But the real answer to be given to the question asked above runs thus : "This fact is only significant for you who have come to true faith in the Lord Jesus, the historical Christ. And you cannot come to this true faith in the way and by means of that fact or doctrine. But you can come to this faith only in the way in which the Galileans came to it, namely, when you come as a sick man, to whom his sins are a burden, to this Physician, who draws near to you as a holy and yet merciful High Priest, and says to you, Thy sins are forgiven thee ; arise and walk. And when you have heard and believed that He alone possesses such power to forgive sins, because He gave His soul a ransom for thee, then will the question demand an answer, Whence this unique soul, which is alone without guilt and stain, and which is able to be a ransom for all ? Then you will not only be able, but compelled, to believe that this soul has a different origin from the rest, as it has a different nature, and therefore a different value. But this we must learn from our study, that the preaching of the Gospel and the teaching of the Catechism must not start from the birth of Jesus, but must first picture and impress on man's soul the glory of the only-begotten Son of God in the entire fullness of His grace and truth, in the entire riches of His merciful love and mighty help, before they can raise and answer that question."

After giving a sketch of the Scripture story of Divine revelation to and dealings with the man, the writer proceeds : "That God has given Himself in His Son for sinful humanity, the Master for His servants, the Physician for the sick, the Just for the unjust, this is the Divine folly of the Gospel, in which the essence of Christianity consists. To take away this folly at which the natural reason of all ages has stumbled, is to take the sting from the bee, but also to kill it ; it is to destroy the deepest ground of our trust in God, and to take from the Gospel the power to change the old into a new man born of God (1 Cor. i. 80). This is the essential matter in the conflict about the Creed, namely, the work and nature of Jesus Christ, the Son of God. The essential matter is that the work and suffering of the man Jesus are, in fact, the work and suffering of God Himself. The new school cannot confess this, because it seems too foolish to the natural reason. But to us this is the essence of

Christianity. The two clauses, 'conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary,' have such importance in the present dispute because they cannot be evaded like the other clauses, but affirm beyond question that this man Jesus has come from above, God of God, Light of Light. Therefore opposition rises up against them. The faith of simple people cleaves to them; they feel how much is at stake. For their comfort, and the strengthening of their faith, let us hear Luther speak: 'The devil attacks Christ with three armies. One will not let Him be God. Another will not let Him be man. The other will not let Him do what He has done. Each one of the three would make Christ a cipher. For what gain is it to confess that He is God if thou dost not believe that He is man? For then thou hast not the whole real Christ, but a phantom of the devil. What gain is it to confess that He is man if thou dost not believe that He is God? What gain is it to confess that He is God and man if thou dost not believe that He became and did all this for thee? Just as it did not help some to confess that He died for us, and yet believed not that He is God (like the Arians), or not man (like the Manicheans). All three points must be believed, namely, that He is God, that He is man, that He for us became such a man, that is, as the first Creed says, Conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered, was crucified, died, and rose again, &c. If one point be wanting, all are wanting. For faith is and must be whole and complete; although it may be weak and tempted, yet it must be full, and not false, which is eternal death.'" "When our opponents appeal directly to Luther, desiring to make him the authority for their deviations from the particular clauses of the Creed, two things are to be said. It is right to say that Luther in his two expositions of the second article in the small and great Catechism protests against the legal, mechanical view of our Creed such as is given in the Roman conception of faith. It is right to say that in both expositions he dwells on the central truth: He is my Lord who redeemed me, a lost and ruined man. What does this little word 'Lord' mean? That 'Jesus Christ, God's true Son,' purchased me by the surrender of His Divine life; the several parts of the article merely state 'what it cost Him to purchase us. He became man, was conceived and born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin without sin that He might overcome sin; suffered, died, and was buried, that He might satisfy for me, and pay what I owed, not with silver or gold, but with His own precious blood. And all this He did that He might be my Lord, for He did not do it or need to do it for Himself.' So it is correct to say that Luther did not insist on the several articles as such, but on a great matter, the soul of the whole article, nay, of the three articles, that is, the work of Jesus in His self-sacrifice for us, as in the shedding of His blood (Mark x. 45; Matt. xx. 28). But to ascribe this work to a man, and yet to claim Luther for this view, is a daring stroke, and only to be compared with the attempt to make Luther the precursor of Rationalism. For Luther that work of redemption only has its true, comprehensive, and eternal significance so far as it is the work of the true Son of God; were it a human work it would lose its essential meaning. A deep gulf separates Luther's faith from the Ritschl school."

Dr. Grau agrees with teachers of that school when they insist, as they often do, that true faith is not bound to a formula of words, but is "simple, independent trust in a person, not in a doctrine or doctrines; devotion to God Himself, not the acceptance of an *idea* of God; the joyous certainty that God loves us, not the acknowledgment of theories about His 'attributes.'" "Yet," it is replied, "just because faith is essentially trust in a person, I must know this person if I am to trust him. Hence knowledge is united with faith, the faith which says, I know in whom I believe." The knowledge of course embraces not merely attributes, but all that is included in the completed revelation of Christ.

DR. VON FRANK ON THE SAME CONTROVERSY (*Neue Kirchl. Zeitschr.* 1893, No. 1).—"Let our opponents understand that, if the opposition to the Apostolic Confession of Faith should assume wider dimensions and lead to corresponding practical measure, we should have before us a separation, in comparison with which that of the Reformation would be child's-play. It is incomprehensible to me how any one acquainted with history can imagine that, by reducing the import of the Confession, by omitting or softening the offensive points, he will bring about a union or the possibility of a peaceful co-operation. He must have ill understood the history of the conflicts about the Creed who thinks that generalizing it, by breaking off its angles, he will secure progress. Is this, forsooth, your wisdom that, by appealing to the indefiniteness and diversity at the beginning, you will take us back to that initial stage? This we know, as well as you, that whoever now believes in Jesus Christ and receives forgiveness through Him is saved, as the jailor at Philippi was saved. The jailor was not asked as to the several articles of the Creed. But are we to infer from this that the Church does not need the Creed, and ought to give it up for the sake of those who stumble at Christ's miraculous birth, or His descent into Hades, or His resurrection or ascension? To assert this is to require the Church to become childish in order to help children to understand. When Paul became a Jew to the Jews, a heathen to the heathen, he did not give up the rich evangelical knowledge he possessed, but did it on the basis of this knowledge. Faith in Jesus Christ, dying and rising again, faith in Father, Son, and Spirit, such as was given in the Baptismal formula, contains in itself from the first and actually all the elements fixed in the Creed when that formula was enlarged. The Church rightly assumed, and still assumes, that whoever surrenders himself in living faith to the living Christ, at the same time, although implicitly, yea, perhaps along with opposition arising from ignorance, holds fast Christ as He is made known in all the parts of the Creed. The Church may bear long with its weak members, tossed about with temptation and doubt; even with its ministers, who through the teaching of the present time have not reached full certainty. But it is absurd to require the Church on their account to descend from the height it has reached in the knowledge of the Gospel. To lead it to give up entirely or partially the Apostles' Creed would be to ignore the course it has traversed, and to throw it back to its earliest beginnings."

Reference is made on the other side to the slow growth of the Creed, its many variations, the different senses put upon some of its clauses, the difficulty of other clauses, in order to diminish the authority of the clauses in dispute. But there is a wide difference between the practice of the Roman Catholic Church in putting all the articles on the same level, and the Protestant way of emphasizing the central, essential truths. Dr. Frank also points out that Harnack has made no new discoveries on the subject. The objections made to the clauses in dispute do not arise from any cause of this kind, but from the old aversion to the miraculous which is characteristic of the new as of the old Rationalism. The new school "seems to start from the interesting assumption, that if these articles had been based on truth, the first preachers of the Gospel must have begun with saying: We preach to you the Christ who did not spring, like other men, from human parents, but was conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of a virgin. We see from the beginning of Mark's Gospel, which has best preserved the original form of Gospel preaching, that this was not the case; *ergo*, &c. Precisely so, as the champions of the 'historic Christ' persuade us, if you believe Christ personally pre-existed, if you speak in dogmatics of the eternal Godhead of the Son, you must begin with it in practical instruction, the Apostles must have begun their mission-preaching with saying: We

preach to you One who, as the Second Person of the Divine Trinity, assumed human nature of the Virgin Mary, &c. But opponents will, perhaps, give up arguments of this kind, and permit us to abide by the faith of Christendom in the eternal Son of God and the Virgin's Son, without letting ourselves be terrified by objections of this sort. The Apostles, when they saw the person of their Master with eyes of faith, discerned in Him the eternal, Divine background of His nature; from this point, in connection with the Lord's sayings about Himself, they came to confess Him as One who was with God. And as they experienced it in themselves, so they taught it in their preaching; they did not begin with metaphysical ideas, but they were conscious of this and expressed it, that our faith in this historical Christ would be vain apart from that Divine and eternal background of His nature. To them also, as we may see in Paul's letters, it never occurred in their mission-preaching to prefix the testimony to Christ's miraculous birth, for no one would believe this who had not first known Christ as his Redeemer. But those who knew Him in this character, and then learned what previously was a holy mystery, afterwards spoke of it, and what they had first known of Christ attested to them the truth of the wondrous fact. So shall we, on our part, also hold to it, and not begin to let go our faith with facts whose meaning is only understood after we have come into contact with Christ's redeeming power and person. But, standing in this relation to the fact testified in Scripture and confessed in the Creed, we all the more energetically repudiate the futile grounds with which it is sought to overturn that fact.

"Would that every one saw clearly, and indeed on both sides, that essential questions are here at stake, which cannot be decided by mere historical means. I will put the matter as strongly as possible, that the meaning of my words may be placed beyond doubt. Only one who sees in Christ the highest miracle of the world's history, because he knows his own faith, regeneration, and conversion to be a miracle which cannot be explained by the factors of the natural system of things; only one who sees within this natural world a higher spiritual world-history, which the natural one subserves, will without offence accept in faith the miraculous facts of the life of Christ, because he knows it to be homogeneous with the spiritual world, in which he lives We will not so far deceive ourselves as to think that by giving up the points now first contested, 'conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary,' unity would be restored for long; for we believe in Jesus Christ, God's only-begotten, incarnate Son, in a different sense from our opponents, and will not allow the latter to conceal the difference reaching to the roots of our faith with words of the same sound. When we call Christ our Lord, we mean it in a different sense from those who pass by His resurrection, His ascension, and sitting at the right hand of God, with a shrug of the shoulders and a shake of the head. Let us be honest on both sides, and say to ourselves, that here there is no longer any question of faith in Christ in the sense of the Church, and therefore of faith in the Father and in the Holy Ghost in the sense of the Church; not because, as has been erroneously or ignorantly said, the clauses in question are the foundation or cornerstone of Christianity, but because the denial of them brings out clearly the fact, that the faith remaining in the incarnate Son of God is different altogether from the confession we make about Him along with the entire Christian Church."

Dr. Frank points out also how the Apostles' Creed, testifying as it does to the great facts of redemption apart from doctrine, is still the common meeting-ground of all Churches, Roman and Protestant. This does not bind us to receive all the old interpretation of the articles; but growth in understanding does not affect the essential substance of the Creed. The case of the *Descensus* and *Communio Sanctorum*

is the same as that of the doctrine of the Son of God. "Shall I give up my more definite belief, such as the further development of the Church has produced, because the interpretation in ancient days was indefinite, perhaps subordinationist? Or should I be content with confessing the only-begotten Son of God, as Ritschl and his friends do, without asking what they mean by it? The Church has the right and the duty to spare and preserve the first childlike, yea childish, beginnings of faith in the immature—destroy it not, for a blessing is in it—but it has no right to yield to and unite with those who unscripturally oppose accepted doctrine, and, in order to conceal their contradiction, treat us to generalities."

"I repeat once more: it is untrue that only particular parts of the Creed, which your criticism finds to be unhistorical, offend you; the quintessence of the confession, faith in the incarnate, only-begotten Son of God, you do not share with the Church, the Evangelical Church, and hence comes, in the last resort, your opposition, hence the applause of the undiscerning crowd which delights you. I should wish that fact at least to be clearly understood by the authors and leaders of this movement, and show them the value of the praise lavished on them. . . . It is well that the thoughts of men should be revealed; for, amid the indescribable ambiguities which at present are so conspicuous in theology, we need clearness. It will be seen who still adheres to the faith of the Church, the Evangelical Church."

CURRENT FRENCH THOUGHT.

THE CHRIST OF THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS. By J. BOVON (*Revue Chrétienne*).—The Gospels of the New Testament are not the only writings with that title that have come down to us from Christian antiquity. In the ages immediately following the time of the Apostles, there was a luxuriant growth of apocryphal literature of very unequal value, which was never admitted by the Church as having the authority of the sacred writings, but which enjoyed a certain measure of popularity in Christian circles. Some of these documents were regarded from the first with suspicion, because of the heretical character of their contents, and have almost entirely disappeared. The only traces of them are in brief quotations to be found here and there in the writings of the early fathers. But others, which were less offensive to Christian orthodoxy, have come down to our own time. The principal of these are: *The Protevangelium of James*, in Greek, attributed to James, the brother of the Lord—which Justin Martyr appears to have known; *The Gospel of Thomas*, of a somewhat later date, but quoted by Origen; *The Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew*, belonging probably to the third century; *The History of Joseph the Carpenter*, of Coptic origin, and belonging to the fourth century; *The Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*, now only known to us in the Arabic (with a Latin translation), but probably originally written in Syriac, from which the stories of Christ in the Koran are borrowed; and what was formerly called *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, but is now regarded as a combination of two distinct works, (a) *The Acts of Pilate* (perhaps of the second century), and (b) *The Descent of Christ into Hell*, a work belonging to a somewhat later period.

Sometimes these apocryphal texts reproduce and amplify narratives in the canonical Gospels, but more frequently they profess to give information concerning events which the sacred writings do not record—circumstances connected with the nativity and early life of Jesus, and His sojourn in the world of spirits after His death and before

His resurrection. From the historical point of view, they are utterly worthless; no new facts can be gleaned from them. They are often coarse and vulgar in tone, and the miracles recorded in them are mere prodigies, devoid of moral or spiritual dignity. Nevertheless, these legends have exercised an influence on the ideas and practices of the Church, which we can trace down almost to the period of the Reformation. The apocryphal narratives have supplied the Roman Catholic calendar with the names of a good many saints, they have given rise to the festival of The Assumption of the Virgin, and have insinuated themselves into certain parts of the ancient Roman liturgy. Nor is their influence upon mediæval Christian art less noticeable; they have furnished some of the most favourite subjects for pictures, and suggested details in the treatment of them. Thus the scene of the Saviour's nativity is usually represented as a cave, in spite of the history in St. Luke's Gospel. Joseph, whom tradition transforms into a priest, is depicted as an old man, wearing a mitre and holding a green branch in his hand. Some old pictures represent the Virgin, in accordance with the legendary history, as surrounded on her death-bed by the twelve Apostles, whom God had miraculously brought together for the purpose from all parts of the world. We may say that in all cases where the Biblical text and the apocryphal writings are at variance, the popular mind preferred the latter, and that the influence of this spurious literature upon the ideas of the people during the Middle Ages was far stronger than that of the sober and chaste narratives of the New Testament. This is not to be set down to caprice or ignorance; it rather proves that both the authors of these legends and their admirers had similar views of the work and person of Jesus Christ.

Now, however incoherent they seem to be, the apocryphal narratives are pervaded by one idea. They are all tainted by *docetism*, as it is called in theological language: that is, the authors of them do not realize, or they even deny, the true humanity of the Saviour. In reality the Jesus of these legends is human only in appearance, and it cannot be said of Him that He has been made like us in all things except sin. Development is the law of our nature; but the Jesus of the Apocrypha, so far from progressing, is what He will be to all eternity. As a child, He possesses the Divine attributes of omniscience and omnipotence. "Do not consider Me to be a little child," He says to Mary on the journey into Egypt, "for I am, and always have been, perfect; and all the beasts of the forest must needs bow down before Me" (Pseudo-Matt. xviii.).

It would be easy to show that this docetism, though condemned as a theory, has always prevailed in the Church; and, no doubt, this fact explains the great favour shown towards these apocryphal histories. Man, being unable of himself to realize the Divine life, tends to become isolated from God; but as if, on the other hand, he could not do without his Creator, he seeks on all sides for means for filling up the void. Hence results the tendency discernible even in the development of doctrine within the Church: in proportion as Christ the Son of God was conceived of as infinitely exalted above humanity, it became the more necessary to think of there being mediators between us and Him. Such was the tendency of Roman Catholicism during the Middle Ages; the popular belief represented Jesus as an inaccessible being, whose vengeance was feared, and before whom men must tremble.

We can scarcely fail to see a certain relation between these ideas and the conception of Christ's person and character which the apocryphal Gospels disclose. So natural indeed seems the need for averting the attention from the humanity of the Saviour, that even the Protestant Churches of our own time can scarcely be said to be free from the error involved in this procedure—they do not fully realize he

representation of Jesus which is given in the Gospels, "who learned obedience by the things which He suffered," and who was "tempted in all points like as we are." Modern theology endeavours to get rid of this docetism by freeing itself from the metaphysical formulas borrowed from ancient Greek philosophy, which still weigh so heavily upon Christian thought. Dogmas, moulded and coloured by Platonic philosophy, represent Jesus as a Divine being, merely veiled by a human form, and devoid of individuality; but the exegesis of our time brings before us the living Christ of the Gospels in the unity of His life, God because He is man, and because man was created in the image of God. We must therefore make our choice between two rival conceptions. Those who believe in a Christ who had an intuitive knowledge of all the mysteries of the universe should logically take the side of the apocryphal Gospels as against the canonical; for, according to the latter, Jesus learned what He knew in the ordinary way, and never concealed His ignorance even of matters relating to the future of the kingdom of God (Luke ii. 40, 52; Mark xiii. 32). And let no one imagine that, by the suppression of the human element, the Divinity of the Saviour succeeds the better in receiving the glory due to it. The history of dogmas show us that that Divinity, when isolated from a true humanity, becomes warped, and loses its august character of holiness and love.

THE PLACE OF APOLOGETICS IN PROTESTANT THEOLOGY. By D. H. MEYER (*Revue de Théologie*).—The study of apologetics should evidently come after those which relate to the sources of Christianity and its historical development. The books of the New Testament show us what primitive Christianity was. Biblical criticism answers impartially questions connected with the age, authorship, and authenticity of those documents; while exegesis interprets their contents. The common aim of both Biblical criticism and exegesis being to go back beyond the opinions of theologians and the dogmas of Churches to the Christianity of Christ and His first disciples, these studies naturally take their place at the beginning of Christian theology. Then comes historical theology, which traces the course of Christianity in the world—Church history; and the development of Christian thought—the history of dogmas. The special work of apologetics is to show that this positive and historical religion, the origin and past of which Biblical criticism, exegesis, and Church history concern themselves with, is the true religion—that Christianity can claim by a unique title to be of Divine origin. Apologetics, therefore, come, in the order of the theological sciences, after historical and before dogmatic theology. Before founding on the Bible the edifice of dogmatic teaching, it is necessary that the authority of the Bible itself should have been settled on a firm foundation. It is on apologetics that the duty rests of laying that foundation.

The first principle that should guide apologetics is one that is too often forgotten; it is that Christianity, if it is true, being necessary for all, the demonstration of its truth ought to be of a kind that all can understand. No doubt apologetics will at times address itself to a special class. All branches of human knowledge—science, history, and philosophy—bring in their turn their tribute of objections and arguments; and to this department will evidently fall the duty of addressing each in turn—of becoming all things to all men in order to convince some. Nevertheless, apologetics should, as far as its main lines of proof are concerned, avoid discussions for understanding which a special education is needed. In other words, it should avoid critical and historical discussions, since these are only open to a limited number, while the demonstration of the truth of Christianity should be of a kind that all can follow.

A second principle of apologetics should be that Christianity, if it is true, being

necessary for all, all have need of being certain of its truth. The Roman Catholic finds this certainty in the authority of the Church and of an infallible Pope, its organ and head; but for us Protestants there is another way open by which to reach the result. We arrive at this certainty of belief by a careful study of the four documents which profess to inform us concerning the Founder of the Christian religion and concerning His teaching. If there exist decisive reasons for believing the truth of the Christian religion, it is there that we may expect to find them; if Christianity is true, if it is of Divine origin, it is in the teaching of its Founder that we shall find a firm basis for certainty in the matter. We see from a study of the historical documents on which Christianity rests, and of its history for eighteen centuries, that the first disciples, and after them the Church, recognized in the religion founded by Jesus Christ the character and dignity of a religion of Divine and supernatural origin. Were they right or wrong? The answer to this question depends on the idea we form of the person of the Founder of Christianity. The Apostles and the first disciples believed and affirmed, the Christian Church for eighteen hundred years has believed and affirmed, that Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Man, notwithstanding the fact of His having been our Fellow and Brother, was more than a mere man—that He was indeed the only-begotten Son of God. Is this conviction well-based, or is it illusory? Who is Jesus Christ? It is for the apologist to set forth the teaching and declarations of the four Gospels; for they are calculated to convince honest and unprejudiced minds that Christ really was, as His Apostles unanimously believed and proclaimed Him to be, a unique, a holy, and Divine Being.

The point of connection between the human soul and the teaching of Christ is to be found in conscience. In each one of us conscience testifies to the obligatory character and to the inviolability of the law of righteousness. And the moral teaching of Jesus Christ approves itself to the conscience: it confirms its testimony, and is seen to be the perfect revelation of the law of righteousness.

From this the apologist will pass on to the fact that in the four documents which have preserved His words for us Christ speaks of Himself as one—as the only one—who has perfectly observed the law of righteousness which He revealed. He never acknowledges sin, or His own need of pardon. This perfect holiness of Jesus is attested by the unanimous evidence of those who witnessed His life—by His Apostles and all His first disciples. It is impossible that there should have been a misunderstanding in a matter of such importance on the part of men who learned from Jesus the unity, the spirituality, and the absolute authority of the law of righteousness, and who proclaimed the guilt and the universality of sin. 'It is still more impossible that the Son of Man Himself, who knew the human heart so well, could have been ignorant of His own, or that He had all through His life a false and unjust opinion of His own moral condition—that unconscious of His sinfulness, He, like the hypocrites He upbraided, should have passed His life in beholding the mote in the eyes of His brethren without considering the beam that was in His own. If there is one thing certain upon earth, it is the historical reality of the perfect holiness of Jesus Christ, attested as it is by Jesus Christ Himself.

But not only was He conscious of having here below realized a perfect holiness, but He attributed to His own person an absolute religious value, resulting from a unique relation between Himself and God. Now, it is manifest that the Son of Man, who was perfectly holy, and whose holiness sprang from His relation with God, could not be deceived as to the true nature and character of that relation. He whom the last of the prophets hailed beforehand as the Sun of Righteousness did not mislead His disciples, or deceive Himself when He declared that He was the only Son of God.

The apologist will lay stress upon the unity of the testimony of Jesus Christ concerning Himself in the four Gospels. This testimony is consistent throughout. The perfect holiness of Jesus is ever connected with His filial relation to God. The testimony of the Christ of the synoptic Gospels, and that of the Christ of the fourth Gospel, are at one in this. And with the truthfulness of Christ's testimony concerning His Divinity is involved that of His testimony concerning those Divine works which, as He says, the Father gave Him the power of accomplishing—those works which occupy so prominent a place in all the Gospels, which are bound up with His teaching, and which reveal both the love of the Son of Man and the omnipotence of the Son of God. And in the great fact of the resurrection of Jesus Christ the apologist will show the seal set by God Himself to the testimony of Him who asserted that He was the Son of God, and who was manifested as such in His life, and teaching, and works. The miracles of Jesus Christ, and His resurrection from the dead, are a necessary part of apologetic proof. Thanks to that direct and supernatural intervention of God Himself, the Christian reaches absolute certainty in his belief in Christianity. It is on this immovable rock that assurance of the truth of the Gospel and of its Divine origin is based. Hence it is that we believe what He taught concerning the care of the heavenly Father for all His children, concerning the kingdom of God which Jesus founded, concerning the Holy Spirit promised to all those that ask for Him, and concerning the righteousness accomplished by means of the sacrifice of Him who "came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many."

Since Jesus Christ was the Son of God, the Bible, of which He is the centre, has a right to that controlling authority in matters of faith which believers ascribe to it when they call it the "Word of God." In declaring that He came to fulfil the law and the prophets, the Son of God attests the Divine origin and authority of the preparatory revelation of the Old Testament. And, as for the books of the New Testament, they are and will ever remain the written Gospel—the revelation of the Son of God; they transmit to us His life and words, and, in a sense, His historical personality; they are the faithful and permanent echo of the teaching of the Apostles whom He Himself chose and instructed, whom He appointed to carry on His work, and to whom He promised the assistance of the Spirit of truth.

CURRENT DUTCH THOUGHT.

NOTE ON THE LAMENTATIONS. By PROF. A. KUENEN.—Dr. Joh. Dyserinck, the translator of the Psalms and Proverbs, has published in the *Theologisch Tijdschrift* (1892, No. 4) a revised translation into Dutch of the Lamentations, accompanied by critical notes on the Hebrew and Septuagint texts and a brief introduction. Dr. Dyserinck is of opinion that this book was written subsequent to the year 586 B.C., but he reserves the publication of the results of his investigations on this point for a future opportunity. In the meantime, he prints "a few fragmentary observations" made by the late Prof. Kuenen in a letter to his friend Mr. Claude G. Montefiore, who had consulted him as to certain difficulties in the way of assigning the composition of the Lamentations to about the year 586. As Kuenen had not at the time of his death been able to take up the study of this book for the revised edition of

his *Historico-Critical Inquiry*, the observations here referred to possess some interest, and they are accordingly reproduced in full.

"The alphabetical form of poems of about the year 586 B.C. has always been to me a puzzle. But there is nothing to alter the fact that *most* of the Lamentations must really be of this period. Even Reuss, among others, admits this, however much *he*, by his dating of the Psalms, must be inclined, *a priori*, to place them later—very much later. In particular, the mention of the king and the prophets is decisive.

"In the fixing of this date I am *not* hindered by the difficulty which you urge, that after the repeated captivities there was no one left in Judæa from whom such poems could have come. We may very well assume that those who were not carried away were very numerous, and that many of them stood relatively high. I do not go so far as Oort, who makes those who remained behind play a very important part—as well in northern Israel as, later, in Judah. But when I reflect that besides Jerusalem there were still so many considerable towns, I dare not look upon the catastrophe which principally overtook the capital as an annihilation of the whole people. Is not Ezekiel xxxiii. 23 *et seq.*—written *ab irato*—a speaking testimony that after 586 there was much that occupied both the heads and the hearts of the people? (I would rather not call to aid the hypothesis that some of the Lamentations were written in Egypt. It is, I think, extremely improbable.)

"But now as to the relation between chap. iii. and the other four. I am inclined to agree with Stade that chap. iii. is considerably later. This is proved chiefly by the contents, but also by its somewhat artificial form. Steinthal in his *Bibel und Religionsphilosophie*, pp. 16-28, is not in error when he sets the highest value upon chap. iii. from the religious point of view. But I cannot agree with him when he regards it as equally as old, vigorous, and matter of fact as chaps. i., ii., and iv. The pious thoughts and reflections appear to me to be very slightly personal—to some extent rather conventional. This would thus lead me to set down the poem as post-Exilian. You think, however, that vers. 48 and 51 upset this view. But is it so? Chap. iii. is, indeed, written in the name of *the community*, perhaps even (cf. v. 1) placed in the mouth of Jeremiah. In this case are the expressions there used too strong? I believe they are not.

"There still remains the idiom of chaps. i., ii., iv., and v. I do not deny that there are points of resemblance between it and that of the Psalms. The words mentioned by you which occur here and there, may, as you correctly remark, be increased by many more. But, so far as I can see, there are no decidedly later words among them, so that they may very well have belonged to the language of poetry even before the period at which most of the Psalms were written. And if this may be admitted as possible, I hold it to be actually the case on the ground of the varying impressions which chaps. i., ii., iv., and v. give on the one side, and the Psalms on the other. It is in the more concrete contents, but not in them alone, that the Lamentations appear to be much better constructed, and more solid—if I may use the expression—than by far the greater part of the Psalms. In the few Psalms which I would except there probably lurk older portions which were not wholly covered over or wiped out at their adaptation for the Temple service. It is possible that continued study of the idiom would compel me to sacrifice this æsthetic judgment; but I do not think so.

"That is all I have to say on the question at present. *Si quid novisti rectius istis, candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.*"

THE CHRISTIAN HOPE. By Dr. J. G. BOEKENOOGH (*Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1892, No. 6).—Men of old faced the mysteries of the grave with greater confidence because they had the conviction that Jesus had risen and thus had triumphed over death. It is quite unnecessary to criticize the New Testament traditions regarding a resurrection from the grave and an ascension into heaven of Jesus; but it may be remarked that the orthodox are needlessly alarmed at the effect of this criticism upon their faith. And, after all, what effect would such events of the bygone past have now, even if they were firmly established? The fact that the Son of God left the tomb and showed Himself stronger than death by no means guarantees the same power to sinful mortals like us. To orthodox believers the actual value of belief in the resurrection of Jesus lies in the assurance that where He is there they also shall one day be. Their proof for that is the mystical feeling of their fellowship with Him. In fact, the significance which the death and subsequent return to life of Christ have for them is that they are the symbols of the death and return to life of all who, through faith, have become one with Him, and thus through God's grace are partakers of all that is His.

Men have sought to demonstrate personal immortality by means of three kinds of evidences—the analogical, the metaphysical, and the teleological. Analogy can yield no actual proof, but only a ground of probability. Appeal has been made to the development of the plant from the grain of seed, of the bird from the egg, of the butterfly from the caterpillar, in order to create the feeling that a dead person may also live again in another and better form. This argument is not so weak as it seems, and it has been considerably strengthened by recent discoveries in the domain of nature. Men are convinced that in nature neither matter nor force is lost; but analogies like these are altogether unsatisfactory, even as grounds of probability in favour of personal immortality. While they loudly testify to the universality and eternity of mind, they fail to decide between these two possibilities: either a number of units, *each by itself* of unlimited duration; or a number of units, each by itself of limited duration, but of unlimited duration *as a whole*. Guided by the arguments which analogy suggests, we are forced to conclude that the abiding value of the human mind appears to consist in the perpetual springing up of a common consciousness rather than in the continued existence of the same consciousness in one person.

From the metaphysical argument not merely a ground of probability, but certainty should be expected. In the metaphysical conception of substance are of necessity included the properties of individuality, unchangeableness, and eternity. If it is possible to apply these to the human soul, then its immortality will be proved. The idea of substance is generally assumed as a postulate of thought. In examining things we cannot stop short at what is fixed and temporal, but must necessarily believe that there lies under each phenomenon something enduring as a continuing basis. This is assumed by natural science; hence one of its fundamental principles. Experiments teach that a certain quantity of matter after having passed through all sorts of combinations, and having in its progress exhibited very varying properties, can always in the end be brought back to its original condition. In the same way one might seek to prove the permanence of mind; but, after all, the unchangeableness and eternity of material atoms are no more proved by the metaphysical argument than is the immortality of the soul.

The teleological arguments, with which may be grouped the ethical and theological, do not bring us any further. Our moral life indeed postulates an idea of God in which holiness forms the chief characteristic. Because the less cannot be more than the greater, therefore the moral being cannot be better than the divinity

from whom, to whom, and through whom are all things. From this it follows that man can reckon with certainty upon the attainment of his destiny. From the love of God it is not to be supposed that He would allow man to hope in vain for the highest good; nor, from His righteousness, is it to be thought that evil will not be atoned for to the uttermost, and that good will not be crowned with blessing. But it is not proved that for the fulfilling of these good things personal immortality is indispensable; and so long as this is not raised above doubt the argument loses its force.

But having regard to all the possibilities of the case, it is going too far assert that the inevitable end of all earthly human society must lead to the conclusion that moral effort in its behalf is vain. On the contrary, many a one is sure to find reason enough for the existence of a moral being in the fact that he may form part of a consistent series of phenomena which have occupied thousands of ages—yea, that he represents a highly important element therein, and will have the right and the power to fill great periods of the history of the world with events which satisfy his needs, his desires, his ideals. If, over and above that, it is recognized as an inviolable demand of religious belief that the world does not exist for the purpose of being serviceable to us personally, but that we and it together may be serviceable in promoting the honour of a Divine Majesty, then it will be possible to admit that a humanity which shall one day come to an end—after it has displayed the highest virtue and has tasted the highest good—may have accomplished God's design, and may have reached its destiny. And so many an earnest thinking and feeling man will be able to obtain a satisfying view of the world and of life, apart altogether from belief in a personal immortality.

After carefully weighing the arguments which are adduced in favour of the continued individual existence of man after death, a sentence of *non liquet* must be pronounced. However much personal immortality may claim to be regarded as by no means impossible, still it is not in the least degree proved, and many will look upon it as improbable. Some may, perhaps, complain that this is a dubious conclusion to come to regarding a belief which relates to man's own future, and thus touches him more closely than any other. Are not the foundations of human life thereby undermined? On the contrary, in the possession of the Christian faith we remain on firm ground. We require that faith as the basis of our action and of our hope; but, at the same time, there must be nothing loose or uncertain that ought to be firm and sure. We may say, like the Apostle, "Whether we live, we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord; whether we live therefore, or die, we are the Lord's" (Rom. xiv. 8). We have to learn to regard the common life of humanity, conceived as a kingdom of God, as an eternal city, as life with Jesus. In like manner, continued personal existence cannot be understood otherwise than as a permanent fellowship with Jesus. We find our allotted place by attaching ourselves to the moral order of the world and to its Head, by applying to our life the standard set up for us by the great Teacher of righteousness and Guide to truth. All that comes to human life of more than temporal significance we meet with in the highest measure in Jesus. Fellowship with Jesus is fellowship with all the Divine and supersensual principles that can and must be realized in man individually and as a member of humanity. The relation in which the life of man stands to what is elevated above human narrowness, to what is absolute and eternal, is indicated by the moral fellowship which has unfolded itself historically and bears the name of Jesus Christ. We see in Jesus how life springs out of death. He exercises an imperishable influence for good. The death of this Leader is bound up with the

spiritual strength and enthusiasm of His followers in such a way that it appears as if the last stand upon the shoulders of the first, and in this manner steadily rise higher till the most exalted point is reached. Humanity is, as it were, spiritually born; at least, its spiritual life is made plain to it as a peculiar and abiding force. The unity of its religious and moral leanings and aspirations became evident when it believed in and attached itself to the Firstborn from the dead—the ever-loving Jesus. True, perfect life is life with Jesus.

Possibly some may not be able to agree with the idea that Jesus Himself was not conscious of, neither knew nor felt, the blessing which He imparted. Perhaps some are only satisfied with the thought that He, as a personal power, actually knows, and draws, and leads His own. Let it be so. But still, although this may not be believed, nevertheless it cannot be denied that faith in Jesus is the true animating power, and that Jesus is the resurrection and the life. Faith in Jesus is such a power because it is *faith*, and consequently not an intellectual conviction, but along with that a moral determination of the will. He who wills something does not merely wait for his opportunity, but seeks to work it out by his own aid. Such a one hopes with a hope that maketh not ashamed, because he is filled with love and enthusiasm. He seizes what opportunities present themselves, endures misfortune with patience, nor yet doubts, although the favourable circumstance is slow to arrive. It will do so in good time. He forms for himself an ideal, and although it is not realized, he rejoices all the same, as did Moses, who was permitted to view the promised land. He saw it in its length and breadth, glorious and fruitful. He saw it unsullied by the enormity of Israel's idolatry and the shedding of the innocent blood of the prophets. And so he who believes in Jesus sees what is enduring before him, while he dedicates his life to the service of God, lets his will walk in the ways of the Eternal, and exerts his powers for the highest good.

More than that, the Christian faith teaches endurance of what is uncertain in the future. This faith leads up to the disposition of mind in which a man is content to rest satisfied with the possibility that his personal existence may have its limits in the short space of time that lies between the cradle and the grave—a period that is sometimes filled with so much sorrow, and which, looked at by itself, is always far from perfect. This faith sets before us the claims of self-denial; and as we, looking to the end of our personality, must be all the more in earnest in the exercise of this virtue, what else can place us in a position to do so than just this faith, than the closest possible adhesion to the pattern of perfect self-sacrifice? This faith calls love the great commandment. When, then, is the Gospel better fulfilled than when the love with which we smooth the way through life to those who remain behind us becomes the highest means possible within our reach of leading to spiritual perfection? This faith testifies that suffering for others is the greatest favour that can be shown to them. It is the means by which they may be sanctified. It impresses upon our heart the feeling that all are one body and one spirit. Who, then, that has the spirit of the Gospel in himself will lament if self-seeking results in disappointment, and if happiness as well as misery are only present for a time? Is not this the fulfilling of the Gospel? And so we are assuredly free to declare that Jesus has done no less for us than He did for our forefathers. He makes the way to the grave easy, and annihilates the terrors of death. Although for us His resurrection is not as it was for them a fact, nevertheless it is the manner in which an imperishable truth is proclaimed—He is our life.

DID JESUS LOOK UPON HIMSELF AS THE MESSIAH? By Dr. J. A. BRUNS
(*Bibliothek van Moderne Theologie en Letterkunde*, 18^{de} dl., 1^{ste} st.).—Did Jesus

look upon Himself as the Messiah? That is the question I propose to discuss; but is it a question at all? For the majority of Christians, certainly not. I mean those who may be designated as supernaturalists, no matter what ecclesiastical colours they may wear, or what type of dogma they may represent. For them Jesus is not only the Christ, the Son of the living God, but He has proclaimed Himself as such in the most unequivocal manner. For them, therefore, the question now put is not an open one.

But may not this also be the case with many Broad Churchmen? Certainly they are not disposed to leave Jesus attired in the Jewish royal mantle which He has so long worn. No; Jesus never was, and never wished to be, a Jewish Messiah. All that is found in the Gospels regarding the Son of David, who shall come to set up the kingdom of His powerful forefathers, or regarding the Son of Man, who comes in the clouds of heaven, surrounded with angels—all that cannot stand the light of historical criticism. But although it is not doubtful that the ideal of a purely national Messiah had no charm for Jesus, although it is certain that He least of all saw that ideal realized in Himself, it is altogether another matter whether Jesus did not look upon that ideal as His own, when rid of its national and sensual elements. May He not, so to say, have cherished a spiritual Messianic expectation? May He not have seen such an expectation fulfilled in Himself, if not at the time of His first appearance, at any rate progressively, more and more, until at last He became convinced of it? If I mistake not, many are inclined to answer this question in the affirmative. According to my conviction, we are called upon to deal seriously with an open question, and with a very important one. It is, in truth, one which affects our conception of the origin and essence of primitive Christianity. I will try to make a contribution to its solution, but nothing more than a contribution. I trust, however, that what I advance will be sufficient to indicate the lines along which the definitive solution of the problem must be sought.

Did Jesus look upon Himself as the Messiah? If a satisfactory answer to this question is to be found, it will be well to begin by asking the so-called preliminary question, Were the ideas of Jesus regarding the kingdom of God of such a nature as to show that He really believed in a Messiah? If they were not, then the main question falls to be answered in the negative. Some may think that this preliminary question may be cleared out of the way at once by the observation that whoever names the kingdom of God names also the Messiah, so that the belief of Jesus in the kingdom of God involves belief in the Messiah. But this would be treating the matter too lightly. If at one time among ourselves idealism was spoken of without an ideal, so among the Jews Messianic expectations may have been spoken of without a Messiah. At any rate, Messianic expectations may be talked of in which the Messiah forms so small an integral part that but a step has to be taken and he vanishes altogether. As a rule, I think we attach too much importance to the idea that the spiritual life of the Jews was dominated by the idea of a Messiah. To be sure, there was a time when belief in the Messiah formed the central point of Israel's future expectations. These were the days of the royalist school of prophets, of the first Isaiah and Micah, of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. They were the heralds of the Son of David. But among the younger prophets—the second Isaiah, Haggai, and Malachi—one may search in vain for the Messiah. Having regard to this fact, it may be safely asserted that after the Captivity the expectation of a personal Messiah gradually died out. The old royal race had become too unimportant to be able to believe in its glorious future. Not that the expectation of a kingdom of God had been abandoned, but that a kingdom of God was looked for instead of a Messianic kingdom. At a later period

this state of affairs remained unchanged. The post-Christian Jewish literature proves that the expectation of a personal Messiah in the days of Jesus was not at all generally cherished, and that a conception of the kingdom of God was current in which at most an unimportant place was reserved for the Messiah.

It is thus seen that the preliminary question, Did Jesus believe in a personal Messiah? is by no means got rid of. How is it to be solved? We must ask, What did Jesus teach concerning the kingdom of God? But how difficult it is to answer this question decisively! Not to speak of other difficulties, the great drawback is that in the Synoptic Gospels we meet with different, and we may add with irreconcilable, representations of the kingdom of God. Which of these shall we ascribe to Jesus? It is necessary to be certain on that point, so with that object in view, let us glance at the varying conceptions of the kingdom of God that are to be found in the Synoptics.

First of all, we have to mention a picture of the kingdom of God in which it is portrayed as the result of a slow and gradual development, as the fruit of a principle working in humanity. This picture is met with in the parables of Matthew xiii. (with the exception of verses 24-30). In particular, the parables of the Mustard Seed and the Leaven are noteworthy. There is here no mention of a catastrophe, of a sudden, vehement transition from the *αἰὼν οὗτος* into the *αἰὼν ὁ μέλλων*. But what part has a Messiah to fulfil in such a gradually coming kingdom? That would be difficult to determine, particularly when it is borne in mind that the Messiah is not only the bearer of a religious, but also of a political ideal. In the parables of Matthew xiii., nevertheless, there is no trace to be found of a national or political future expectation. It cannot be doubted that they have a universal application. The parable of the Fish Net, that brings all sorts of fish together, shows plainly enough that more than the future of the Jewish people is here thought of. What, then, becomes of the Messiah, who is indeed "the King of the Jews"? A similar representation of the kingdom of God lies at the basis of the well-known expression in Luke xvii. 20: "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation"—*μετὰ παρατηρήσεως*—comes not like something which one sits and watches, or even sees coming. It thus cannot be said, "Lo here! or lo there! for behold the kingdom of God is within you." The ideas expressed in these words correspond with those of the parables of the Leaven and the Mustard Seed.

But it is not everywhere that we meet with this purely ethical conception of the kingdom of God. When we read, at the close of Matthew xvi., "The Son of Man shall come in the glory of His Father with His angels" (and so on), we are miles away from the spiritual sphere in which the greater part of Matthew xiii. is placed. Here we have the kingdom of God as a purely Jewish eschatological expectation, and with these colours this kingdom is in several other places depicted. Only to mention two, I would refer to the so-called *parousia* discourses of Matthew xxiv. and xxv. In my opinion, these two passages have been erroneously termed *parousia* discourses. By *parousia* is now understood the *second* presence of Christ upon earth; in other words, His return. I think there is no allusion whatever to the second coming of the Messiah in Matthew xxiv. 31-46. We have here a Jewish picture of the coming of the *αἰὼν ὁ μέλλων*, which is adopted by Jewish Christians, and applied to Jesus of Nazareth. Every one feels at once that the kingdom of the *parousia* discourses is different from that of Matthew xiii. Here there is a gradual development, there a sudden catastrophe; here a reform from within, there a revolution in the opposite direction; here mankind, there Israel; here no place for a Messiah, there the Messiah, not only indispensable, but forming the centre

of the expectation so distinctively that He alone is named, and there is no mention at all of the kingdom of God; here no *παρηγοριος*, no sitting on the watch, there quite an anxious outlook for the terrible phenomena which will herald the Messiah. But enough has been said to show that we have to do here with an entirely different representation of the kingdom of God.

But let us now fix our attention on representations of the kingdom of God to be met with in the Gospels in which the kingdom coincides with the *parousia*; in other words, the kingdom of God shall have come when the Christ (that is, Jesus of Nazareth) returns to earth. In this connection we have to consider the two parables in Matthew xxv., the Talents and the Wise and Foolish Virgins. Here we have left the soil of the national Jewish Messianic expectation. Eschatology we have, but Christian eschatology—much less sensual than that of the so-called *parousia* discourses; but yet what a difference there is between the parables of Matthew xiii. and those of Matthew xxv. Not to mention other points of difference, the Christ for whom neither place nor work is found in the kingdom of God, according to chapter xiii., is quite indispensable in that of chapter xxv. It is not merely that He comes with the kingdom of God, but the kingdom of God does not come without Him, and it depends upon Him who shall enter and who shall be shut out from the kingdom.

Alongside these three varying representations of the kingdom of God, we have in the Gospels two others which differ in nature and essence from them. In the first place, there is the parable of the Husbandmen in Matthew xxi. 33-41. In imagination, we have here exactly what is given in Romans ix.-xi., in the form of a dogmatical, philosophical demonstration, namely, the justification of the setting aside of the Jews and the preaching of the Gospel to the heathen. In Matthew xiii. the kingdom of God is, and remains, an ethico-religious ideal. In Matthew xxi., on the contrary, it is given historically; and if an ideal may still in that case be spoken of, then it is in this sense that the historically given kingdom of God is, the longer the more, accepted by both Jew and heathen. The same view is found in several other parables, such as that of the labourers in the vineyard who were hired at different hours, but received the same reward. These all exhibit the same type of kingdom, a type essentially different from the three we have already considered.

Lastly, there is a representation of the kingdom of God which differs entirely from those already mentioned. It is met with in the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, in Luke xvi. Hitherto the kingdom, in its varying forms, has been sought for on this earth, now it is transposed to another world. It is in this way that the historical development of doctrines has taken place. A kingdom of God upon earth was clung to so long as the expectation of the return of Christ could be maintained; and when that ceased the heavens were opened for blessed believers. The expectation of a kingdom of God upon earth, although abandoned practically, was nevertheless kept up in theory, and continued to live in the form of a prospective millennium. We have thus, in Luke xvi., to deal with the metamorphosis of the early Christian *parousia* expectation. The kingdom of the heavens had become a heavenly state of bliss, which, at most, had only the name in common with the state of bliss that floated as an ideal before the eyes of the earliest believers.

We are thus able to distinguish five different representations of the kingdom of God in the Synoptic Gospels. The question now is: Which of these representations may we ascribe to Jesus? The question is, in fact, already answered, for the parables of Luke xvi. and others give a representation of the kingdom which cannot have been His, inasmuch as they presuppose conditions—such as the evangelization of the heathen world—which are posterior to the time of Jesus. Neither can the parables

of Matthew xxv., nor the ideas and representations contained in them, be laid to the account of Jesus. There remains the question whether in the so-called *parousia* discourses we possess the ideas of Jesus on the kingdom of God. In this case the period to which these parables belong, apart from all other considerations, is sufficient to decide the question. It appears to me that those discourses cannot be older than the second quarter of the second century. In these fantastically depicted Messianic expectations we certainly have not the ideas of Jesus on the kingdom of God.

Do we possess them, then, in the parables of Matthew xiii., that of the Tares and Wheat excepted? I am inclined to think we do for the following reasons: Matthew xiii. belongs to the so-called "logia of the Lord," of which Papias, in Eusebius, makes mention—the document containing the discourses of Jesus which anterior to our first Gospel constituted one of the sources from which our Matthew is compiled. It is thus a fact that tradition has always ascribed the parables of Matthew xiii. to Jesus, a testimony which does not apply to the other parables and discourses referred to, none of which belong to the "logia." But the Sermon on the Mount comes from the same source, and in it there is no trace of national particularism or of sensual eschatology. Now, if we find in Matthew xiii. pictures of the kingdom of God in which we recognize traces of the kingdom as sketched in the Sermon on the Mount, I think that we are right in associating with the name of Jesus the expectation of the kingdom as depicted in this chapter. We would come to the same conclusion if we compared Matthew xiii. with Matthew xviii., which is likewise reckoned as belonging to the "logia."

But if we possess in Matthew xiii. the ideas of Jesus on the kingdom of God, then I venture to assert that Jesus had no thought of a Messiah. What would the office of a Messiah be in a kingdom that should be the result of a gradual development, the fruit of moral and religious reformation in man and in humanity? I assume that Jesus cherished Messianic expectations without a Messiah, and thus that He did not regard Himself as such.

Let it be so, some may say, but what of the phrase "son of man" that was so often on the lips of Jesus? May it not be that He thereby indicates, let us say, a more human Messiah than that of the Jewish theocracy? This brings us to the question, What does the expression "Son of man" signify in the Synoptics? The expression occurs in them, excluding some passages that are certainly spurious, sixty-nine times; or, if the parallel passages are not counted twice, thirty-eight times. In most of these passages, it must be admitted, that the expression is a Messianic title; but it is tolerably certain that the expression "Son of man" as a Messianic title was not current in the time of Jesus, but first came into use at a later period among Jews and Christians. That being so, by far the greatest number of the passages in which the expression occurs cannot, in their present form at any rate, be attributed to Jesus.

And so the use of the title "Son of man" cannot, in our judgment, prevent us from ascribing to Jesus a representation of the kingdom of God without a Messiah. As regards myself, I have no hesitation in answering in the negative the main question, Did Jesus look upon Himself as the Messiah? Whether what is convincing to myself is the same to others I cannot tell. In any case, I trust that what I have advanced is sufficient to show that the question here put is indeed an open question, which we must try to solve if we would comprehend the origin of Christianity.

REGENERATION AND BAPTISM. By Rev. J. J. WESTERBEEK VAN EERTEN (*Tijdschrift voor Gereformeerde Theologie*, Jan., 1898).—When a person undertakes nowadays to speak of the connection between Regeneration and Baptism he

enjoys the important privilege of dealing with a subject that is of actual interest. The days have passed away in which Baptism was looked upon as a dry and wearisome subject of discussion. And yet the time is not so very remote in which it was no uncommon occurrence for preachers to devote but a single discourse to such a topic as the Sacrament of Holy Baptism. Apparently many a preacher found the Sacrament of Baptism embarrassing. There was not seldom a want of clear and just ideas regarding it; and instead of seeking for these in the writings of the fathers who flourished in the palmy days of the Calvinistic Churches, preachers confined their utterances to mere generalities. But happily these days are almost over. The interest in the covenant sealing of grace is again awakened. Now that the lines have been once more pointed out, according to Calvinistic principles, and that the covenant doctrine, after long neglect, is again looked upon as a precious possession, a listening ear is to be found for the truth so ably and clearly confessed by our fathers. True, we are not yet where we ought to be. The covenant doctrine still meets with opposition in many circles, most of all in places where either Methodism or Mysticism prevails. But still, a turning-point has been reached. Many are beginning to admit the possibility of their having to give up their own feelings in the matter of the significance of the covenant, and of exchanging them for what is taught in accordance with the Word of God by Calvinists.

Yet not long ago Dr. Kuyper called to mind that at present "Baptism is generally conceived of as being administered in hope of subsequent regeneration, whereas Calvinists have always taught that baptism should be administered on the presumption that regeneration has preceded."¹ That this peculiar conception has prevailed for many years, and is even yet tolerated by many, does not require to be insisted upon. But it cannot be too frequently emphasized that the sacrament is hereby slighted, and the sealing of grace is wholly misunderstood. If the sacrament is dissociated from grace; if it is supposed that there is no spiritual life present in the person baptized; then holy baptism is degraded to a human institution, to which power and lustre and significance must be given by word and speech. No; if baptism is to be understood in its Calvinistic sense, then the confession of the Calvinistic Churches touching this point must not be weakened. There is no question of giving and taking here; there is but one alternative. Whoever wishes to adhere to the Calvinistic Confession must adopt the hypothesis that whosoever is baptized is regenerated; otherwise, he must cease to sail under the Calvinistic flag. There is no escape from this. Suppose—what naturally cannot happen—that, in the case of a child presented for baptism, it could be made out that it was not regenerated, and *eo ipso* did not belong to Christ, then the ecclesiastical authority that would nevertheless permit the baptism of such a child would act contrary to the express teaching of the Calvinistic Churches.

In Article xxxiv. of the Belgic Confession we read, "Therefore, He (Christ) has commanded all those who are His to be baptized." It is thus expressly laid down here that only what belongs to the Lord may be furnished with His mark and badge. We may and must baptize, but always in the supposition that those whom we baptize are entitled to bear the Lord's ensign. That this doctrine was confessed by our fathers in the brightest days of the Calvinistic Churches has of late been frequently called to mind, but it may once more be specifically declared. It was, in fact, the early feeling of these Churches, and is found to have been expressly formulated even before the first convention was held at Wezel in 1568. In the *Formulary of Holy Baptism* of the year 1568, which was used by the Dutch Church at

¹ *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, 1891, p. 388.

London, expressions occur which show that the Calvinistic Churches at that time already confessed that baptism is an effectual sealing of regeneration, and that the child presented for baptism is a believing seed, which therefore must be baptized. That the phrase "sanctified in Christ," touching little children, in the baptismal formulary of the Calvinistic Churches, must also be conceived of in this sense, is abundantly clear to the careful reader of this formulary. How can the Church join with sincerity in the prayer that baptized children may grow and increase in Christ if they are not believed to be in Him? And in what other way can these little children be regarded as being in Christ except that they, by a sincere faith, are ingrafted into Him? And that ingrafting, that possession of the power of faith, what is it other than partaking of regeneration?

That the Calvinistic Churches of Holland have spoken out on this subject without circumlocution is made perfectly clear by the Canons of Dordt; and other testimonies to the same effect are by no means scarce. Junius, who died of the plague as Professor at Leyden in 1602, is a prominent witness of this. He lays it down that the receiving of Christ in the sacrament must necessarily be preceded by faith. For, says he, it is necessary that faith, or at any rate the seed of faith, should precede, since what is not of faith is sin. Yea, so necessary is faith that the Sacrament without faith condemns, just as the Word without faith kills.¹ Walaeus, a pupil of Junius, also a Professor at Leyden, and one of the translators of the New Testament into Dutch, authorized by the Synod of Dordt, expresses himself in similar terms touching the connection between regeneration and baptism.² It is thus indisputable that these theologians at any rate did not hesitate to speak with force and emphasis on this matter: an excellent proof that in those days men did not grope about in a fog, but, taking their stand firmly on the ground of God's Word and the covenant doctrine, clearly expounded the connection between regeneration and baptism.

THE BOOK CRITIC.

APOLOGETICS; OR CHRISTIANITY DEFENSIVELY STATED. By ALEX. B. BRUCE, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis, Free Church College, Glasgow. International Theological Library Series. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1892.)

WHATEVER comes from the pen of Prof. A. B. Bruce is nothing if not fresh and human. Prof. Bruce has a dread of conventionalism amounting almost to a horror; a distrust of dogma, which leads him to give it a wide berth in his expositions of Christianity; a devotion to the Divine Man of Galilee surpassing that of most. It hardly needed the Preface to this valuable new work, accordingly, to assure us that its apologetic does not follow the old traditional lines. It might safely have been predicted that its defence of Christianity would proceed on a fresh and original method, would bear the impress of its author's characteristic way of looking at Christian facts, and would be in living touch with the thought and needs of the time. This is really the character of Prof. Bruce's new volume. It is a book penetrated from beginning to end with the influence of the modern spirit. It is the work of one who is in fullest contact with all the currents of sceptical opinion and

¹ *Theses Theologicae*, xlix. : *De sacramentis in genere*.

² *Synopsis prioris theologiae*. *Disputatio* xlv., *de sacramento baptismi*.

speculation of the age, and has deeply felt their impress on his own spirit; who has personally wrestled with the doubts which he describes, and has found the stay of his faith in the historic Christ. It is this which makes it so peculiarly timely and valuable as a contribution to the literature of Apologetics. One may desiderate, and think that the evidence justifies, a firmer tone on certain subjects than Prof. Bruce, from his apologetic point of view, has seen fit to adopt. One may doubt the wisdom of occasional lines of argument. But there can be no question of the fresh and forceful character of the book as a whole; of the positive character of most of its conclusions; and of its utility in clearing the air of secondary issues, and in directing attention to the points of really vital moment in the present condition of the conflict with unbelief.

The work of the apologist for Christianity at the present time is a difficult and complex one, though perhaps not more so, relatively, than at some previous periods (see Dr. Bruce's section on Celsus, pp. 9-16). Not only is he confronted with massive and compact systems, professing to be the legitimate outcome of modern thought, which involve in principle the subversion of the Christian claim; not only is the atmosphere charged with a multitude of new and revolutionary conceptions, like that of evolution, with which he must in some way come to an understanding; but within the Church itself novel theories are being propounded, and opinion is in a state of marked transition on the whole manner of conceiving of the Bible, of revelation, of the growth of Christian doctrine, of the relation of doctrine, even as found in the Apostolic Epistles, to the primary Christian facts, above all, on the mode of conceiving of the course of development of the religion and literature of Israel. All this creates new problems which the apologist must face, and on which it is certain beforehand that his pronouncements will be subjected to rigorous, and not always friendly, scrutiny. Prof. Bruce shapes his apologetic in view of these various needs. His first book (preceded by a brief historical sketch, and by some remarks on the function and method of apologetics) is devoted to "Theories of the Universe" which stand in antagonism to the presuppositions of the Christian view—Pantheism, Materialism, Deism, Modern Speculative Theism, Agnosticism. The second book deals with "The Historical Preparation for Christianity"—in other words, with the Old Testament religion and the relation of apologetics to recent critical theories. The third book is an apologetic study of "The Christian Origins." The work is written in clear, admirable, genial English, with an enviable flowingness and purity of style. It is impossible here to go into detail over the wide field of discussion which it opens up; only a few points can be touched on which may indicate the author's general position.

The first book—that which deals with "Theories of the Universe" (pp. 47-163)—needs little comment. The criticism of the opposing theories is prefaced by two chapters on "The Christian Facts" and "The Christian Theory of the Universe," in which the outlines are sketched of "the characteristic ways" in which Christianity regards "God, man, and the world, and their relations" (p. 48). This, with the discussion of systems which follows, is a highly valuable part of Prof. Bruce's work, and will be felt by many to be strengthening and suggestive. However it may be with the author on other points, his tone is firm enough and uncompromising enough in dealing with these unchristian theories. On the whole, Prof. Bruce does not think highly of the theistic "proofs." Flint and Martineau "have at least tried well, whatever may be thought of their success" (p. 164). His chief reason is the absence of agreement among theists themselves as to the value of the various proofs, their depreciation of one another's arguments, &c. But is this conclusive? Does not precisely the same

thing happen in apologetics? How many of Prof. Bruce's own arguments will command unquestioning, or even general assent, on the part of those who in some form profess Christianity? Another point on which we cherish grave doubt is whether the evolutionist account of the origin and primitive condition of man is as compatible with the Christian doctrine of sin—accepting his own admirable sketch of it—as he apparently supposes (pp. 61-63). If man began only a step removed from the brutes, it is difficult to see how sin—if sin in that case it can be called—is anything but a necessity of nature.

The second book of Prof. Bruce's work is that to which many readers at the present time will turn with peculiar interest. In it he enters with great fulness into the nature and development of the Old Testament religion. On all the points involved he states his views with frank and fearless honesty. His chapter on "The Religion of the Prophets" is an excellent general sketch of "their conception of God and of His relations to the world, to the nations, to Israel, and to man." He does full justice to the originality and grandeur of this prophetic conception.

"It is admittedly a unique phenomenon in the religious history of the human race, rising above all other ancient thoughts of Deity in solitary grandeur. Whence came it, how is it to be accounted for? This is a question not easy to answer on naturalistic principles. . . . The prophets themselves had no doubt as to whence their knowledge of God came. It was, they felt, a revelation from heaven" (pp. 190, 191).

From this point Prof. Bruce goes on to discuss "The Prophetic Idea of Israel's Vocation and History," "Mosaism," "Prophetism" (now as a stage in the progress of revelation), "Prophetic Optimism," "Judaism," "The Night of Legalism," "The Old Testament Literature," and "The Defects of the Old Testament Religion." Here, also, only a point or two can be referred to. Prof. Bruce has naturally a good deal to say on the relation of apologetics to the results of recent criticism. On this subject, while arguing that "the apologist must necessarily be that of one who refuses to be deeply committed on critical questions" (pp. 172, 173), he allows his own position on the main issues to be seen with tolerable clearness. Thus, on the one side, he distinctly severs himself from the naturalistic school in recognizing the Divine election of Israel, and in tracing back the monotheism of the prophetic teaching to Moses.

"It is a violation of all historical probability to minimize the significance of Mosaism in deference to a naturalistic theory of evolution, which demands that the early stage in a religious development shall be sufficiently rudimentary to allow the whole subsequent course of things to present the appearance of a steady, onward progress" (p. 209).

He specially vindicates the decalogue for Moses as the "grand, outstanding, imperishable monument" of the man and his prophetic work (p. 209). On the other side, he seems to regard it as settled that the Levitical law did not originate with Moses, but was a post-exilian product. "The last eight chapters of Ezekiel's book of prophecy appear to be the first sketch of a Levitical system" (p. 264). One cannot but suspect that Prof. Bruce's mind is not quite free from bias on this subject—so strong is his dislike of ritual, and so great his desire to show that Moses, as "prophet," could not have had anything to do with matters of this kind (pp. 218-20). One great objection to the modern view of the Old Testament is the difficulty felt in working it out without involving oneself in the hypothesis of pious fraud. It cannot be said—at least we do not feel—that Prof. Bruce's remarks on this head are altogether satisfactory.

"It is arguing in the same spirit," he says, "to say that God could not inspire, or employ as His agents, men capable of what we might now feel tempted to call a *pia fraud*. It

is a sample of the mischievous apriorism which it is so difficult to get rid of in connection with this class of questions. . . . God may inspire men who commit what we deem literary sins, say we, for books of the Bible in which these so-called literary sins are committed bear all the marks of inspiration—the divine in us bearing witness to the divine in them” (p. 310).

We agree much more cordially with a remark of Prof. Bruce's on a previous page :—

“Nothing is more remarkable in the prophetic character than an exquisite sensitiveness to everything savouring of insincerity. It revealed itself in the abhorrence, justly commented on, of all religion divorced from right conduct. It showed itself equally in a careful avoidance of whatever approached untruthfulness in religious language,” &c. (p. 236).

The difficulties created by recent criticism are acknowledged, and time and patience are needed to clear them up; but the improbabilities are far from being all on one side, and many who cannot rid themselves of the impression that this favourite theory of the post-exilian origin of the law, and of so much else in the Old Testament, is an elaborate attempt to make things stand on their heads, will not feel that in the line he has adopted on these topics Prof. Bruce's apologetic is at its strongest or best. He himself, however, speaks most hopefully of the gain likely to accrue even to “the unlearned” man from the critical treatment of the Bible.

“The plain man can get some good from the Bible, enough to save his soul, without the aid of the critics; but not all the good that is possible. . . . It is now the turn of the critics to do their best for the people. This is the task of the future” (p. 308).

We doubt if the plain man will appreciate the advantage.

The result of prophetism was to give birth to three ideals—“A right Royal Man, a kingdom of the good with God's law written on their heart, and a suffering Servant of God, making Himself King of that kingdom by His spiritual insight and self-sacrifice” (p. 358); and it is now shown in the third book how, after the obscuration of these ideals in “The Night of Legalism,” they were historically fulfilled in Jesus Christ. Here we reach ground on which Prof. Bruce is thoroughly at home, and never fails to interest and charm. First we have a chapter on “Jesus,” for—

“If Jesus was the *Christ*, Christ was also *Jesus*, a man who lived in Palestine at a certain date, of very unique moral and religious character, and very welcome for His own sake, apart altogether from His relation to the previous history of the world in general, or of Israel in particular” (p. 337).

Then follows the consideration of Jesus as Christ, Jesus as Founder of the Kingdom of God, Jesus Risen, and Jesus as Lord. The chapter on “Jesus Risen” is a careful and successful examination of the various theories of Christ's Resurrection, with the aim of establishing the reality of the physical resurrection. We may quote the remark on Keim's “telegram theory”:—

“Christ sends a series of telegrams from heaven to let His disciples know that all is well. But what does the telegram say in every case? Not merely my Spirit lives with God and cares for you; but, My body is risen from the grave. That was the meaning they put on the telegrams, and could not help putting. . . . If the resurrection be an unreality, if the body that was nailed to the tree never came forth from the tomb, why send messages that were certain to produce an opposite impression? Why induce the Apostles, and through them the whole Christian Church, to believe a lie?” (p. 393).

The subsequent chapter on “Paul,” gives just prominence to the supernatural factor in Paul's conversion, while endeavouring, and rightly, to trace a psychological preparation for the great change in the Apostle's earlier experience. “All attempts at explaining Paul's conversion without recognizing the hand of God in it must be

futile" (p. 418). The treatment of "Primitive Christianity" opposes Daur and Weiss, and goes largely on the lines of the mediating view of Weiszsöcker.

An interesting question which underlies the whole book, but which comes necessarily more into prominence in the later sections, is, What is the Christianity which it is proposed to defend? There is peculiar danger of doing Prof. Bruce injustice here, for we are not sure that in some respects he does not do injustice to himself. As sources for our knowledge of Christ and Christianity, he lays the principal, almost the exclusive, stress on the Synoptic Gospels. He defends, indeed, the genuineness (or possible genuineness) of the Fourth Gospel, but gives it a quite secondary place in comparison with the others. Christianity, then, for Prof. Bruce is, in the first instance, the Christianity involved in the sayings and doings of Christ in the Synoptic Gospels—particularly Christ's revelation of the Divine Fatherhood, of the sonship of men, and of God's grace to the sinful. That this is the basis of the whole may freely be admitted, but there are not wanting expressions as if Prof. Bruce would fain have the Church stop there, and were disposed to treat the further doctrinal determinations of the New Testament as mere theological developments of the first generation of believers—the result of subjective reflection on their part, to which we cannot ascribe normative value for the Church of to-day. A more careful examination of Prof. Bruce's statements will show that this is scarcely his meaning. Besides Christ's sayings and doings in His earthly ministry we have, by Prof. Bruce's own acknowledgment, as facts to be taken account of in Christianity, His death, resurrection, and exaltation to Divine Lordship, with all the light which these events throw back on His earthly course, and on His sayings as to the redemptive virtue of His death, and its connection with the forgiveness of sins (p. 382). In a wider regard we have seen Prof. Bruce recognizing that Christianity involves even "a theory of the universe." It is on the total of these facts that the Apostolic Gospel is based, and it is a question which the Church will soon have to face more earnestly than it has yet done, whether that Gospel is to be treated as only human deduction from these facts, or whether, as the Apostles themselves affirmed, it was the product of the Spirit of revelation, infallibly guiding them into the understanding of their meaning. If revelation is to be admitted in the prophets, why should it not be acknowledged in the Apostles? In any case the question has to be answered, Is the Apostolic doctrine of Christ's person and work true? For if it is, we plainly cannot now decline to take account of it in reading the records of Christ's human life in the Gospels. This is where we do not see how Prof. Bruce's theory can be carried out, that the believer ought to begin with the human side of Christ's character in the Synoptic Gospels, ignoring the teaching of the Epistles, and only gradually rise to the recognition of Christ's Divinity and atoning work as spiritual insight develops (pp. 337-42). We cannot retrace the steps of the first disciples as if we were exactly in the same position as they—as if nothing had happened in the interval. Christ has now not only lived, but has died, has risen again, has been exalted, has poured out His Spirit, has reigned for 1,800 years. Can all this be treated—even in the most elementary teaching about Christ—as non-existent? Is it not part of the Gospel regarding Him—truth we are *bound* to teach if we would guide men into the right understanding of His nature and claims? Prof. Bruce is unquestionably right—and it is his great merit to insist upon it—in saying that it is only through the historic manifestation of Christ that we can put real meaning into these terms about His Divinity and Messiahship. He does invaluable service in recalling the Church from dogmas to the living image of the Lord in the Gospels. But we shall not understand Christ better by separating the end from the beginning, and refusing the light which the one casts on the meaning of the other.

Let us take for a moment the great miracle of the Resurrection, which Prof. Bruce in his chapter on the subject has so ably vindicated. It is a first principle with Prof. Bruce—one again in which he is unquestionably right—that miracles are not to be viewed as mere external appendages to Christianity, but are to be regarded as integral and constitutive parts of it. This applies to the miracles of healing; but it applies, surely, not less, but more, to the great physical miracle of the Resurrection. Our view of Christianity, therefore, even on the basis of the Synoptic Gospels, must be one which takes in the Resurrection of Christ as a constitutive part of it. This already carries us beyond the Galilean ministry, and leads us to some such conception as that of the Pauline Gospel. Prof. Bruce fully acknowledges this (Bk. iii. chap. v.). What is not obvious is, how, distinctly recognizing it, he should yet think it possible or desirable to limit the initial knowledge of the believer to the period when as yet the Saviour's claims were not fully manifest.

There are a multitude of points of instruction and interest in this volume which the sympathetic reader cannot fail to profit by. The concluding chapter on "The Light of the World" sums up the results in a strain of noble faith.

"In the foregoing pages the authority of Christ has been exalted above that of all other claimants. . . . His teaching sums up and crowns the best thought of the wise in all ages and lands. It is throughout in affinity with reason. The just, wholesome authority of the Church depends on the measure in which Christ's Spirit dwells with her. 'The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.' Therefore, Christianity is the absolute religion. It is indeed God's final word to men. On the simple principle of the survival of the fittest, it is destined to perpetuity and to ultimate universality" (p. 514).

J. ORR, D.D.

WORDS OF COUNSEL TO ENGLISH CHURCHMEN ABROAD. Sermons by the Right Rev. C. W. SANDFORD, D.D., Bishop of Gibraltar. London: Macmillan. 1892.

THE title of this volume is only partly accurate. Some of the sermons which it contains were preached in England; and not a few of those which were preached out of England contain nothing that can be considered "counsel to English Churchmen abroad" in any special way. They might equally well have been addressed to any ordinary congregation at home. Not until p. 44 is reached, that is near the end of the fourth sermon, does one find anything which can be regarded as intended for those who "are travelling or sojourning in foreign countries." Among these general sermons, which might have been preached anywhere, one of the best is the second, "On the Church's Catholicity," which was written for the Dedication of the American Church of St. Paul in Rome, March 27th, 1876. Along with this should be read the discourse on "Why am I a Churchman?" preached at Cannes, February 29th, 1889. They are firm, clear, and sensible. Less satisfactory, from a practical point of view, is one on "Comprehension without Compromise," for it not only sets forth an ideal of Christian unity which is avowedly unattainable, but seems to disparage, if not condemn, the only conditions on which comprehension is possible, viz., the recognition of the fact that on some highly important subjects certainty is unattainable; and that, therefore, people "cannot be expected to take the same view of the truth," but "must agree to treat the expression of [their differences] with mutual forbearance" (p. 51). In the excellent advice which follows as to getting rid of bitter party spirit, he illustrates from the three main parties in the Church of England the familiar truth, that schools of thought are commonly right in what they affirm, wrong in what they deny; or, as the Bishop phrases it, each of them errs, "not so much in its positive, as in its negative and controversial side" (p. 53). Generally we find that it

is precisely this negative and controversial side about which argumentative Christians care most. Instead of making the very most of the nine tenths about which we agree with others, and the least that we conscientiously can of the one tenth about which we differ, we emphasize and exaggerate the one tenth, and all but ignore the nine.

More generally acceptable will be a very useful sermon on "Sobriety and Quietness—our Church's Chosen Way," but it contains one rather questionable piece of advice. "Whenever the emotions are greatly stirred, be very careful to act upon the impression, and to act at once." If this means no more than that emotion in religion must not be used as a spiritual luxury to be indulged in at pleasure, without leading to action, the advice is sound enough. But it might easily be taken to mean that impulses which come to us in times of strong religious excitement are always to be followed without calm deliberation afterwards. In this way people might easily be led to undertake, and even to vow, what was far beyond their moral or physical strength, such as a life of celibacy, the surrender of all earthly goods, work in a difficult mission-field, and the like. And there is little doubt that some of the many who have made shipwreck of their lives through overtaxing their powers have been led to do this by acting at once upon impressions received when the emotions were greatly stirred.

One other small criticism may be allowed. The text for the sermon on "Living by Rule" (Eph. v. 15) might either have been left as it stands at the head of the discourse, or else have been corrected more thoroughly. "See then that ye walk circumspectly" (as in the Authorized Version) is the heading. And the Bishop leads off by saying that the original should be rendered, "See that ye walk strictly, exactly, precisely." But, first of all, we must get the original in its correct form, as near as may be; and we shall then have to transfer the adverb to the other verb, "Look therefore carefully how ye walk." This is not quite so apt a text for a discourse on living by rule, for it does not so much mean "See that ye walk according to a well-chosen method of life," as "Beware of the perils which surround you." Nevertheless, the sermon on the value of rules of conduct is a valuable one, whatever view one may take of the text.

Near the centre of the volume are a pair of sermons which are the complement one of another, and might well have been placed side by side. One on "The Spirituality of Worship" (pp. 101-108) is based on John iv. 24, and was appropriately preached at Nablus, the modern Shechem. The other on "The Presence of God in Holy Places" (pp. 184-141) was written for the Dedication of the Royal Memorial Church at Cannes, built in memory of Prince Leopold. The one shows in what sense it is true to say that all places are equally holy; while the other shows in what sense this is not true, and how natural and salutary it is to regard some places as more sacred than others.

But our space is exhausted; and, in conclusion, the volume, as a whole, is heartily commended to English Churchmen, both at home and abroad.

A. PLUMMER.

THE CHURCH IN RELATION TO SCEPTICS: A CONVERSATIONAL GUIDE TO EVIDENTIAL WORK. By the Rev. A. J. HARRISON, B.D. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1892.

THE volume is supplementary to the author's former one, *Problems of Christianity and Scepticism*, which it closely resembles in purpose, contents, and style. The principal change is the adoption of the form of dialogue, which is skilfully managed. Like the former volume, the present one has a note of very distinct originality.

There is, perhaps, no field in which original works are comparatively so few and non-original so abundant as apologetics. One is tired of weak reproductions of mighty arguments. To know the few masterpieces is to know all that is necessary. The author of the present volume, who has worked many years as lecturer on Christian Evidences ("Evidential Missioner of the Church Parochial Mission Society, and Lecturer of the Christian Evidence Society"), and has come into contact with sceptics and scepticism of every kind, gives from the stores of his own experience abundant information about the chief objections to Christianity and the best ways of dealing with them. His book is full of first-hand knowledge. The necessarily miscellaneous topics are classified in four books of five chapters each, with two chapters of "personal experience." The latter element, however, pervades the entire work. The two works together throw a flood of light on a most interesting and yet practically unknown world—the unbelief of this country. It is evident that professed unbelief is much more superficial than is often thought. Sceptics are not always what they seem. Tertullian's saying about the soul being naturally Christian is true still. A few opinions in the volume surprise us. In more than one place the author expresses qualified approval of the annihilation theory. Again, "There is great need of an absolutely honest *Handbook of Christian Evidence*, written by a man who perfectly understands the laws of evidence, and is prepared to face fearlessly whatever results the impartial application of the scientific method, so far as it really applies, may produce." It also seems needless for the author to limit his audience as exclusively as he does to the ministers of his own communion. Others will benefit by his frank, honest, impartial arguments. J. S. BANKS.

THE DISTINCTIVE MESSAGES OF THE OLD RELIGIONS. By the Rev. GEORGE MATHESON, D.D. William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London.

FROM Dr. Matheson we always get something bright, stimulating, and suggestive. On every subject he takes up he has always something fresh to say, and he says it in a most pleasant and instructive way. We may not always agree with his conclusions, but whether we do or not, we feel that we have benefited greatly by his genial companionship, and have been stimulated by the bracing and generous atmosphere of his thought and life. He has discoursed on many subjects, and his discourse is always worth listening to. His present aim is to tell us what message the old religions have for us. What may we learn from the religions of China, India, Persia, Greece, and Rome? What message from the Teuton, from Egypt, from Judæa? And what relation is there between Christianity and the messages of the past? We shall permit himself to state his aim:—

"By the distinctive message of a religion, I mean not an enumeration of its various points, but a selection of the one point in which it differs from all others. My design is therefore more limited than that of some volumes of equal size. I do not seek the permanent elements in religion with the Bishop of Ripon, nor the unconscious Christianity of Paganism with F. D. Maurice, nor the moral ideal of the Nations with Miss Julia Wedgwood. I seek only to emphasize the dividing lines which constitute the boundary between each religion and all beside. In the concluding chapter I have tried to reunite these lines by finding a place for each in some part of the Christian Message" (Preface, p. vi.).

The task is an important one. Before we ask how far Dr. Matheson has succeeded, we shall look at the Introduction to his book. Here he deals with the important question of the origin and nature of religion.

We have read his Introduction with great care, and have gone back to its more important points more than once, and we have not been persuaded by him. I

truth, there is nothing so unsatisfactory in literature, or science, or philosophy as speculations regarding the mental state of the primitive man. Mr. Spencer frankly tells us that neither by induction nor by deduction can we hope to obtain any insight into the state of the primitive man, and he falls back on the theory of evolution. Dr. Tylor has also his presuppositions, and others eke out our scanty knowledge of facts by a good deal of theory. Nor is Dr. Matheson any exception to the rule. His primitive man is as wonderful as the primitive man of Mr. Spencer. A primitive man can, according to Dr. Matheson, act in the following way:—

“When the primitive man looks within himself, he becomes conscious of something of which he is not conscious when he looks at something outside of him: he becomes aware of a limit to existence. In casting back his individual memory he is almost immediately arrested by a blank. He can retrace his steps some forty, fifty, or sixty years, and then he is stopped by a stone wall. There is a point beyond which he cannot go, and at the back of which there is oblivion” (p. 4).

It is in this fact that Dr. Matheson finds that the primitive man first reaches the conception of a beginning, and “awakens for the first time to the conception of a cause in the universe.” Let us see what, according to Dr. Matheson, the primitive man can do and cannot do. He is aware of a within and a without. He can look within himself, and can look without himself, and compare his consciousness of what is within with his consciousness of what is without. He can remember what has happened for forty years back, and can reflect that there was a time when he was not, and that “the existence of which he is now conscious has a distinct origin.” All this implies a very complex and a very advanced consciousness, and it is difficult to imagine a being gaining his first experience “of a limit to existence” in this fashion. Has he not a limit to existence in the very fact that for him there is a distinction between “within and without”? Is it necessary for him to reflect on himself, on his origin, to carry back his thoughts in memory for fifty years in order to find a limit to existence? Is not the limit already given in the rudimentary fact of experience. Dr. Matheson seems to have invented a complex process in order to explain a fact of experience, a process which seems to assume the fact in order to make it possible.

Nor does the explanation which Dr. Matheson gives of the fact that men worship inanimate objects seem satisfactory. He assumes that man's earliest worship is that of inanimate objects. This is doubtful, at all events it is not proven. Apart from that, is Dr. Matheson's explanation sufficient?

“Remember the conclusion which he (the primitive man) has reached with reference to his own spiritual nature. He has found it to be a poor, perishable thing, a thing which yesterday had no existence, and which is dependent for its present life upon the agency of some other power. He comes to the sight of nature with a prejudice against himself.”

Wonderful! This primitive being has been able to reflect on his own experience so deeply as to have a prejudice against himself, and this has been accomplished before he has a “sight of nature.” He being himself a poor, perishable thing, finds in a stone something which “exhibits no fluctuation, and is subject to no structural change.” And he falls down and worships it. We might ask Dr. Matheson how the primitive man came to have the notion of change, or of permanence? Can he have the one without the other? Does not the explanation assume all that it professes to explain? For before the primitive man can attribute permanence to the stone, or perishableness to himself, he must have already reached somehow the notion of permanence; and this is the matter to be explained.

It is curious that Dr. Matheson has not seen this, for the next stage of his

argument brings it to the point. "If we find," he says, "the first generation worshipping the piece of wood or stone, we find the second worshipping the spirit of their ancestors." He sums up a somewhat intricate argument as follows: "The test of immortality shall be no longer the power of an object to remain unchanged; it will be the power of an object to abide in the presence of changes; and his own individual life, which first manifested that power, shall receive his first association with the thought of everlasting being." He assures us that "when the primitive man has reached this stage he is no longer primitive," and we quite believe him. But at this stage he is quite as primitive as the man who comes "to the sight of nature with a prejudice against himself," or he who finds by reflecting on the memory of the past a "limit to existence." It is quite as easy and as reasonable to put one of these in the first place as the other, and the lesson is that we shall make no progress in the study of religion by drawing fancy pictures of the primitive man. Elsewhere in this volume Dr. Matheson says: "In the absence of historical annals, we are driven within ourselves to contemplate the order of human thought." In the absence of evidence regarding the primitive man, Dr. Matheson has been driven within himself to find out what the primitive man was, and the order of his development. It is interesting to watch the process and to mark the result. For here is a singularly fruitful and suggestive mind at work, to which fancies, imaginations, and thoughts come in crowds; a mind which can weave them into a gorgeous web which fascinates us with its artistic beauty. Alas! however, that the primitive man thus depicted is a psychological impossibility. Would that Dr. Matheson had criticized his own fancies.

He passes on to speak of Fetichism, of Heathenism, and of Monotheism; and near the end of the Introduction we are arrested by this sentence:—

"If to every race there has come a time when the worship of one God has supplanted the worship of many deities, it can only be because in the worship of these many deities there has existed from the beginning one common element, one underlying principle which has made them already a unity" (p. 35).

Is this to be taken as history? or as prophecy? or as philosophy? It cannot be history, for, as a matter of fact, in only three religions, Judaism, Christianity, Mohammedanism, has the worship of one God supplanted the worship of many gods. It may be a prophecy; but in that case criticism may be deferred. As to the philosophical principle, we are not sure that we understand what is meant. Does the existence of a common element or of an underlying principle ever make a unity? The discussion of this point would lead us too far afield. We shall, however, say that such a unity as is made by a common element is a mere abstraction, and has but little value. Has Dr. Matheson discovered a common element in all religions? The chapter devoted to this subject is most instructive and valuable; it is well reasoned and beautifully set forth. "The common element in all religions is the idea of incarnation: the belief in the identity of nature between man and the object of his worship. . . . All efforts at Divine communion are based upon the recognition that there is a common ground on which the human can meet with the Divine." Yet even in this admirable chapter there are things of which we are not sure. Is incarnation the right word or the true conception of the common ground between the human and the Divine? Man is made in the image of God, is an old and true saying; but can we say that the Incarnation of God is an equivalent expression? We doubt it, for it involves theological consequences of the graver sort, consequences which we shall not point out now. Again, when Dr. Matheson says, "When the disciple of Christ goes into India to conquer the disciples of Vishnu, he commonly begins by

proclaiming the doctrine of a new-made flesh. He has no need to proclaim that doctrine; it has been proclaimed already. It lies at the root not only of the disciple of Vishnu's creed, but of all creeds," we take leave to doubt. And when he says, "The difference between Christ and Vishnu lies not in their incarnation, but in their nature," we again demur. As Hegel has pointed out, the idea of incarnation loses all significance when any living thing may be regarded as an incarnation of the Divine. Besides, the assumption of humanity by Vishnu is in appearance only, and, in the story of Kriahna for example, the human nature is really laid aside when Krishna, slain by a random shot of the hunter Jará, returns to the great being. While we regard this chapter as an admirable one, and while we agree with the main results, we cannot think that Dr. Matheson has hit on the right road or the right conception of the common element in all religions.

We have read with great and ever-increasing admiration his treatment of the separate religions. These studies are fresh, striking, and original. The study of the religions of China is delightful. If we were asked which of these studies we prefer, we would unhesitatingly say those on China, and on Rome, and on Persia. We have read studies on India and its religions, on Greece, and on Egypt which we prefer to those which are in this book. Sometimes, indeed, it has seemed to us that Dr. Matheson has been somewhat arbitrary in the selection of one characteristic of a religion as its distinctive peculiarity. But on this point there is room for an honest difference of opinion. On any view, Dr. Matheson has done great service; and his book will bring within the reach of every one a clear, well-written, and eloquent statement of some of the best results of the study of comparative religion. It is only fair that we should state this broadly and firmly, for there are a good many points on which we cannot accept his conclusions. But disagreement does not blind us to the great qualities of Dr. Matheson's workmanship.

JAMES IVERACH, D.D.

SERMONS ON SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE OLD TESTAMENT.

By S. R. DRIVER, D.D. Messrs. Methuen, London.

THIS remarkable volume of sermons may be taken as containing the mature opinion of Dr. Driver upon many topics of the highest interest to the student of Holy Scripture. It is not uncommonly asserted that if the teachers of what is called the Higher Criticism have been able to retain their belief in the great verities of the Catholic Faith, it is in spite of, and not in consequence of, their belief about the structure and growth of the Bible. And there are prophets going about who predict the downfall of true religion in this country, if the views of the specialists who are trying to teach us the history of the formation of the Old Testament canon are generally adopted. As to the measure of proof which these theories have received, there is considerable difference of opinion; and it is not within the province or the capacity of the reviewer to say how far the general conclusions of the analytic school of critics are to be regarded as final. But the bearing of these conclusions upon the traditional belief of Christendom is a matter that affects every one, and is a matter upon which every one is entitled at least to form a judgment for his own guidance. It may, therefore, be reassuring to some minds to find that Dr. Driver, whose name carries weight wherever exact scholarship and sober thinking are valued, holds strongly that "the Old Testament exhibits the development, by successive stages, of a grand redemptive purpose, and that the New Testament records its completion" (p. 142).

In a paper read before the Folkestone Church Congress, Dr. Driver had emphasized the permanent moral and devotional value of the Old Testament; but what men were much more curious to hear from him was what he thought about its

permanent theological or evidential value. In the volume before us this topic is discussed more than once. "When all deductions which exegetical and critical honesty demands have been made, it is impossible to overlook or deny the correspondence subsisting between the anticipations and ideals of Israel and their fulfilment in Christ" (p. 141). He holds, indeed, that "the predictive element in the prophets is not so great as, perhaps, is sometimes supposed" (p. 107); but he insists that there are "undoubted and remarkable examples of true predictions . . . predictions declaring the issue of a present political complication, or announcing beforehand a coming event, especially events having a bearing on the progress of the kingdom of God" (p. 109). And, again, "we perceive that distinct lines of prophecy and type converge upon Christ, and He fulfils them" (p. 142). These sentences sufficiently illustrate Dr. Driver's general position stated on p. 69: "In the Gospel the principles determining the history of Israel are unfolded and matured; it is upon this larger and firmer ground, and not by the fragile aid of doubtful or mistranslated texts that unity of the two Testaments is to be maintained."

Perhaps the most interesting sermon in the collection is one on "The Warrior from Edom," in which the historical setting of the text is expounded with a clearness and vigour that recalls the exordium of more than one sermon on the Old Testament by a preacher of a very different school—Dr. Liddon. No two preachers could be more unlike in other respects; but this Dr. Driver has in common with the great Canon of St. Paul's, that he has the power of bringing a historical situation vividly before the minds of his hearers. The text of this sermon (Isa. lxiii. 1) is not referred directly "to the passion or triumph of our blessed Lord; in the prophecy, the conqueror is bestained not with his own blood, but with that of his victims, and his enemies are not spiritual foes, but the nations of the world." But yet the general truth unfolded in the whole passage, "that man's opposition cannot thwart God's saving purposes, that He will, if need be, carry them through unaided, is signally and wonderfully exemplified in the closing events of our Lord's life upon earth. The Warrior in the prophecy is a Divine One, just as the Victor in the New Testament is the God-Man" (p. 186).

Two sermons—the first and the eighth—discuss the bearing of modern science on the early chapters of Genesis, and the preacher pleads for a frank recognition on the one side and on the other of the different spheres of science and of religion. Science has only to do with phenomena; it does not seek to penetrate behind the veil, but if it is conscious of its own limitations, it does not venture to assert that there is nothing behind the veil to see. And on the other hand, religion must not attempt to gag science by appealing to crude literal interpretations of the early chapters of the Bible. There are discrepancies between the Biblical accounts of creation and the established results of modern astronomy and palæontology, discrepancies which it is puerile to minimize. Unless we hold that Holy Scripture was intended to teach science rather than religion, the evolution of species rather than man's way to God, we need not be perturbed by the existence of trifling contradictions such as these. In these sermons Dr. Driver is upon very well-worn ground, and though his discussion is ample and candid, there is little in this part of the book that will strike many readers as novel. We observe that the note on p. 24, giving references to the English versions of the Chaldean account of the creation, is repeated, apparently through inadvertence, on p. 170.

Sermon iv., on the "Growth of Belief in a Future State," is really an elaborate essay on its subject. A brief summary is given of the passages of the Book of Enoch which bear on this topic; and, what is less well known and more interesting, the doctrine

of a future as set forth in the Targums is fully illustrated by citations. This chapter is full of instruction on an obscure and difficult subject, and will well repay perusal.

We have left ourselves no space to speak of the masterly discourses on the Prophets of Israel, their moral ideals, their state policy, and their historical significance; but enough has probably been said to direct attention to one of the most important volumes on the Old Testament that has appeared for some time. For the problems touched here are not mere literary or historical problems, as are most of those treated in Dr. Driver's more elaborate treatise, the *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*; but they are *religious* problems. The subjects, many of them, are subjects on which every religious man who thinks *must* have an opinion. Does the Old Testament really point forward to Christ? Is it nothing but a record of a wonderful national life, or is it the overture to the Hymn of Redemption? These are great questions, and they are questions with which the most serious interests are involved.

J. H. BERNARD, D.D.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE PROPHETS: THE WARBURTONIAN LECTURES FOR 1886-1890. By A. F. KIRKPATRICK, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co.

ENGLISH theological literature during the last ten years has been well endowed with works of high excellence in varied departments of the field of Hebrew prophecy. It is unnecessary to refer to the contributions on this subject by Profs. Robertson Smith, Cheyne, Driver, Davidson, and Adam Smith. And now another work on the same attractive theme furnishes a clear indication of the direction in which the main interest in the deeper study of the Old Testament at the present time is tending. This tendency is the result of several causes. Of these the most potent is the most subtle and least obvious. It consists in the fact that the Higher Criticism, having diminished the value of the Pentateuch and historical books of the Bible as an exact and methodical presentation of the actual order of Israel's national development, has at the same time raised the moral as well as historic importance of Israel's prophets as contributors to the growth of religion to a level never previously recognized. The unique position of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, as standing midway between the stages of Israel's development, represented by the Book of the Covenant (Exod. xxi.-xxiii.) and by Deuteronomy, has only been adequately realized during the last twenty years. This trio of prophets and the Deutero-Isaiah were the minds that wrought out the evolution of Israelite religion from a tribal to a universal faith in the terrible Sturm-und-Drang period of Western Asian politics.

Moreover, in the writings of the Hebrew prophets we discover elements of teaching which are not to be found stated with like explicitness anywhere else in the Bible. In this respect the *Prophetæ Posteriores* discharge a function which neither *Tôrâh*, *Hagiographa*, or even the New Testament can be said to fulfil in equal degree, and this constitutes their claim to be regarded as in some respects the most modern writings in Scripture. In the great age-long controversy between Riches and Poverty the Hebrew prophet spoke forth with no uncertain sound while the Hebrew priest was dumb, and the former exalted righteous conduct to a position which had hitherto been usurped by ritual. Through the teachings of the Hebrew prophet the character of Jehovah was distinctly set forth as constituted by the eternal ethical principles of justice, which exalted Him to a position of universality and permanence that far transcended that of all other deities that were worshipped in that stormy age.

The present work is in some respects disappointing. Neither on the side of

popular exposition, that brings the teachings of Hebrew prophecy into vivid relation with the burning questions of the hour, nor on the side of historical exposition, whereby the genesis and growth of ideas are adequately set forth and explained, can Prof. Kirkpatrick be said to have contributed much to our present knowledge. This may perhaps be due to the fact that this function has already been adequately discharged by Prof. Adam Smith's work on Isaiah on the one hand, and on the other by such treatises as Duhm's *Theologie der Propheten* and Robertson Smith's *Prophets of Israel*. Doubtless it is difficult to occupy the field once more with real advantage when so much has been written during recent years of excellent quality, both in this country and abroad. Nevertheless, on the critical questions of Joel, Micah, Obadiah, and Zechariah, to say nothing of the *verata questiones* of Isaiah and Jeremiah, the last word has certainly not yet been said. On these there is ample room for a work of ripe scholarship that shall clearly set forth the best results that have yet been attained, and shall contribute some fresh light on at least some of the intricate questions of date and authorship.

In the Preface the author states that "the object of these lectures is to give some account of the work of the prophets in relation to their own times; to show, letting each of them as far possible speak for himself, the contribution made by each to the progress of revelation." Thus, in the very terms of the task which the writer sets himself, the problems of the Higher Criticism at once arise in the determination of the age to which the prophetic oracles are to be assigned as a necessary preliminary to the adequate interpretation of their contents. It is for this reason we regret that the critical and exegetical notes to the lectures have been reserved "for a more suitable resting-place elsewhere." The inevitable result is that the treatment of so large a subject as Hebrew prophetic literature in the compass of 580 short pages is somewhat meagre and superficial.

It is, however, the duty of the critic to keep in mind the limitations which the author has imposed upon himself as to space and treatment, as well as those which are determined at the outset by the conditions of the Warburtonian lectures themselves. The Introduction has favourably impressed us. We are thankful for the sobriety of judgment and clearness of vision that characterize the remarks upon the present attitude of thoughtful minds on the subject of miracle and prophetic fulfilment as evidences of religious truth, and on the rights of criticism. The following passages are illustrative:—

"For example, the prediction of a Josiah or a Cyrus by name centuries before they were born was at one time regarded as an irrefragable proof of the inspiration of the record. Such predictions would no doubt be a very remarkable proof that the prophets who delivered them were the agents of an omniscient being, if we could be sure that they were really predictions. But the Book of Kings did not take its present form till after the reign of Josiah, and the name of Josiah may easily have been an addition to the original narrative, while many arguments combine to prove that the later chapters of the Book of Isaiah were not written until the lifetime of Cyrus. But even when circumstantial predictions can be authenticated, they cannot be held to possess the importance that was once attached to them. Isolated predictions of this kind give us little information as to the character and purposes of God. They may serve to attract attention, and appeal to the temper of mind which seeks for a sign, but they will not satisfy the more thoughtful student. For him the contemplation of the wider characteristics of prophecy as a whole will furnish a more solid if less startling proof of its Divine origin" (p. 10).

To the devout students of Scripture, who view the recent developments of the Higher Criticism with serious alarm, we commend the seasonable counsel contained on page 22:—

"A prejudice is sometimes raised against the conclusions of criticism by the allegation that it springs ultimately from a desire to deny the predictive character of prophecy. It is possible that this may have been a motive with some of its advocates. But it is not so with others. They do not start with any theory of the impossibility of prediction. For them—to take a concrete example—the question with regard to the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah is not whether Isaiah could have uttered the predictions they contain, but whether the historical situation presumed is that of Isaiah's lifetime, whether the style is such that these chapters can reasonably be supposed to have proceeded from the same pen as the acknowledged prophecies of Isaiah."

The space which is at our disposal is insufficient for the citation of an interesting passage on page 24, in which the method and conditions of literary composition are clearly set forth and illustrated. We shall content ourselves with one more quotation in which the historic relation of legislative Tòrah to Prophecy is expounded in a few well-chosen words:—

"While, on the one hand, the earliest prophets bear testimony to the antiquity of Jehovah's revelation of Himself to Israel, on the other hand they cannot be held to afford proof of the existence of the Pentateuch in its present form. They do not appeal to a written law as the recognized standard of conduct. The 'law' or 'instruction' of Jehovah of which they speak is the equivalent of His 'word.' It is oral, and not written. It deals with morality, not with ceremonial. No doubt a sacrificial system was in full operation. . . . But the whole drift of the teaching of the earlier prophets indicates that the law, both moral and ceremonial, was still in process of growth, and though portions both of the legal and historical elements of the Hexateuch probably already existed in writing, other portions were still preserved by oral tradition. In fact, we must think of 'the Law' and 'the Prophets' as concomitant rather than successive disciplines" (p. 28).

Probably, the most questionable portion of the whole book is to be found in Lectures ii. and iii., which deal with the prophets of the pre-Assyrian period. It is certainly a refreshing experience to find a Hebrew scholar who has the courage to vindicate an early pre-Exilian date for any portion of Old Testament literature. And when Prof. Kirkpatrick, in this last decade of the century, has the courage to charge a whole army of Old Testament scholars in his chivalrous attempt to place Joel, as well as Obadiah, in the latter half of the ninth century, we can only exclaim with the French general, *c'est magnifique!* But I am afraid we must also join the latter in adding, *mais ce n'est pas la guerre.* In the first place, does not the writer weaken his position by taking the prophecy of Obadiah as an entirety? For, it should be observed, that the argument from canonical order which the writer employs in the case of Joel does not apply here. Moreover, the skilful array of proofs for the priority of Obadiah to Jeremiah is acknowledged by Cornill himself, but only as it applies to the *Ur-Obadiah*. In the second place, the use of Joel as a buttress to the author's argument for the early date of Obadiah certainly lends no strength. Even Riehm, the devout and scholarly critic, who reflected the best conservatism twenty years ago, pronounces the date of authorship of Joel's prophecies "*sehr streitig.*" For they are confessedly utterly destitute of the usual features which distinguish a pre-Exilian oracle (references to religious syncretism, high places, social laxity, to the Northern Kingdom as an existing state, to Assyria as a hostile power, &c.). Lastly, their contents and style hardly point to the ninth century. It is true that the book presents no points of contact with the Priestercodex. On the other hand, it has several references to J E (comp. especially ii. 18 with Exod. xxxiv. 6), while the careful investigations of Holzinger¹ on the language of the prophet render the later date of composition at least more probable. But the evidence on this last

¹ *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1889, pp. 89-129.

need is far from decisive.¹ On the general question of authorship and date, see Prof. Davidson in *Expositor*, March, 1888, pp. 208, foll.

It is satisfactory to note that the work is well provided with all the best results of cuneiform research as embodied in the works of Sayce and Schrader. I regret, however, to see the Assyrian monarch of the eighth century still called Tiglath Pileser II. Unfortunately, when the first volume of Schrader's work in English dress was being printed (1884), the designation Tiglath Pileser III. had not become current, and, for the sake of consistency, the old designation was maintained throughout both volumes. The correct form is, however, given in the Additions and Corrections, vol. ii., p. xi.

On p. 174 foll. there is a useful exposition of the Old Testament idea of *holiness*. I believe that the author starts from the right point of view on this difficult and obscure subject. He makes the Hebrew word *primarily* an attribute of Deity which afterwards came to be attached to all objects and persons immediately related to Deity. "God is holy;—persons, places, and things set apart for His service are holy by virtue of that consecration" (p. 175). In this connection the quotation of CIS. I., p. 14, is apposite, though the inscription belongs to the fourth century. Whether the signification was originally "separation" I regard as doubtful. But this is not the place to discuss a subject to which I have already drawn attention in these pages.

There is a useful analysis of the prophecies of the Proto-Isaiah on pp. 196-200. The dates assigned to the Oracles in nearly every case appear to us to be sound. But we cannot concur in regarding Isaiah xii. as pre-Exilian (p. 198, footn. 1). The parallel in Exodus xv. hardly conducts us to such a conclusion. For that poem exhibits traces of late Exilian or post-Exilian influences.

The treatment of the prophecies of Micah lies along conservative lines. The writer sees no serious break between chapters iii. and iv., for, in his classification of contents, the second division of the Oracles consists of chapters iii.-v. Indeed, he states that his somewhat full analysis has been given "with the object of showing that the book is not that disconnected collection of fragments, or the patchwork that it is sometimes represented as being. . . . In all probability it consists of discourses delivered on different occasions and under different circumstances" (p. 227). But the concluding words of the author (p. 280), in reference to chapters vi., vii., betray the weakness of his position: "At the same time, I feel that the arguments in favour of a later date have considerable weight, and the possibility that it proceeds from a different author must be allowed."

I must pass rapidly over the treatment of the prophets of the Chaldean period. Respecting the discussion on p. 248 of the date of Nahum's prophecy, I entirely dissent from both argument and conclusion. I cannot understand how Canon Kirkpatrick can assert in the footnote "the later date 623 [as opposed to his own proposed date 640] seems to me inconsistent with the description of the power of Assyria as *still unimpaired*." Surely Nahum iii. 18, 18, points in precisely the opposite direction. Again, the language of i. 14, ii. 1 (Heb.), can only apply to Judah during the reformation-period of Josiah's reign. To assume ignorance on the part of the author is a lame device. Wellhausen's arguments (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten Heft. v. p. 159*) in discussing the significance of Nahum iii. 8 foll. must be regarded as decisive in favour of a later rather than earlier date, when Assyria's power was crumbling and her "people had become women" (iii. 13). Steiner rightly argues that

¹ The influence of JE can hardly have been felt earlier than 700 B.C.

the tremendous catastrophe of Thebes would still remain a vivid recollection even then (notwithstanding Schrader's and Wellhausen's objections).

The discussion of Zech. ix.-xiv., with their complex and often baffling problems, I regard as the best in the book. The author's suggestion that על בניך יון (ix. 18) is a later gloss of the Maccabean age (p. 478) is partially on the right track. Stade admits that it is possible that we have here underlying older oracles which have been re-edited at the beginning of the third century B.C. I would suggest that יון is here a substitution for the earlier אשור. But to this difficult subject I hope to return on a later occasion. Suffice it to say that the drastic expedient of cancelling the phrase "against thy sons, O Greece" out of the text does not commend itself to my judgment, since the phrase ועוררתי בניך ציון remains too bald an expression and lacks its natural complement. The parallel, 2 Sam. xxiii. 18, cited by Canon Kirkpatrick (and by Hitzig before him) for its use of the Poel, contains a precisely similar complement. Moreover, Wellhausen's probable suggestion in his recent work (quoted above) that אבני קלע in the following verse is an evident corruption for . . . בני, in which the בני יון are again referred to, is another argument for retaining the clause in question.

Yet with all the limitations of this work there is much within its pages that affords us sincere pleasure. We heartily commend its devout spirit, its sobriety on matters of criticism—above all its acceptance of the best ascertained results of modern scholarship, notably in its treatment of Isa. xxiv.-xxvii., xl.-lxvi. (though here a few words upon the difficulties of the concluding chapters would have been desirable). And last, but not least, we heartily commend the thoughtful concluding chapter, which gathers up into a brief compass some of the most important aspects of Old Testament prophecy in reference to Christ as its ultimate fulfilment.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

SAINT PETER AND THE FIRST YEARS OF CHRISTIANITY. By the Abbé CONSTANT FOUARD. Translated from the second edition with the author's sanction by George F. X. Griffith. With an Introduction by Cardinal Gibbons. New York and London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1892, pp. xxvi., 422, 8vo, \$2.

This book, the production of a Catholic who has written a *Life of Christ* which has passed through five editions in the French and three in the English, will add not a little to the fame of its author. Only one other work do we know which can compete with it in fulness of detail and breadth of research—the excellent book of Professor Fisher on “The Beginnings of Christianity.”

Abbé Fouard confines his attention to the period between the resurrection of our Lord and the death of Peter. He has taken the book of the Acts as the foundation, and has gathered from all sides rays and beams of light, focusing them upon the events related in Luke's narrative until the latter stands out in astonishing clearness and with great sharpness of outline. His citations cover nearly the whole range of literature. Josephus, Philo, the Sibylline Oracles, Cicero, Ovid, Suetonius, Tacitus, Strabo, Herodotus, Pliny, Lucian, Horace, Perseus, Lucan, Plutarch, Martial, Bossuet, Cornelius à Lépide, Lightfoot, Renan, and our own Robinson are a mere corporal's guard from the host of writers of almost “every land and tongue” who, under the adept manipulation of our author, throw light on the early Church. Of course the whole body of patristic literature is laid under contribution, and even from the Talmud are drawn, time and again, confirmatory indications of the truth of Luke's story.

And yet the book is not a *potpourri* of disjointed quotations, a *mélange* of pointless references. The abbé has made such use of his authorities that even out of heathen darkness stray gleams are gathered to illumine the period between 30 and 67 A.D.

Probably nowhere, not even in the picturesque Renan or the graphic Schürer, is there to be found so vivid a portrayal of the environment of the Church in Jerusalem during the first decade of its existence as is given in the first two chapters of the volume before us; nor can we discover a livelier picture of the wonderful favor which met the Jews of the dispersion in many lands than is given in the third chapter. In these chapters the author has laid the foundation for the remaining portion of his book by showing how attractive to

many of the heathen were even the rigid requirements and the high standard of morality of the Jewish religion, and how Christianity was at first supposed to be merely a variety of Judaism with expanding prospects and realized hopes. The writer thus explains the paradox that while the Jews opposed Christianity by all the means that fanatical hatred could suggest, yet the Jewish ghettos fostered the religion of the Nazarene till it spread far beyond the limits of the Jewish quarter in every city.

The abbé brings into strong light the fact that the synagogue, not the temple, was the model of the Jewish Church. In the course of his study he devotes a chapter each to the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. He holds firmly to an Aramaic original for the former, written about the year 40, and translated into Greek by Matthew himself (although others also translated from the Aramaic, naturally Matthew's translation survived the rest). His position regarding Mark's gospel is that it is independent, was written about 52, sets forth Peter's teaching, but that Peter “neither hindered nor encouraged” its composition. He is in full accord with his Church on the weight of tradition, and agrees very closely with Bishop Westcott regarding the “Oral Gospel.”

Of course, being a Romanist, Abbé Fouard holds firmly to the presence of Peter in Rome, and, while allowing for the Gospel's being carried to Rome by Roman Jews immediately after Pentecost, makes Peter the real founder of the Church in the metropolis. He regards it as an established fact that Peter went to Rome in the year 42, and was driven thence by the edict of Claudius in 52, returning to Jerusalem to the council held there in that year. The abbé attempts to prove Peter's presence in Rome, but his argument fails to convince. He has contributed nothing new to the discussion, and has not touched the argument of Lipsius in the “*Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie*” for 1876. The chapter on “Saint Peter's Ministry in Rome” begins with the sentence: “The details of Saint Peter's ministry in Rome are almost entirely unknown.” Yet, although he says in the next sentence, “It is not part of our plan to construct a story out of supposititious events,” the picture drawn in that chapter is so charming and has such an air of verisimilitude that the reader is in great danger of forgetting that it is idealistic, not realistic.

Appropos of the heated discussion now in progress in Germany over the Apostles' Creed, it is worth while to note that the author's position is substantially that of Professor Harnack. He grasps the evangelical truth that “Revelation has its history and doctrine its development.” He

shows that while the Scriptures were held to be too sacred to be altered in the slightest degree, the formula of belief was not regarded as unchangeable. He places the composition of the *fundament* of the creed in Rome about 67, not in Jerusalem in 42.

Naturally, many of our author's positions we cannot accept. Now and then his reasoning is ingeniously fallacious, as when, *e.g.*, p. xi., he "calls in evidence . . . the pontifical catalogue" of "the close of the second century." We opened our eyes at this, never having heard of such a catalogue, and supposed we had "made a find." But a foot-note tells us that ". . . we are led to infer" that this pontifical catalogue of "the close of the second century," which, let us not forget, does not exist, contained so-and-so. That is, there is "called in evidence"—what? A fact? Not at all; merely an inference! Yet this inference is the basis of much reasoning.

But the blemishes of the work are so few and so small that we unhesitatingly recommend it for earnest study. Especially is it valuable for the devotional spirit with which it is pervaded. We wonder whether it would not be profitable for us Protestants to read more books by Romanists, and in that way become more devout, even though we were less critical.

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THE CHURCH IN RELATION TO SCEPTICS: a Conversational Guide to Evidential Work. By the Rev. ALEXANDER J. HARRISON, B.D., Evidential Missioner of the Church Parochial Mission Society, etc. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. xvi., 341, \$2.

Mr. Harrison has been lecturing on Christian evidences for twenty-three years. His audiences have been expected to have in them many unbelievers, representing many varieties and degrees of unbelief, who have had the right of putting questions to the lecturer for information or for argument. He has, also, had many a public debate with champions of unbelief. It has, therefore, been necessary for him to know his subject thoroughly, and the ground under it, the territory adjoining it, and the atmosphere around it, to answer at once, and with a fulness and clearness sufficient to satisfy the requirements of hearers often ignorant and prejudiced, any and all questions arising from false or partial views, from misapprehension or misrepresentation. After such a preparation it is not surprising to find that, having chosen to put in print his method and some of his experiences, his book should prove to be exceptionally interesting and useful.

There is another reason, too, why Mr. Harrison is qualified to write helpfully on

this subject. In his early life he was himself under the cloud and misery of scepticism during a period of three years. Thus he learned, in the school of experience, what some of the difficulties of sceptics are; and the memory of those years of his own distress is strong in him to keep his patience and sympathy unflinching toward all perversities and mistakes of men weak in faith or wandering in unbelief. The *spirit* of the author appears, indeed, in the aim of the book; and what that aim is appears in the title, "The Church in Relation to Sceptics." To "sceptics," not "scepticism." And throughout the book it is always noticeable that he is dealing with persons rather than with opinions and propositions; his purpose is, not to win his case, but to win his antagonist; to answer objections is only a secondary matter—the first thing, "the thing to be kept steadily in view," is to "bring the objector to Christ."

How to do this is answered in the first part of the book and in two chapters of "personal experiences" at the end. The author makes his suggestions modestly, but they are eminently practical and wise. They have been carefully considered and fully tried. Of the second part of the book it may be noted that it will be more serviceable in England than here. It is an exhaustive discussion of the work of the "Secularists." No doubt, however, we have in this country enough of the "secularist" spirit; and the closely reasoned argument in which Mr. Harrison shows how false and empty "Secularism" is cannot but be instructive. His conclusion on this point is expressed in the following words: "We have seen that Secularism is simply atheism, that atheism is simply a negation, and that that negation is wholly unnecessary to our highest welfare in our present life. There are many ways in which it is hostile to that welfare; but I need not pursue that. It is enough to see that it has entirely failed to make good its objection to the governing presence of Theism in daily life. Secularism, however, touches one with such infinite sadness that I can but content myself with pointing out its hollowness without one added word of censure. Besides, insincerity and hardness in those who, truly or falsely, profess to believe in God give only too much excuse for those who turn wearily from the Church in hope of finding refuge in something else. Argument has, I hope, its use; but it is only the living witnesses for Christ who can deal practically with the problem of a godless life. In logic and in love, every Christian Theist ought to be a Christian saint. The measure in which we resemble Christ will always be the measure in which we disarm Secularism."

It is clearly seen by Mr. Harrison that if the sceptic is to be brought home to faith he must first be found. The wilderness in which he is lost is wide. It must be ascertained where he is; and, if possible, the sceptic himself must be made to see where he is, and how he came there; this first, if he is to have confidence in the guide and reasonable understanding of the path leading him to truth and safety.

The third division of the book is given up to tracing out and exposing some of the ways by which men are carried away into scepticism—*e.g.*, a demand is made that they shall accept the opinion of some man or some party—a mere opinion, nothing more—as of the essence of the Christian faith, and not yielding to the demand, they are called, or they think themselves to be, sceptics; or, again, the faith which they really have is better than that temporary or local form of Christianity which they are not ready to accept; or, still further, they may have been misled into supposing that the results of modern science, and, indeed, its principles, require unbelief in the Christian religion. To many readers this and the remaining division will be the most interesting portions of the book. They bring under review such subjects as the Inspiration of Holy Scripture, the Immutability of Natural Law, Miracles and Answers to Prayer, the Divine Personality, Agnosticism and Evolution. It is, perhaps, superfluous to say that one may not always be satisfied with our author's treatment of a great question; that on such a subject, for example, as that of our Lord's knowledge, or on any deep matter of the Incarnation, one would prefer to read Athanasius or Leo. And some readers will think they have just reason for criticism in that they are at times left with a conjecture when, it will seem to them, there might be and ought to be a strong conclusion. Still, his aim must be kept in mind, and his work be judged by its adaptation to its own purpose. And thus viewed, it will be regarded as of great value: a book of mark; of encouragement and hope: to sceptics—not wilfully and viciously such—opening a way out of darkness into light, and suggesting to believing men something—it may be in manner and spirit, it may be in the form or substance of an argument—which shall be serviceable to them in their work for the Christian faith.

SYLVESTER CLARKE.

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LL.D. New York: J. A. Hill & Co., 1892, 8vo, pp. 544.

In his preface, Dr. Hays tells us: "This book is for church-members, officers, and busy pastors, rather than for theological professors or private antiquarians." We are glad that theological professors are not debarred from the pleasure of reading it, for the pleasure of so doing is real and great.

Such a book was needed. There was a niche just ready to receive it, and Dr. Hays has filled it in a most admirable manner. It is just such a book as pastors will be delighted to put into the hands of their people, that they may know what they need to know about their own church. It is a book that the people will read, for it is written in Dr. Hays' racy and interesting style. To give an account of the other Presbyterian churches in the country was a happy thought, which has been well carried out by an eminent minister of each one of those denominations writing a sketch of his own church. Dr. M. D. Hoge's account of the Southern Presbyterian Church makes us still regret the causes which led to the separation, and the vanishing hope, as it seems, of a reunion. In the history of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, by Drs. Howard and Hubbert, the differences of that church from the other members of the Presbyterian family in doctrine are definitely and sharply drawn. They claim to have found the true *via media* between Calvinism and Arminianism. The same thing was attempted long ago by Richard Baxter, and was known as Baxterianism, which was not very long lived. How long it may continue to be so now, time alone will reveal. One cannot read this history of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church without being reminded of some of the tendencies in the Northern Presbyterian Church at the present time.

We think Dr. Hays has been generally fair and impartial to all the varied interests of the Church, and is, upon the whole, a reliable historian. A careful perusal of the book has failed to detect any departure from strict historical accuracy. Some of the institutions of learning will think that scant justice has been done them; but it should be borne in mind that to have given them all the space they would have liked would have increased the size and cost of the work. No history ever does or can relate everything. And, therefore, all history is and must be more or less eclectic. Something must, therefore, be treated briefly or not at all. The publishers have in general done their part well. The paper is good, the printing excellent, and the general make-up attractive. Concerning the illustrations, which ordinarily make a book so much more attractive, we cannot say so

PRESBYTERIANS. A Popular Narrative of their Origin, Progress, Doctrines and Achievements. By Rev. GEORGE P. HAYS, D.D., LL.D. With Introductions by Rev John Hall, D.D., LL.D., and Rev. William E. Moore, D.D.,

much. They are well chosen, and some of them, like John Knox and Rev. Finis Ewing, are good enough; but some others are very bad. Owing to the want of stronger lines and lack of shading they are without expression, and remind one of the ghosts of departed worthies.

In spite of this drawback the book will be read with interest and profit by thousands, and is worthy of being read by all Presbyterians everywhere. We heartily congratulate Dr. Hays on the successful issue of his undertaking.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER.

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BRIEF REVIEWS AND NOTICES,

BY THE EDITOR.

The City and the Land is the title of the latest volume of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and it contains a course of seven lectures on the work of the "Fund" as it has been prosecuted for many years. (New York: Macmillan, 1892, 8vo, pp. 238.) "Ancient Jerusalem" is described by Sir Charles Wilson, whose name will ever be connected with the underground researches beneath the Holy City which revealed so much to Bible students. "The Future of Palestine" is the topic of Major Conder's lecture. If it be true that a knowledge of the past and present is a qualification of the modern prophet, Major Conder is competent. At all events, he gives much contemporary information. Canon Tristram's lecture was upon "The Natural History of Palestine," and Walter Besant, known in this country as a novelist, but long the accomplished secretary of the "Fund," gives a very interesting sketch of "The General Work of the Society." Dr. William Wright, well known as a writer upon Hittite subjects, gives a polemical paper upon "The Hittites," in which he reviews some of the facts given in his former publications, and pours scorn upon those who were hardy enough to express their scepticism as to the absolute trustworthiness of his early conjectures. "The Story of a 'Tell'" is told by W. M. Flinders Petrie, the well-known excavator, who has been named as the incumbent of the chair of Egyptology founded by the late Miss Edwards. The "Tell" was the mound which concealed and contained the remnants of the old city of Lachish, and the account of the discoveries begun by Petrie and continued by Bliss reads like a romance. It is of interest to add a fact not mentioned by Professor Petrie—that Mr. Frederick J. Bliss is an American (though a native of Syria) and a graduate of Amherst College and Union Theological Seminary. He has already done excellent work in Pales-

tinian exploration. The final lecture was on "The Modern Traveller in Palestine," by Canon Dalton. It is all too brief, but full of useful suggestions for those who would profit by a journey through the Holy Land. The lectures themselves and the book thus published are calculated to sustain the interest of the public in the exploration of Palestine. The work is only begun. The vistas of possibility, such as that mentioned by Petrie in connection with Greek influence in Palestine in early times, are almost endless, and are immensely attractive. The book should be widely read.

From Randolph & Company we have received four little volumes of considerable value and interest. They are the first issues of a series of "Guild and Bible Class Text-Books" issued under the editorship of Professor Charteris, of Edinburgh, on behalf of the "Life and Work Committee of the Church of Scotland." The titles are *The New Testament and Its Writers*, by Rev. J. A. M'Clymont, B.D. (pp. vi., 155); *Handbook of Christian Evidences*, by Alexander Stewart, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of Aberdeen (pp. ix., 94); *Life and Conduct*, by J. Cameron Lees, D.D., LL.D., of Edinburgh (pp. viii., 114); and *The Church of Scotland*, a sketch of its history, by Rev. Pearson M'Adam Muir, of Edinburgh (pp. iv., 98). The first is a brief, clear and yet satisfactory introduction to the New Testament writings. It is a difficult task, but it has been performed with credit, and the book is one which will be found useful in the hands of Bible-class scholars and Sabbath-school teachers. The second volume is one which pastors will find useful and instructive in leading the studies of classes of young men. *Life and Conduct* is a handbook for instruction in Christian living and in ethics. It is admirably written and will be found helpful. The last is a brief history which in short space gives one a compact view of the Scotch Church from the beginning onward. It is very vivid, in view of its brevity, and deserves the wide circulation which it has already enjoyed. The same statement might be made of the other three volumes mentioned.

Studies in the Book. Old Testament—First Series. *Genesis*. By Professor Revere F. Weidner, D.D. (New York and Chicago: Revell Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 141, \$1.) Though prepared for the use of the students of Mr. Moody's Bible Institute, this volume is intended for use in Bible classes and in colleges where the English Bible is studied. It is not a commentary nor a question book, but a combination of both. The author relies mainly upon Delitzsch and Keil, with occasional references to

Murphy, and a few others. The position occupied by the author is conservative, holding to Mosaic authorship with the use of documents, but the critical partition is entirely rejected. For convenience in making notes it is interleaved.

A little volume of no small interest to Presbyterians historically inclined is entitled *The Church on the Elizabeth River*: a memorial of the 210th anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church of Norfolk, Va., 1682-1892. (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 12mo, pp. 80.) It was by some supposed that the Elizabeth River church was the first of Presbyterian churches in America, but investigation has disproved this view. The history of both church and pastors is of interest, nevertheless, even if the highest claim that can be justified for the church is that "it is not only the oldest Presbyterian church in Virginia, but the oldest within the bounds of the Southern Presbyterian Church."

Some American Churchmen, by *Frederic Cook Morehouse* (Milwaukee: Young Churchman Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 240, \$1), is a collection of biographical sketches of Bishops Seabury, White, Hobart, Chase, Doane, Hopkins, and Kemper, and of Drs. Muhlenberg, Breck, and DeKoven. It is printed in large type, and the book is of considerable size, though the sketches are nearly all quite brief. They are, however, appreciative so far as they go, and give at least a partial idea of the men in question. But they are too brief to be entirely satisfactory to adult readers.

My Septuagint is the singular title by which Dr. Charles Foras Deems, pastor of the Church of the Strangers, in this city, calls his latest publication. (Cassell Publishing Co., 12mo, pp. 208.) The name was suggested by the fact that the contents of the book have been prepared since the author's seventy-second birthday anniversary. The pieces thus given to the world breathe the genial spirit of the man who claims one of the longest pastorates in the city. It is with regret that one is called upon to note the fact that at the time of writing he is laid aside from active labor. The characteristic which strikes one in this volume is the breadth of view which the author takes in connection with some of the questions of the day. It would be well if others could learn of him the soundness of view and sweetness of temper here displayed.

Most Reverend John Hughes, First Archbishop of New York. By *Henry A. Brann*, D.D., rector of St. Agnes' Church. ("Makers of America" series. New York: Dodd & Mead, 1892, 12mo, pp. 182, \$1.) Dr.

Brann has presented a sympathetic account of Archbishop Hughes, and has recounted in brief outline a very remarkable career; but even in this representation as to be seen the grounds upon which antagonism was aroused in many quarters. Nevertheless one is compelled to admire the forceful characteristics of the man and the high estimate which he placed upon his prerogatives. The author has scarcely done himself justice in point of literary finish, though allowance must be made for certain blemishes on account of the necessary limitations of space. Protestant readers will take offence at some of the epithets used, which add nothing to the strength of the book, and which might easily have been omitted.

The Story of Sicily, Phœnician, Greek, and Roman. By *Edward A. Freeman*, Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1892, 12mo, pp. xvi., 378, \$1.50.) Professor Freeman was undoubtedly right in saying that the best preparation for writing a "short" history is to have written a long one. In the present work we have a volume complete in itself, but only one half of the history. It is, however, the production of a master and is worthy of the place which it occupies in the "Stories of the Nations." Though Sicily was never a "nation," it nevertheless occupied a unique position and its story is one of great interest, for from its central location in the ancient world it was the scene of conflicts which decided the fate of peoples on the wider field of the world. The volume is a welcome addition to our historical libraries.

The Doctrine of God, by the Rev. *Francis J. Hall*, M.A. (Milwaukee: Young Churchman Co., 1892, 16mo, pp. 148, 50 cents, net), is the first volume of a series of "Theological Outlines" by the "Instructor of Theology in the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill." With some of the statements of this book we are in no sort of accord. "In Exegetical Theology, the truths and principles which are taught by the Church and arranged in Systematic Theology are established and illustrated by a critical analysis and interpretation of the contents of Holy Scripture" (p. 28). This reverses the Protestant order. "... the authority by which inspiration is attested is the Catholic Church" (p. 37). This is Romish; the Protestant view makes the Witness of the Holy Spirit in the Scripture its attestation. "Every part [of the Bible] is divinely inspired and is of equal authority, when interpreted in accordance with its organic relation to the whole course of revelation." This is, in part, misleading, or it is nonsense. "But the Bible is useful to prove what the Church teaches." In

other words, it is only an arsenal where ammunition is stored ready for use. Such a view of the Bible is simply unspeakable.

The Divine Art of Preaching. By Arthur T. Pierson. (New York : Baker & Taylor Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. xvi., 156, 75 cents.) "Lectures delivered at the 'Pastor's College,' connected with the Metropolitan Tabernacle, London, England, from January to June, 1892." When Dr. Pierson took Mr. Spurgeon's place, among the duties which fell to his lot was that of giving instruction in the "Pastor's College," which had been such an important branch of the work of the pastor of the Metropolitan Tabernacle. Called suddenly to perform this labor, carefully studied preparation was out of the question, and the lectures here reproduced from stenographic notes were a sort of involuntary outpouring of the results of the preacher's year-long practice. For this reason they possess a value which a more elaborate treatise might lack, though they do not lay claim to the completeness which the subject justifies.

The Democracy of Christianity, or equality in the dealings of God with men, by Rev. Lorenzo White, A.M. (New York : Hunt & Eaton, 1892, 12mo, pp. 307, \$1.25), deals with the question of probation from the Arminian standpoint, as based upon "equality of advantage in the trial-life for gaining heaven." "Obviously a reasonable probation must have as foundation principles—in man absolute freedom of moral agency, and in God equity in its appointments and requirements. These premises logically involve essential equality." The author proposes to exhibit "two closely related truths," "the absolute freedom of man upon probational issues to choose for himself and from his own character, and to all who are held to the responsibilities of probation perfect equality of opportunity for securing the favor of God and eternal life." The author is in parts of his book decidedly rationalistic and extra-scriptural as well as contra-biblical. In fact, the Scripture is conspicuous by its absence. We submit that in treating of the "Democracy" of Christianity, Christianity's charter should receive more attention than Mr. White has given it. A philosophical treatise is one thing, but a statement of Christian doctrine rests upon a different basis. The basis for a decision between Arminian and Calvinistic views must rest upon their common source, and the true doctrine must be deduced therefrom by a correct system of exegesis and induction. In departing therefrom and stating what "must" be, apart from what "is" existent in the world of fact and in the world of biblical teaching, one enters upon dangerous ground. The author often

obscures his meaning by a style which is far from clear, and which resembles an extempore method of verbal discourse more than the careful style of literary diction.

The Model Sunday-School. A handbook of principles and practices. By George M. Boynton, Secretary of the Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society (Boston and Chicago, 16mo, pp. 175, 75 cents), has a practical aim, being the outgrowth of suggestions made during a conference between the secretary and his agents. Having such a genesis, there is no surprise that it proves to be a book which justifies its existence, and gives promise of being of immense assistance to a multitude of teachers and others who have felt the need of the mature advice here given. It is worthy of study and careful consideration. It abounds in hints which will prove of great importance in the successful prosecution of the work, whose interests the author has so nearly at heart, and it should be placed in the hands of teachers that they may rise to an appreciation of their high office and great responsibilities.

The work of the Y. M. C. A. has become so widespread and so important, that a volume which gives a full and authentic account of the various operations and methods employed will be welcomed by a large number of persons besides those immediately connected with an association. Such a volume is that recently issued by the International Committee. (40 East Twenty-third Street, New York City, crown 8vo, pp. 448, appendix of forms and index, \$2.) It is entitled *A Handbook of the History, Organization, and Methods of Work of Young Men's Christian Associations*. The editors are H. S. Nide, J. T. Bowne, and Erskine Uhl, all well-known and successful workers in this branch of Christian labor. While intended primarily for the instruction and education of those who are already engaged in the work, or looking forward to such employment, the handbook is calculated to give detailed and accurate information to those whose interest is only secondary and whose knowledge is very inadequate. This information will be found to extend to all branches and details, such as can be found nowhere else. It is, therefore, a work of prime importance and of great value.

Victory through Surrender. A message concerning consecrated living. By the Rev. B. Fay Mills. (New York : Revell, pp. 82, 50 cents.) Mr. Mills is known over the whole continent as a successful evangelist and worker. A book treating of such a subject as this from his pen will be

welcomed and widely read. In it will be found a treatment eminently biblical, with a multitude of scriptural illustrations. Occasionally a sentence may be found which carries a one-sided view of truth to an extreme, thus placing emphasis where it does not belong, but the book as a whole will be helpful to many.

From the Pyramids to the Acropolis: Sacred places seen through biblical spectacles (pp. 21-288), and *Ready! ay, Ready!* and other addresses (pp. 21-232). By T. De Witt Talmage. (Philadelphia: Historical Publishing Co., 1893, 12mo, \$1.) Let no one think that the former of these books is an account of travel. It is a volume of sermons suggested by the scenes through which the traveller passed. Like the other volume, it is an illustration of the wonderful faculty of the man for homiletical illustration. To a wide circle of bearers and admirers these volumes, bound in white and gold, will be welcome. The critic, however, will scarcely be able to discover the secret of the power which the preacher wields from day to day.

The Philosophy of the Real Presence. By Robert A. Holland, S.T.D. (New York: Whittaker, 2d ed., 1893, pp. 88, 25 cents.) A piece of brilliant English composition, but scarcely satisfactory in its results to those who hold to a "real presence" more actual than that of a friend in a photograph or of a nation in its flag.

Lead Me to the Rock is the title of a little volume by the Rev. T. W. Hooper, D.D., published by the Presbyterian Board of Publication (Philadelphia, 12mo, pp. 174, 60 cents). It is difficult to find any sufficient reason for its publication, except such as is given in the dedication to the people under the author's previous pastoral charge. The contents are good, truly, but the volume is scarcely one to command an extensive circulation.

The Holy Ordinance of Marriage. Arranged by Rev. George E. Merrill. (Boston: Silver, Burdette & Co., 1892, pp. 47.) This is something novel in the line of a marriage certificate. It consists of selections from Scripture, a marriage form modelled after the Episcopal ritual, but with wide departures therefrom, a certificate to be filled out, and hymns. The service is simple but excellent, and it has been used acceptably by the author for several years. The whole is bound in white and gold, giving a very neat appearance.

The Beasts of Ephesus. By Rev. James Brand, D.D., pastor First Congregational Church, Oberlin, O. With an introduction by Rev. Francis E. Clark, D.D., President United Society of Christian Endeavor.

(Chicago: Advance Publishing Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 206.) The "beasts" are those temptations and enticements which assail young people. It is possible that this volume will find readers among such, but we apprehend that it will prove to be of more service to pastors, parents, and teachers who have to do with settling questions for the young and directing their early steps in right paths.

Timely Topics, political, biblical, ethical, practical, discussed by college presidents, professors, and eminent writers of our time. (New York: E. B. Treat, 1892, 12mo, pp. 361.) This volume contains a series of papers contributed to the *Treasury Magazine* by a company of men more or less widely known in the churches, and more or less competent for their tasks. The main topics treated are the papacy and jesuitism, prelacy, episcopacy, the ministry, ethics and morals, temperance, biblical criticism, Christian and secular education. The papers are of unequal merit, and occasionally represent different sides of the questions discussed. The general tendency of the volume is conservative, but with that the lover of truth need have no quarrel, if only his opponent share in the same desire to attain to verity. The great obstacle is prejudice, greater than ignorance, and of both of these this volume furnishes samples. In an article upon the "higher criticism," by Professor Terry, of Garrett Biblical Institute, is found a piece of practical advice well worth quotation and thought. "Writers who identify higher criticism with rationalism are not only guilty of misrepresenting the issues of criticism on this subject, but they prejudice fair-minded students by irrational methods of defending what they hold to be the truth." "There is no probability that the great body of biblical critics will be willing to persist in any palpable sophistry." These are the words of a fair-minded and honest man, whatever his critical views may be.

A recent volume serves to call attention to a change of customs and manners since "The Present Crisis," in 1775, in England closed the list of books condemned to be publicly burned. Since then the fire of the critic has taken the place of the fire of the hangman, with the difference that the former has not uniformly reduced the circulation of the condemned volumes. Mr. James Anson Farrer, in *Books Condemned to be Burnt* (New York: Armstrong & Son, 12mo, pp. xi., 206), has given a very readable and clear account of the English books which have met this fate. He has certainly succeeded in giving "something less dull than a dictionary," but, which so far as it goes is not "something far short of a history." It

is a book for the curious, the lover of letters, and the student of manners, and it contains a large amount of interesting and instructive fact.

The name of Dr. William F. Poole is one that will be remembered by multitudes to whom "Poole's Index" to periodical literature has been a friend, a guide in a wilderness. A recent volume issued from the press of Houghton, Mifflin & Co. (Boston and New York), under the auspices of the American Library Association and the editorship of William I. Fletcher, librarian of Amherst College, proposes to do a similar service for the field of literature as the same is found in volumes of collected essays, books which treat of various subjects under a single title, sociological, educational, statistical, and miscellaneous reports. It is restricted to English books, and to such of these as are usually found in an ordinary library. This is a step in a direction where much-needed help can be given, and there is no doubt that the assistance thus rendered will be appreciated. We can heartily say, let the good work go on. (*An Index to General Literature*, 1893, 8vo, pp. v., 329, \$5.)

THE MARCH MAGAZINES.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE for March contains: Frontispiece, "Dance at the Ponce de Leon;" "Our Own Rivers," by Julian Ralph; "The Face on the Wall" (a story), by Margaret Deland; "The Ecceurial," by Theodore Child; "Monochromes" (poems), by W. D. Howells; "My Upper Shelves" (a poem), by Richard Burton; "The Refugees," a tale of two continents, by A. Conan Doyle, Part III.; "Washington Society," I., Official, by Henry Loomis Nelson; "Horace Chase" (a novel), by Constance Fenimore Woolson, Part III.; "Slavery and the Slave Trade in Africa," by Henry M. Stanley; "An American in Africa," by Richard Harding Davis; "Editor's Study," by Charles Dudley Warner; "Editor's Drawer," by Thomas Nelson Page; "Gentle Terrorism," full-page illustration drawn by George du Maurier; "Monthly Record of Current Events."

THE CENTURY for March contains: "Portrait of Napoleon," frontispiece; "The Violoncello of Jnfrow Rozenboom," Anna Eichberg King; "An Embassy to Provence," II., Thomas A. Janvier; "Silence," Maria Bowen Chapin; "Napoleon's Deportation to Elba," by the Officer in Charge, Thomas Ussher, R. N.; "Jamaica," Gilbert Gaul; "Letters of Two Brothers," passages from the correspondence of General and Senator Sherman, William Tecumseh Sherman and John Sherman; "Caprice," N.; "Westminster Abbey," Henry B. Fuller; "The Bousing of Mrs. Potter," Gertrude Smith; "The Present State of Old Testament Criticism," Edward Lewis Curtis; "Chicago," Marion Conthony Smith; "Meridian," Charles T. Dazey; "Camille Saint-Saëns," Henry E. Krehbiel; "Have ye Niver Heerd Tell o' Rose Creagan?" Jennie E. T. Dowe; "My Sister Lydia," from a painting by Edmund C. Barbell; "Sweet Bells Out of Tune," V., Mrs. Burton Harrison; "The Dead King," George Horton; "Artist Life by the North Sea," H. W. Ranger; "One Touch of Nature," Edgar Fawcett; "At the Keltich Ranch," Anna Fuller; "Benefits Forgotten," IV., Wolcott Balestier;

"The Cosmopolis City Club," III., What the Club Accomplished, Washington Gladden; "Topics of the Time," "Open Letters," "In Lighter Vein."

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE for March, contents: "March," frontispiece; "Audubon's Story of His Youth," by Maria B. Audubon; "The Jaffa and Jerusalem Railway," by Selah Merrill; "The One I Knew the Best of All: a Memory of the Misd of a Child," by Frances Hodgson Burnett; "A Saharan Caravan," by A. F. Jaccaci; "The Man in Red," by T. R. Sullivan; "The French Symbolists," by Aline Gorren; "The Violin," by Harriet Prescott Spofford; "The Cedars," drawn by C. F. Cranch; "The Work of the Andover House in Boston," by William Jewett Tucker; "The Tale of a Goblin Horse," by Charles C. Nott; "Ezra Hardman, M.A.," by Schuyler Shelton; "Wood Songs," III., by Arthur Sherburne Hardy; "Historic Moments: The Death of John Quincy Adams in the Capitol," by Robert C. Winthrop; "The Point of View."

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for March, contents: "Old Kaskaskia" (in four parts), part third, Mary Hartwell Catherwood; "Admiral the Earl of St. Vincent," A. T. Mahan; "Mom Cely's Wonderful Luck," Elizabeth W. Bellamy; "Persian Poetry," Sir Edward Strachey; "Of a Dancing-Girl," Lafcadio Hearn; "Garden Ghosts," James B. Kenyon; "Random Reminiscences of Emerson," William Henry Furness; "On Growing Old," H. C. Merwin; "My College Days," I., Edward E. Hale; "Words," Agnes Repplier; "An English Family in the Seventeenth Century," John Foster Kirk; "A Seventeenth-Century Song," Louise Imogen Guiney; "The Ancestry of Genius," Havelock Ellis; "A Great Lady of the French Restoration," "Pagan and Christian Rome," "Symonds's Life of Michelangelo," "Paul Heyse," "Comment on New Books," "The Contributors' Club."

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE for March, contents: "Waring's Peril," Captain Charles King, U. S. A.; "The Newspaper Woman's Story," Elizabeth G. Jordan; "The Light-House," Edith M. Thomas; "Hope Deferred," Lillian A. North; "Some Queer Trades," Charles Robinson; "A Rose," Florence Earle Coates; "Marie Burroughs," Robert Edgar-ton; "A Rose of the Mire," Kate Jordan; "The Ripples and the Pool," Herbert Ditchett; "The Selfishness of Mourning," C. H. Crandall; "Our Side of the Question," Louise Stockton; "Men of the Day," M. Crofton.

THE CONTENTS OF THE COSMOPOLITAN for March are: "Berlin," Fredrich Spielhagen; "Slander," Edgar Fawcett; "The Abyssal Depths of the Sea," J. Carter Beard; "In our Cotton Belt," H. S. Fleming; "The Story of a Boy's Club," E. E. Hale; "Belated Bloom," W. H. Hayne; "A Royal Rule," Grace Ingersoll Bigelow; "The Fruit of Sorrow," Flavel Scott Mines; "The Great Trans-Siberian Railway," Valerian Gribayedoff; "Conquered," Julien Gordon; "For Music," Frank Dempster Sherman; "Women Experts in Photography," Clarence B. Moore; "An Italian Campo Santo," Munat Halstead; "The British Navy," S. Keadley-Wilmot; "Cervantes, Zola, Kipling & Co.," Brander Matthews; "The House of the Dragons," Ida M. Van Ertten; "March," Elizabeth Stoddard; "The Great Congresses at the World's Fair," Ellen M. Henriotin; "Photographed," John B. Tabb; "A Traveller from Altruria," W. D. Howells; "Pastel," Henry Tyrrell.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS is to be commended for its enterprise in having secured from the pen of Archdeacon Farrar a most brilliant tribute, as also a most frank and personal one, to the life and character of the late Bishop Phillips Brooks. Dr. Farrar was Phillips Brooks's most intimate and confidential English friend, and this article must of necessity be read with the keenest interest by the American admirers of the great preacher. President Thwing, of Adelbert College, Cleveland, contributes also an eloquent and warm tribute to the great power of Phillips Brooks as a preacher.

INDEX OF PERIODICALS, FEBRUARY, 1893.

Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index of Periodicals.

- Af. M. E. R.** African M. E. Church Review. (Quarterly.)
A. R. Andover Review.
B. S. Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quarterly.)
B. W. The Biblical World.
B. Q. R. Baptist Quarterly Review.
Ch. Q. R. Church Quarterly Review.
C. M. Q. Canadian Methodist Quarterly.
C. P. R. Cumberland Presbyterian Review. (Quarterly.)
C. R. Charities Review.
C. T. Christian Thought.
Ex. Expositor.
Ex. T. Expository Times.
G. W. Good Words.
H. R. Homiletic Review.
L. Q. Lutheran Quarterly.
M. R. Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)
M. H. Missionary Herald.
Miss. R. Missionary Review.
N. C. Q. New Christian Quarterly.
N. H. M. Newbury House Magazine.
N. W. The New World.
O. D. Our Day.
P. E. R. Protestant Episcopal Review.
P. M. Preachers' Magazine.
P. Q. Presbyterian Quarterly.
P. R. R. Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
R. Ch. Review of the Churches.
R. Q. R. Reformed Quarterly Review.
R. R. R. Religious Review of Reviews.
S. A. H. Sunday at Home.
S. M. Sunday Magazine.
T. Th. The Thinker.
T. Tr. The Treasury.
Y. R. The Yale Review.
Y. M. The Young Man.
- Æsthetic in Religion.** The, J. W. Wright, MR.
Armstrong, J. Z., J. Parker, TTr.
Baptism in the Economy of Grace, The Position of, J. B. Grubbe, NCQ.
Beafa, Man's Responsibility for his, G. R. W. Scott, CT.
Bethesda, Christ at the Pool of, G. A. Chadwick, Ex.
Brainerd, David, W. D., Sexton, MissR.
Brotherhood of Christian Unity, The, Theodore F. Seward, NCQ.
Browning's Philosophy of Art, D. Dorchester, Jr., AR.
Chicago, Charities and Correction in, H. H. Hart, CR.
Children in the West, Placing out New York, Francis H. White, CR.
Christianity, Applied, Ch. W. Clark, AR.
Church Movement of 1883, A Layman's Recollections of, G. W. NHM.
Criticism, The Higher, B. W. Johnson, NCQ.
Educational Statistics, Some Recent, W. H. Norton, MR.
Eternal Verities, C. V. Anthony, MR.
Ethnic Religions and Christianity, A Comparative View of, T. McKendree Stuart, MR.
Gethsemane, Geo. Plattenburg, NCQ.
God's Imperative Entreaty, John Z. Armstrong, TTr.
Gospel in Nature, The, H. H. Moore, MR.
Hadesian Theology, CT.
Hayes, Ex-President R. B., William M. F. Round, CR.
Hezekiah, Sargon, and Sennacherib, Joseph Horner, MR.
High Priest of our Profession, The, Prof. Charteris, GW.
Isy Scripture, The Inerrancy of the, F. F. Adenweller, NCQ.
Isos of a Naturalist, The, A. J. Vignoles, GW.
Inspiration of the Scriptures, The, J. Monro Gibbon, PM.
Jew, Mission Fields, The, C. M. Alford, TTr.
Job, Messianic Prophecy in the Book of, E. L. Curtis, BW.
John, First Epistle of, G. G. Findlay, Ex.
Jonah, The Book of, A. Crawford, PER.
Judaism, The Expansion of, Oliver J. Thatcher, BW.
Jude's Doxology, A. T. Pierson, TTr.
Labour Problem, The, William O. McDowell, CT.
Livery Companies, Leaves from the History of the, Charles Welch, NHM.
Lodging-Houses of London, The Common, Andrew Mearns, SM.
Mexico, Inquisition of, Laura M. Latimer, MissR.
Milnes, The Theology of, Franklin McKilfresh, MR.
Milnes, Local Memories of, David Mason, GW.
Minor Prophets, Wellhausen's, John Taylor, Ex.
Mission Churches, The Question of Endowing, Edward Judson, MissR.
Missions the Salvation of the Church, James Mathieson, MissR.
Missions, the Overflow of, A. J. Gordon, MissR.
Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Papal Lands, Arthur B. Kinsolving, PER.
Moses, His Life and its Lessons, Mark Guy Pearse, PM.
Mount Athos, J. D. Mahaffy, SM.
Murray of Samoa, Robert Steel, MissR.
Name and the Nature, The, J. Reid Howatt, SM.
New Testament, Survey of Literature on, Marcus Dods, Ex.
Orthodoxy, The New and the Old, George A. Gordon, AR.
Pantheistic Tendencies Unfavorable to Permanence in Creed, O. T. Lanphear, HR.
Parisian Municipal Refugees for Working Women, Helen Zimmern, CR.
Pastor and the Inquirer, The, T. L. Cuyler, HR.
Paul's Conception of Christianity, A. B. Brune, Ex.
Peter, Newly Discovered Apocryphal Gospel of, Isaac H. Hall, BW.
Poetry do for the Ministry? What can, Arthur D. Hoyt, HR.
Poor Law, Our, J. R. Crawford, NHM.
Prayer in the Church of England, Special Forms of, J. Charles Cox, NHM.
Prayer, The Divine Consciousness of Human, John Steinfort Kedney, PER.
Preach, Training Men to, E. G. Robinson, HR.
Preaching, Present-Day, S. H. Kellogg, PM.
Preaching and Read Sermons, Extempore, David Brook, PM.
Preaching, Sensational, David J. Barrett, CT.
Progress in Religion, H. W. Everest, NCQ.
Progress of the Churches, The, Archdeacon Farrar, J. Reid Howatt, Dr. Mackennal, Dr. Clifford, P. W. Bunting, RCh.
Public Schools, Religious Instruction, N. S. Burton, AR.
Religious Chasm in England, The, W. Darbon, NCQ.
Sanitation in Relation to the Poor, William H. Welch, CR.
Scriptural Texts from Recent Discoveries, Light on, William Hayes Ward, HR.
Selby Abbey, Henry Hayman, NHM.
Semitic Study, A Plea for, J. H. Blake, NCQ.
Sermons, How Men Get their, John Edwards, PM.
Spencerian Theory of the Religion of Israel, The, C. R. Blauvelt, CT.
Synoptic Problem, Some Points in the, V. H. Stanton, Ex.
Temperance Legislation, A Suggested Compromise on, Hugh Price Hughes, RCh.
Tendency of his Teaching? How Far is a Man Responsible for what is Called the, B. A. Greene, AR.

Tendency, A Study of, D. A. Goodsell, MR.
 Theological Instruction in Switzerland, P. W. Snyder, BW.
 Usury and Interest, The Ethic of, Alfred Bishop Mason, CR.
 Version in Public Worship, The Revised, Edward Abbott, PER.
 Voice from Heaven, A., J. Westby Earnshaw, TTr.
 Westminster Abbey, The Statuary in, Archdeacon Farrar, GW.
 Whateley, Archbishop, Bishop Randolph, PER.
 Whittier, J. G., F. C. Iglehart, MR.
 Women : their Needs and Helpers, L. E. Bidding, NHM.
 Y. M. C. A.'s a Dismal Failure ? Are, W. H. Miller, the Archdeacon of London, Professor Shuttleworth, J. Guinness Rogers, RCh.

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THE ANDOVER REVIEW.

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The Contrast and Agreement between the New Orthodoxy and the Old.
 Applied Christianity : Who Shall Apply It First ?
 Religious Instruction in Public Schools.
 Browning's Philosophy of Art.
 How Far is a Person Responsible for what is Called the Tendency of his Teaching ?

THE BIBLICAL WORLD.

Chicago, February, 1893.

The Newly Discovered Apocryphal Gospel of Peter.
 The Expansion of Judaism.
 Theological Instruction in Switzerland.
 Messianic Prophecy in the Book of Job.
 Historical Studies in the Scriptural Material of the International Lesson.

THE CHARITIES REVIEW.

New York, February, 1893.

Ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes,
 Situation in Relation to the Poor.
 Placing Out New York Children in the West.
 The Parisian Municipal Refuges for Working Women.
 The Ethic of Usury and Interest.
 Charities and Correction in Chicago in 1893.

CHRISTIAN THOUGHT.

New York, February, 1893.

Man's Responsibility for His Beliefs.
 The Spencerian Theory of the Religion of Israel.
 The Labor Problem : Cause and Remedy.
 Hadesian Theology.
 Sensational Preaching.
 A Year among the Churches.

THE EXPOSITOR.

London, February, 1893.

Some Points in the Synoptic Problem.
 The Preface to the First Epistle of John.
 Wellhausen's " Minor Prophets."
 Paul's Conception of Christianity.
 Christ at the Pool of Bethesda.
 Survey of Literature on the New Testament.

GOOD WORDS.

London, February, 1893.

The High Priest of Our Profession.
 The Home of a Naturalist.
 The Statuary in Westminster Abbey.
 Local Memories of Milton.
 The Influence of Christ on Character.

THE HOMILETIC REVIEW.

Toronto, New York, London, February, 1893.

What Can Poetry do for the Ministry ?
 Training Men to Preach.
 Pantheistic Tendencies Unfavorable to Permanence in Creed.
 The Pastor and the Inquirer.
 Light on Scriptural Texts from Recent Discoveries.

METHODIST REVIEW.

New York, Cincinnati, January-February, 1893.

Whither !
 The Gospel in Nature.
 A Comparative View of the Ethnic Religions and Christianity.
 John Greenleaf Whittier.
 Some Recent Educational Statistics.
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Wolston, W. T. P. Simon Peter: His Life and Letters. Edinburgh: Gospel Messenger Office, 1893. Cr. 8vo, 2s. 6d.

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Jan. 18. Inauguration of Charles Kendall Adams, LL.D., President of Wisconsin University.

Jan. 19. Thirty-second Anniversary of the Woman's Union Missionary Society in Brooklyn.

Inauguration of Rev. M. Woolsey Stryker, D.D., President of Hamilton College.

Jan. 24. Organization by the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions of a new department to disseminate knowledge of mission needs among the young. Mr. Thornton B. Penfield has been placed in charge.

Conference in Toronto relating to church union between committees representing Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, and Anglicans.

Jan. 25. Consecration in Duluth of the Rev. William Morris Barker, D.D., Missionary Bishop of Western Colorado.

Jan. 31. Day of Prayer for Schools and Colleges. The Trustees of Lane Theological Seminary at Cincinnati declined to accept the resignation of Professor Smith, but declared vacant the professorship of Practical Theology, held by Professor Roberts.

Feb. 7. Meeting in Louisville, Ky., of the Presbyterian General Assembly's Committee on the Directory of Worship.

Feb. 15-18. Sixth Annual Deaconess Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Cincinnati.

Feb. 16. Memorial service at Carnegie Music Hall, New York City, in honor of Phillips Brooks.

Feb. 16-17. Inter-seminary District Missionary Alliance of the Central District at New Brunswick.

Feb. 19. Celebration of the archiepiscopal Jubilee of Pope Leo XIII.

The following prelates are reported to have been elevated to the Cardinalate on January 16: Mgr. G. R. Meignan, Archbishop of Tours, France; Mgr. L. B. Ch. Thomas, Archbishop of Cologne, Germany; Mgr. C. Vassary, Archbishop of Grau and Primate of Hungary; Mgr. Benito Sanzy Fores, Archbishop of Seville, Spain; Mgr. L. Gallimberti, Papal Nuncio at Madrid; Mgr. Persico, Secretary of the Propaganda; Mocenni, Under-Secretary of State.

Rt. Rev. Martin Rogation was consecrated Bishop of Uranopolis and Vicar Apostolic of the Marquesas Islands, in San Francisco, January 1.

Rt. Rev. M. F. Burke, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cheyenne, has been transferred to the see of St. Joseph's.

The venerable Dr. King has resigned the see of Norwich. He is the senior prelate, though not the oldest, on the bench.

Rt. Rev. George Howard Wilkinson, late Bishop of Truro, has been elected to the see of St. David's, Dunkeld and Dunblane, to succeed Bishop Wordsworth.

Rev. F. K. Brooke, D.D., was consecrated missionary bishop of Oklahoma in Topeka, Kan., January 6.

Rt. Rev. Dr. Lewis, Bishop of Ontario, has been elected Metropolitan of the Province of Canada in succession to the late Bishop Medley.

The Methodist Episcopal Seminary at Atlanta, Ga., falls heir to \$750,000 by the death of Mrs. Gammon.

The Rev. C. C. Camp, of Joliet, has accepted the Professorship of New Testament Exegesis in Seabury Divinity School.

Rev. N. Walling Clark has accepted the presidency of the Methodist Theological School in Italy.

CHRONICLE.

(Closes on the 30th of each month.)

Jan. 11-12. Twenty-fifth anniversary of the Woman's Board of Missions in Boston.

Jan. 15. Consecration of Dr. Clifford, first Bishop of Lucknow, in St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta.

Rev. T. W. Kretschmann has been appointed instructor in Hebrew in the (Lutheran) Mt. Airy Seminary.

Professor W. J. Tucker, of Andover, after declining twice, has accepted the presidency of Dartmouth College.

The Rev. A. C. Peck, D.D. (Methodist Episcopal), has been elected Chaplain of the House of Representatives.

OBITUARY.

Anderson, Rev. Samuel Thomas (Cumberland Presbyterian), Ph.D., D.D. (Waynesburg College, Pa., 1864), at Los Angeles, Cal., January 10, aged 66. He was graduated from Cumberland University, 1852; studied in Union Theological Seminary, 1853-55; was ordained, 1854; was evangelist for one year; became professor in Chapel Hill College, Texas, the same year; in Union College, Miss., 1858; and of Union College, Ill., 1859; was elected President of Missouri Female College, 1860; became pastor of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church at Waynesburg, Pa., 1864, serving also as Professor of Hebrew and Greek in the college there; became pastor at Lebanon, O., 1866, and of (Congregational) church at Napoli, N. Y., 1869; he was in the foreign missionary field (United Presbyterian) at Trinidad, West Indies, 1872-77; returned to the United States, and served as Professor of Mathematics in Trinity University, Texas, 1877-83. Ill-health compelled his retirement, and he withdrew to Los Angeles, where he died.

Brooks, Rt. Rev. Phillips (Protestant Episcopal), D.D. (Harvard, 1877; Oxford, 1886; Columbia College, 1887). In Boston, January 23, aged 57. He was graduated from Harvard College, 1856, and from the Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary of Virginia, 1859; became rector of the Church of the Advent, Philadelphia, 1859; of the Church of the Holy Trinity, same city, 1862; and of Trinity Church, Boston, 1869. In 1861 he declined the Plummer Professorship of Christian Morals and preachingship to Harvard College, and in 1866 the election to the assistant Bishopric of Pennsylvania. In 1891 he was elected Bishop of Massachusetts, which election was accepted by him. Some opposition to the ratification of his election arose in the High-Church Party, but the election was confirmed by a large majority. His consecration took place in Boston, October 14, 1891. He has published "Lectures on Preaching before the Divinity School of Yale College," "Influence of Jesus" (Bohlen Lectures), "Candle of the Lord, and Other Sermons," "Sermons Preached in English Churches," and numerous other volumes of sermons.

Bulkley, Rev. Charles Henry Augustus (Presbyterian), D.D. (Howard University, 1880), in Washington, D.C., February 2, aged 73. He was graduated from University of City of New York, 1839, and from Union Theological Seminary, 1842; was ordained and took pastorate at New Brunswick, N. J., same year; became home missionary in Wisconsin, 1843; pastor at Mt. Morris, N. Y., 1847; was stated supply for Reformed Dutch Church at Ithaca, N. Y., 1850-52; for Congregational Church at Winsted, Ct., 1853-56, and at Paterson, N. J., 1859-61; was Chaplain U. S. Army, 1861-63; pastor at Owego, N. Y., 1863-67; Chaplain Y. M. C. A., Brooklyn, 1867-68; became pastor of Presbyterian Church, Malone, N. Y., 1868; professor in Boston, Mass., 1875; pastor at Port Henry, N. Y., 1876, and Professor of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres in Howard University, 1881. He had been a contributor to the *Century* and to many other magazines and newspapers.

Dwenger, Rt. Rev. Joseph (Roman Catholic), D.D., in Fort Wayne, Ind., January 22, aged 56. He was educated in Holy Trinity School, Cincinnati; was ordained to the priesthood, 1859; accompanied Archbishop Purcell to the second Plenary Council at Baltimore as theologian; engaged in missionary

work, 1867-72; was consecrated to the bishopric, 1872; visited Rome in various official capacities in 1883, 1885 and 1888, and in the latter year was granted a private audience with Pope Leo XIII.

Grier, Rev. Smith F. (Presbyterian), D.D., in New Cumberland, W. Va., January 10, aged 73. He was graduated at Jefferson College, 1839, and at Princeton Theological Seminary, 1841; was ordained and took charge of Valley Church, Pa., 1843, and removed to New Cumberland, W. Va., in 1852, which charge he held till his death, his pastorate thus covering a period of over forty years.

Jones, Rev. Benjamin T. (Presbyterian), D.D. (Lafayette College, 1890), at Oxford, Pa., January 26, aged 52. He was graduated from Princeton Theological Seminary, 1866; was ordained and became pastor at Berlin, Md., the same year; removed to Lewisburg, 1867, and to West Chester, 1873; he was elected Professor of Sacred Rhetoric in Lincoln University, 1888, and later was transferred to the chair of New Testament Literature and the English Bible; while performing the duties of his professorship he took charge of various churches in the surrounding country, being successful in building up the churches at Fogg's Manor and Wallingford.

Royall, William (Baptist), D.D., LL.D., in Savannah, Ga., January 3, aged 70. He was graduated from South Carolina College, 1841; engaged in teaching for a year and studied law till 1844, when he relinquished the study of law and was ordained to the ministry; preached to several churches in South Carolina till 1849; in Georgia was pastor till 1851, and did missionary work in Florida till 1853; accepted professorship in Furman University, N. C., 1855; was elected Professor of Languages in Wake Forest College, N. C., 1857; founded Raleigh Baptist Female Seminary, 1873; taught in the seminaries of Bryant and Calvert, Texas, 1874-75; became President of Baylor Female University, Independence, Texas, and afterward became head of the Female Seminary at San Antonio, Texas.

Worcester, Rev. John Hopkins, Jr. (Presbyterian), D.D. (University of Vermont, 1835), at Lakewood, N. J., February 5, aged 47. He was graduated at the University of Vermont, 1835; studied at Union Theological Seminary, New York City, 1837-39; spent a year in Europe and graduated from the above-named seminary, 1871; was professor *pro tempore* of English Literature at the University of Vermont, 1871; ordained by Presbytery of Morris and Orange, 1872, and became pastor at South Orange, 1873; called to pastorate of Sixth Presbyterian Church, Chicago, 1883; elected Roosevelt Professor of Systematic Divinity in Union Theological Seminary, 1891, the duties of which chair he performed until within a few days of his death.

CALENDAR.

Feb. 17. and successive Fridays till March 24, delivery of the Bishop Paddock Lectures by Bishop Coxé at the General Theological Seminary, New York City. General subject, "The Repose of the Blessed Dead." Special topics: "Sheol"; "The Spirits in Prison"; "Abraham's Bosom"; "The Descent into Hell"; "Paradise and the Just Made Perfect."

March 1. Meeting in New York of the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

March 9. Moravian Christian Endeavor Conference in the Sixth Street Moravian Church, New York.

March 20. Tri-centennial in Minneapolis of the issuance of the Decree of Upsala.

April 24-28. Conference on the "Progress of the Gospel on the Continent," in London. Delegates from the Reformed Churches are expected to be present.

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THE SURVEY OF THOUGHT.

THE PRINCIPLES OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM AS APPLIED TO THE NEW TESTAMENT. By Rev. J. G. HEISCH, M.A. (Hunt & Co., London).—In a brief pamphlet with the above title Mr. Heisch analyses and compares the two leading methods which have been made use of for obtaining an accurate text of the New Testament. The one is to select some MS. or MSS. presumed to be more accurate than the rest, and to take it (or them) for our guide to the exclusion, entirely or partially, of all others. This may be called, for convenience, the *eclectic* method. The other is to examine the whole of the MSS., and to adopt such readings as are supported by the greater number. This may be called the *diplomatic* method. He points out that these two methods rest on opposite assumptions, which cannot therefore both be true. The first assumes a degree of accuracy in the selected MS. or MSS. which renders their joint testimony practically infallible. The second assumes the equal fallibility of *all* individual MSS., and depends, not on their accuracy, but on their *concert*. It being the fact that even in the five great MSS.—A, α , B, C, D—there are divergences which mark the presence of errors of transcription, he considers that it is a mistake to rely solely or principally upon them for a discovery of the original text, while there are hundreds of later codices, which, though more modern in their actual production, may be derived from originals as ancient as any which are extant. The unlikelihood that any reading not in the original autograph should find its way into a large number of MSS. depends, he holds, not on their accuracy, but on their mutual independence. An example will best illustrate the position he takes up. The disputed reading, Luke ii. 14, depends upon the omission or insertion of the final *s* at the end of the word *εὐδοκία*. The traditional reading (*εὐδοκία*) is vouched for by every known copy of the Gospels but four, not to mention fifty-six fathers from every part of Christendom. Now, supposing that of these numerous authorities only twenty-five were strictly independent witnesses to the point in question, what will follow? Why this: That whereas the accidental insertion of the letter in a single copy would be a matter of every-day experience, and its presence in four might be easily accounted for, its *omission* in the five-and-twenty, which are, by the supposition, independent of each other, could not, without a miracle, have taken place if it had existed in the sacred autograph. "In preferring, then," he says, "the method which grounds itself on consent to that which relies on transcriptional accuracy, we are following the guid-

ance of God's Providence. He has not seen fit, by working a miracle, to provide us with a single perfectly accurate MS. But He *has* seen fit so to guide and order the course of events that a vast store of MS. copies of His Word has been preserved to His Church through the lapse of ages; and these silent witnesses, rendering their testimony from every part of the Christian world, furnish a foundation for our faith infinitely more secure than the correctness of any document, however venerable, transcribed by human hands."

THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT AND THE NICENE CREED.—In recent times the statements of Christian truth drawn up by the early Councils of the Church have been the objects of attack. Under the influence of Greek philosophy, it is said, the religion of Jesus ceased to be a living practical fact, and became a collection of very problematical formulas intended simply to satisfy intellectual curiosity; and to restore the Gospel to something like its primitive power, it is necessary to strip off the artificial and foreign elements, which have been allowed to envelope and almost to strangle it. A somewhat favourite procedure on the part of these critics is to institute a comparison between the Sermon on the Mount and, say, the Nicene Creed. The one contains, they assert, a new rule of conduct, it formulates no beliefs, and the theological conceptions on which it rests belong to the ethical rather than to the metaphysical side of theology—metaphysics, indeed, are conspicuous by their absence from it. While the Nicene Creed is a statement, partly of historical facts and partly of dogmatic conclusions, the metaphysical terms which it contains would have been unintelligible probably to the first disciples, and morality occupies no place in it. The former comes to us from the peasants of Syria, the latter from Greek philosophers. The various fallacies which underlie this specious but superficial criticism are very clearly exposed by Prof. Bois, of Montauban, in his *Le Dogme Grec* (Fischbacher, Paris). But there is one point to which he has not drawn attention, and which deserves notice. It is, that there is no ground for asserting that the Nicene Creed has no direct bearing on morality, but is a mere piece of metaphysical definition. Morality surely includes our duties toward God, as well as our duties toward man, as is evident from the statement we find of it in the Ten Commandments. Worship was claimed by Christ, and was offered to Him from the very beginning. If He were a creature—even the highest of all creatures—worship of Him was idolatry, or, in other words, a breach of the first Commandment. Accordingly, the Nicene fathers stated in a formal manner the doctrine concerning the person of Christ, contained or implied in various passages of Scripture. Their decision was that the essential Divinity of the Saviour is clearly taught in the Word of God, and that therefore the Church was justified in paying Him that homage which is due to God alone. The non-ethical character of the Nicene Creed can only be maintained by those who assert that it has been a mistake to count the first four Commandments as part of the moral law.

AUTHORITY AND DOGMA IN JUDAISM.—The recent inhibition of a Jewish minister by the Chief Rabbi for objecting to offer prayer for the restoration of sacrificial rites, and for departing in his teaching from "traditional Judaism," has spread consternation among the Liberal adherents of the old faith. One of them, Mr. O. J. Simon, utters a protest in a very vigorous and ably-written article in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*. He asserts that belief in the restoration of sacrifices has never been held by the present generation to be an essential article of the Jewish creed, and that the prayers for such restoration contained in the Jewish liturgy simply express aspirations which have been cherished by individuals among them in all ages, but have never received the concurrence of the whole House of Israel. He goes on to affirm that, according to the teaching of the Hebrew prophets and of some of the great rabbins of the Middle Ages, the ancient rite of shedding the blood of cattle was nothing but a means to an end, and was essentially a ritual of temporary character, and that from the nature of things it can never be revived. "If," he says, "it were believable that the fulness of time could restore the desirability of superseding prayer and spiritual exercises by the rite of sprinkling the blood of rams and he-goats, it would also be credible that that rite would ultimately be exchanged for the one which preceded it, namely, the slaying of human beings." What he has to say about the belief widely cherished among the Jews of the restoration of their national polity is also very interesting. "That belief is not untenable provided that it is so held that it makes no claim against the progress of science. It is conceivable that the ancient soil of Palestine and of the promised land may be re-peopled with the descendants of the Israelites who drove out the Canaanites; but it is not conceivable that this return should take place without the advantages of later science. There may be a gorgeous temple again, but it is reasonable to suppose that it would be fitted with the electric light. It is not reasonable to imagine that ancient Judæa will be restored without railways and without the printing-press. Neither is it feasible to conjecture that the Jews will return, and not take with them the culture of the ages which have intervened since their dispersion. If restoration were to signify the destruction of all that has taken place in the long interval, no educated Jew could desire it; unless we intend to insult the prophets, we cannot entertain the thought that they meant a restoration to primitiveness. Had they done so, their claim to prophecy would be rudely shattered. There is no justification in human reason for the doctrine that a restored Israel shall imply a return to the conditions in which Israel lived thousands of years ago." It is very interesting to get this glimpse into the thoughts which are stirring in the minds of intelligent modern Jews, and to see that some, at any rate, in their community are not willing to bear the burden of an effete, stagnant traditionalism.

EZRA AND 1 ESDRAS.—In a series of letters which have been appearing in *The Academy*, Mr. H. H. Howorth endeavours to prove that the canonical book of *Ezra*, and the apocryphal 1 *Esdra*s should change places—that the

latter is a translation of a much more trustworthy narrative than the former. His theory is that 1 Esdras represents the LXX. text of the same work which in the Hebrew Bible is known as the book of Ezra, and that the Greek version of the book of Ezra is a translation by Theodotion or some other person. In other words, that the codices of the LXX. contain two editions of the same book—the one (1 Esdras) a text approved by the authors of the Greek version, the other (Ezra) a translation of an inferior Hebrew original. It may be as well to remind our readers that 1 Esdras would seem on the face of it to be a compilation, made up of two chapters from 2 Chronicles, of the book of Ezra (in a differently arranged form), and of portions of the book of Nehemiah. To these is added from some independent source, the legend of the three Jewish youths at the court of Darius (1 Esdras iii. 1—v. 6). The attempt to show that 1 Esdras preserves a better and more reliable text than that of Ezra breaks down utterly. The first example Mr. Howorth gives, is that of the mistake in the enumeration of the gold and silver vessels brought back from Babylon to Jerusalem. In Ezra i. 9, 10 articles to the number of 2,499 are specified, while in ver. 11 the total is said to have been 5,400. The only explanation is that we have here an error which we have now no means of correcting. In 1 Esdras ii. 13, 14 we have a list which agrees with the number specified. Thus:

	EZRA.	1 ESDRAS.
Gold chargers	80	1,000
Silver chargers	1,000	1,000
Knives	29	29
Gold basins	80	80
Silver basins	410	2,410
Other vessels	1,000	1,000
	<hr/> 2,499	<hr/> 5,469

But it is very evident that the numbers in 1 Esdras are the result of an unskilful attempt to get rid of the discrepancy in the other list, and therefore have no value as an independent statement. The 1,000 gold chargers bear no proportion to the 1,000 silver, nor the 80 gold basins to the 2,410 silver. Again, Mr. Howorth says, "in the Hebrew text of Ezra (iv. 2), Esar-haddon, king of Assyria, is said to have brought the foreign settlers to Samaria. In the book of Kings this is attributed to Shalmaneser: so it is in Josephus. In the book of Kings the doings of Shalmaneser's successor, Sargon, are all attributed to Shalmaneser; and it would appear that it was Sargon who brought the strangers, and that the name is rightly preserved in the Greek versions of Ezra, where it occurs as Σαρχεδονος. Esar-haddon cannot be right." To this we reply that it is quite erroneous to say that in 2 Kings xvii. 24 the bringing foreign settlers to Samaria is attributed to Shalmaneser: it is attributed to an unnamed "king of Assyria," who might by an unwary reader be identified with the Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, mentioned in the earlier part of the chapter. Even Josephus falls into the

error of identifying the two. Beyond the juxtaposition of the narratives we have no reason to suppose that the king of Assyria, whether he were Shalmaneser or Sargon¹ who carried Israel captive was the same king who brought the foreign settlers into Samaria. Indeed, the fact that wild beasts had increased to such an extent as to be a serious nuisance to the newcomers, leads one to suppose that the land must have lain desolate for a pretty long period—say from forty to fifty years (2 Kings xvii. 25, 26). This would be quite consistent with the account the Samaritans give of themselves (Ezra iv. 2), that Esar-haddon, the grandson of Sargon, had given them the territory they possessed. Mr. Howorth's assertions that the name Sanabassar (the leader of the Jews who returned under Cyrus) of 1 Esdras is a more genuine-looking name than the Sheshbassar of Ezra, and that the list of those who returned with Zerubbabel in the former book is fuller than that in the latter, can scarcely be ranked as serious arguments against the one book, or in favour of the other. Altogether, we have no hesitation in saying that the case against the trustworthiness of the book of Ezra has utterly broken down; while a very strong case indeed might be made out against 1 Esdras.

"THE RECORDS OF THE PAST," VOL. VI.—All Biblical students will learn with regret that this volume closes the series, as "the public seems to prefer books about the ancient inscriptions of the Oriental world rather than translations of the inscriptions themselves." And yet this regrettable result is not surprising. The obscurity of many of the texts, the abundance of unfamiliar proper names, the identification of which is often extremely uncertain, and, it must be added, the unattractiveness of much of the matter to the general reader, are amply sufficient to account for the limited sale of these very valuable publications. It is, indeed, creditable to the English public that as many as eighteen volumes of this kind have been published during twenty years. The new volume contains some important items. First in interest, as well as in order, is the preface by the editor, Professor Sayce, which is brimful of information. The inscription of Antiochus, which fixes the foundation of Seleucia in 275 B.C., and shows that it was peopled in part at least from Babylon; the inscription of Assurbanipal, discovered last summer by Mr. Strong, in which a predecessor of Astyages is described by an Assyrian equivalent of "child of the devil," and the tablet found by Mr. Bliss at Lachish, are successively discussed with the accomplished editor's usual ability. The Palestinian inscription is translated in full. The five most interesting among the following texts are letters from Phœnicia from the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, and fourteen tablets from Cappadocia, both translated by the editor; the prayer of Assurbanipal, Mr. Strong's paper on which

¹ The peculiar expression in 2 Kings xviii. 9, 10, "Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, came up against Samaria, and besieged it; and at the end of three years *they* took it," is quite consistent with Shalmaneser's having been deposed by Sargon during the siege. Sargon, indeed, claims the capture of Samaria as one of the first exploits of his reign.

attracted so much attention at the late Oriental Congress; the Sumerian version of the Creation story, which excited perhaps, even more interest, and a new translation of the inscription on the Taylor prism recording the first eight campaigns of Sennacherib, by Prof. R. W. Rogers. The first of these, the letters addressed to Khu-n-Aten (Amen-hetep IV., the heretic king of Egypt) by Rib Addu, the governor of Gebal, in Phœnicia, show, if correctly interpreted, that there were Greeks in the Egyptian service before the Exodus. An Ionian is said to have been sent on a political mission to the country of Tyre. Greeks in Palestine many centuries before Homer! The prayer of Assurbanipal—one of the purest and noblest expressions of Assyrian piety as yet discovered—is already known to the general public in consequence of the publication of some of its finest passages in the *Times*. Like the Oracle of Istar of Arbela in the preceding volume of this series, it proves that Assyrian devotion occasionally approached the sublime strains of Hebrew psalmists and prophets. The Cappadocian tablets are extremely interesting to the student of history. If Professor Sayce has successfully interpreted their significance, they give us glimpses of social and civic life in a distant Assyrian colony before the time of Moses. These expatriated Assyrians retained their original tongue, perhaps in a local form, still used the cuneiform character, worshipped in their Cappadocian home the gods of their fathers, and elected an eponym every year, just as if they had been in Assyria. Especially remarkable is the occurrence of Aramaic forms and of words hitherto regarded as specifically Hebrew. One word, "aparne," supposed to mean "chariot," or "litter," is believed to be identical with the hapax legomenon מִרְבָּנִים (Canticles iii. 9, "palanquin," R.V.), the derivation of which has long baffled Semitic scholars. The new rendering of the Taylor prism differs less from that made by Mr. Fox Talbot twenty years ago than might be expected considering the enormous advance of Assyriology during the interval. There are, of course, many alterations in detail, but the impression of the narrative as a whole is unchanged. The earlier scholar reproduced the substance of the record with remarkable success. The improved translation lowers our estimate of Sennacherib's character. If Prof. Rogers has hit the exact meaning, the brutal coarseness of some passages has few parallels in literature. The volume closes with lists of the Egyptian dynasties after Manetho and the monuments respectively, with a table of contents for the whole of the new series, and with an index of the proper names in the first volume. Had all the six volumes been indexed their utility would have been more than doubled. It is ungracious, however, for those who have received so much to complain that they have not received more.

CHRISTIAN THOUGHT.

THE CHURCH AND THE LABOUR PROBLEM.

By REV. J. MARSHALL LANG, D.D.

IN his able and interesting paper on "The Church and the Labour Problem," Mr. Keir Hardie brings a serious charge against the Christian Church. Of the pulpit, he says that "there is no place in which temporizing with wrong more abounds." And he urges that "if there is scepticism in the land (and who shall deny it?) the half-heartedness of the pulpit is far more responsible for it than all the destructive criticism of the Canon of Scripture ever penned." Even more severe are some of his strictures on the action of the Church, as, *e.g.*, "The Church has been content to follow the lead of the world in magnifying material greatness." And again, "The whole tendency of Church teaching is towards the assumption that the working man is an inferior creation who stands in need of being elevated."

In this condemnation, the member for West Ham reflects a feeling which widely prevails, and on which writers in journals and orators often ring the changes. I am far from asserting that it has no justification. The preaching of good men is occasionally not so much over the heads, as outside the hearts, of heavily burdened men and women. They do not come into touch with them in the things which evoke their interest or most express their need. But, as the advocates of labour insist on justice for those whom they represent, it is becoming that they be scrupulous in dealing out justice to those whom they attack. And in the accusation which Mr. Keir Hardie has formulated a threefold injustice is, of course quite unintentionally, done. There is injustice in what is stated, in what is omitted, and in what is suggested.

It is stated, for instance, that one of the latent currents of thought among preachers is to the effect that "the working man is an inferior creation who stands in need of being elevated." I venture to think that this is a misrepresentation. That the working man needs to be elevated is an assumption which the preacher shares with every one who champions his cause. But there is no clergyman worthy of his position, worthy of the name Christian, who bases his plea for this elevation on the ground that the working man is "an inferior creation." On the contrary, the effort to rescue him from surroundings which degrade and causes which corrupt is founded on the assumption that he is, equally with the rich, a man made in the image of God.

Farther, in the impeachment of the pulpit there is the omission of reference to the many ministers of religion who have taken, and now take, an active interest in the well-being of the working man. He never had a better friend than the Rev. Henry Duncan, the minister of Ruthwell, who was the founder of Savings Banks. The Bothy lad had never a more warm-

hearted supporter than another parish minister, Harry Stewart, of Oathlaw. When nobody had a good word to say for the Chartists, they were defended by two English clergymen, Rev. Frederick Denison Maurice and Charles Kingsley. And, without selecting any names from those who are living, I make bold to say that there are no men who, on the whole, are more genuinely sympathetic with those who toil than the clergy. They may not always go so far or be so pronounced in their views as Mr. Keir Hardie desires; but this does not arise from lack of sympathy or knowledge, or from a base policy of temporizing. A higher motive may be found for their caution.

Finally, it is unjust to suggest that ministers of the Churches deserve to be almost exclusively blamed for apathy or, at least, half-heartedness. The minister is not the Church; the Church is the completely organized Christian life. And all the constituent parts are to be taken into account. Each acts on the others, all act on each. The minister is only one of the constituents. Let the indictment be distributed between pulpit and pew. And, as the best way of improving the condition of the industrial class is to aim at a higher *morale* in it as a whole, to raise its normal condition, so the best way of quickening the conscience and action of the Church is to aim, not at improving the pulpit as by itself, but at nobler ideals of duty for all, at a warmer spiritual temperature, at a more effectual penetration of the entire membership by the Spirit of the Life in Christ Jesus.

An illustration of the defective conception of personal responsibility is supplied by a paragraph in Mr. Keir Hardie's paper. In it a reference is made to "the insulting spirit of patronage, overt and covert, which makes the clergyman stand in the mind's eye of so many of the workers as the type of all that is canting and unreal." Now, "a spirit of patronage" is always insulting. I honour the independence of feeling which resents being patronized; and the clergyman whose manner indicates that he looks on the workers as from a vantage ground, and that he is condescending to them, is a stupid snob. There are, no doubt, men starchy, and professional, and snobbish; but I should hope that the great majority are not. And let the other side of the picture be looked to. It is quite possible for a worker to have towards the clergyman a stand-off-ness which repels sympathy. Pride is a many-sided disease. If there is a pride of wealth, there is also a pride of poverty; if there is pride in "the spirit of patronage," there is pride also in the temper which is always suspecting patronage. But note what follows in the paragraph. "The poor worker is having his revenge. If he cannot voice his resentment, he can enter his protest, and this he does by not attending Church."

The same statement, in other forms, has been made to me again and again. What does it imply? Clearly, that the attendance at Church has to do with the minister. If he pleases, the attendance goes up; if he displeases, the attendance goes down. I suppose that, in the want of a high conception of the priesthood of believers, of the purpose of the Christian

Church on the earth, and the responsibility of its individual members, this mode of thought is inevitable. But to those who have some discernment as to these things, that will seem a strange kind of revenge in which the loss sustained is mainly personal to the one who administers the revenge—involving a dereliction of his own duty and the punishment of his own soul.

Is it not time that wholesale recriminations such as those which have been referred to should cease? They do little good; they do much harm. They overshoot the mark, and irritate many who are only too willing to receive a fuller inspiration for their work; they are misunderstood by others, who take them as an encouragement to think lightly of religion and worship; they widen the chasm between the Church and great masses of the toilers. I gladly recognize the religious spirit of Mr. Keir Hardie's paper; and I am the more anxious, therefore, that all which tends to embitter feeling should be removed from the conferences of men who, occupying different standpoints, desire to co-operate in the sacred cause of social well-being. Not a few of those who teach in the Church will endorse the statement, "I believe the democracy to be at bottom deeply and devoutly religious"; and the question which all who share this belief should submit, each to the other, is, How can sympathies, efforts, from the various positions in the line of social movement, best be utilized for the realization of a common end—that so well described as "a religion which can inspire and enthuse the soul to noble deeds, and which, while telling of a life that is to come, will insist primarily on the full development of the life that now is, and will make impossible the wrongs which, like a canker-worm, are eating the life out of the people."

Let us glance at some of the directions along which this co-operation may be realized.

"If the Church assume her rightful place, hers will be the honour of shaping and guiding the forces which are working the change." Thus Mr. Keir Hardie indicates the high calling of the Church. Will he—will all earnest men who hold with him that "the religion of Jesus Christ is more than sufficient" for all that is required—help towards its attainment? We are told, indeed, of a purification through which the Church must pass—purification from "the ceremonial and meaningless forms and phrases which pass muster for it." By all means let us have done with forms and phrases which have no significance, or which stand between the soul and the eternal verities. Truth must have its outward expression; the spiritual consciousness must have its embodiment; and the homages rendered to Almighty God should have the beauties as well as the simplicity of holiness. But we shall all cry, Away with "cant and unreality"! And when the demand is continued, that "religion must be freed from the perverted views of life which theology has so long proclaimed in its name," I, for one, ask, What views? There are, perhaps, too many theological definitions; the definitions are often too elaborate; some of them are possibly faulty and erroneous; yet, of course, we cannot part from the essential teaching of

Christianity as to sin, redemption, and grace. That teaching speaks to the heart and conscience of all men; let us give it straight, direct, and as men speaking to men, and I am sure that it will "enthuse the soul to noble deeds."

There is one view which Mr. Keir Hardie will not condemn as "perverted," and the enunciation of which is one of the special contributions of the Church to the Labour question. Referring to our industrial system Mr. Keir Hardie affirms, "It makes brotherhood an impossibility, and how can men believe in the Fatherhood of God unless they have for its correlative the Brotherhood of Man?" Here there occur the two words which are in, which are the very centre of, the message of the Church—*Brotherhood* and *Fatherhood*. If the Church can only so preach and teach these words as to make them "living creatures with hands and feet," she will render a service whose value it is impossible to overestimate. Let her give herself to the enforcement of these—"the principles of all true reform"—and let the special applications of the principles be the care of practical men in their legislative and social work. But let us understand. The sentence just quoted admits of a variation. Men, it may be urged, will not believe or realize the true Brotherhood unless they have for its correlative the Fatherhood of God. A brotherhood whose only bond is the sense of a common interest, the need of protection against others, and of such adjustments as will make the struggle for existence easier, will not deliver from "the lie which sinketh in"—the lie of selfishness. It will not make large-souled, generous men. It will make men loyal and resolute, and possessed by the idea of a community *within certain lines*. Beyond these lines the sympathies will not flow, the current of soul-action will be feeble and sluggish. Beyond these lines there will often be a scowl—that of class with its interests against other classes with their interests. We see already the working of this kind of brotherhood. The only brotherhood that effectually grapples with selfishness, that keeps thought and purpose in "a large and charitable air," even when personal or sectional ends are intently regarded, is that which has its root in the consciousness of the Fatherhood of God. On this the Church of Christ must stand. All are of it who recognize that the first and the last word of life—that on which all true and blessed social science rests—is Christ's word, "Our Father which art in heaven." Those to whom that word is not first and last part from it, and "take off their several ways."

Let the politician help the churchman to build the social structure on the Rock of Eternal Reality, and the churchman is bound to help the politician in his doing and striving. "The first duty of the Church to the social question is to understand it." Yes; and I heartily wish that there was fuller provision for instructing the clergy in the laws and principles of economic science. A man with wit and wisdom and brotherliness will read and observe, and probably, as he becomes older, will unlearn a great deal which he once held, and learn a great deal which he once disregarded. But it would be well to have those who are to help in shaping thought trained in the

knowledge of social problems. And it would be well also that in connection with every congregation there should be the opportunity of candid study and discussion of social issues. Thus and otherwise the Church may co-operate with the Legislature.

The demand is becoming ever more accentuated that social well-being shall be realized through legislation. I am not frightened by names. There is no use in calling such legislation grandmotherly. No sensible man will be scared by the application to it of the word socialistic. Where law can express and secure the deliberately uttered voice of the people as to rights or wrongs, let it do so. But the legislator cannot go before public opinion. He acts only when that is matured and consolidated. And in the formation of this opinion the Church can really "shape and guide the forces which work the change." With all my heart, I say, let her identify herself with the sons and daughters of toil. She has been too much the property of the middle class. So long as there are classes, she should comprehend and minister to all—not recognizing the class, but on the platform of their equality before God. But the poorer and the more struggling should feel that she is specially with them in all their righteous contention. She throws her power away if she meddles too much with special questions—questions with which working men, by their combinations and unions, have the instruments to deal. But in regard to all that pertains to life and its conditions, to the home and its conditions, to the demands of truth and justice, to well-being in its several aspects, the voice should be lifted up with strength. The time is past for the Church to be content with playing the part of a mere Lady Bountiful. The poor will be always with us, and their care is a special province of Christianity. But a far higher work is that to which this day calls—to develop a new energy, to promote a loftier self-respect, to emancipate from habits and temptations which coarsen and degrade, to give freer scope for all purifying, educative, refining influences, to make life sweeter, kindlier, and more wholesome. In prosecuting this work the Church will aid the statesman. All to whom the name of Jesus is above every name will be united in the solution of "the labour problem."

BIBLICAL THOUGHT.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE HEBREW MONARCHY.

II.—LABOUR.

BY REV. PROF. W. H. BENNETT, M.A

It may be well to enumerate a few of the leading problems connected with labour, partly because we shall thus be reminded that existing data can only give a partial answer to a few of our questions as to the conditions of labour in ancient Israel. We might first seek to discover the ratio of the

sum of available labour to the population on the one hand, and to its needs on the other. What proportion of the population might fairly be called able-bodied, and of what amount of labour was the average able-bodied person capable? In other words, what standard of health and vigour did the ancient Israelites attain to? The Old Testament gives little special information on this point. As a matter of general experience, Eastern labour is far less vigorous and efficient than European. But probably the general health of the community was not markedly inferior to that of a Western State in the nineteenth century: advantageous and disadvantageous circumstances may very well have balanced one another. On the one hand, medical and sanitary knowledge were most elementary; but, on the other, the simple agricultural life generally followed was natural and healthy; and again, the average efficiency of a modern population is lowered by the large number of feeble and diseased persons who are kept alive by the skill of modern medical science. But if, putting health on one side, the conditions and characteristics of Eastern life rendered labour less efficient in proportion to population than it is in England or America, this drawback, again, was counterbalanced by the moderate needs of the people. All that was necessary in the way of house-accommodation, fuel, light, food, clothing could be provided with infinitely less labour than with us; and in a thousand other ways the ordinary necessities, comforts, and luxuries of life could be obtained with a comparatively small expenditure of labour.

We now pass on to two further questions, which are really the same question from different points of view: What proportion of the available labour was utilized, and how far were the possible opportunities of leisure distributed throughout the community? What proportion of those who could work did work, and how long and hard did they work? We pointed out in a previous paper that the Israelite citizen was, as a rule, a land-owner. In the absence of rent and land-agents the land-owner worked his own land, with the help of his family and servants. Even in large holdings the owner can scarcely ever have been a mere receiver of the products of other people's industry, he must have exercised some general supervision; and on the ordinary smaller holdings the owner's own work and supervision would be the most important element in obtaining satisfactory returns. There were not many classes of the community that were not engaged in agriculture. Government was rudimentary and economical. The kings, princes, and officials of the court had their own estates; though doubtless the more powerful kings gathered round them idle crowds, who ministered to their love of pleasure and ostentation, and were maintained by requisitions on the harvests and cattle of the hard-working farmers. The most permanent and necessary portion of this royal *clientèle* was the body-guard of foreign mercenaries, which, however, can never have attained to any very large dimensions. Another class not engaged in actual labour was made up of the ministers of religion—the priests of the various sanctuaries and the prophets. The Pentateuchal system, which devotes one whole tribe out of twelve to the service of a

single sanctuary, had no counterpart in the actual arrangements of the monarchy. Probably, the total of priests and prophets combined did not make any serious deduction from the available industrial population. With regard to the women, agricultural life naturally drew into useful activity all the women of the household. A certain number of women would lead idle lives in the harems of kings and princes and great nobles; but these women were largely foreigners, and ancient Israelite life has no parallel to the modern withdrawal from all profitable occupation of the bulk of the women of the higher and middle classes. It is no great exaggeration to say that the provision necessary for the wants of the community was, speaking generally, produced by the united efforts of the whole community.¹ It will follow from all these considerations that opportunities of leisure were very widely distributed. Indeed, it is obvious that the natural conditions of agriculture tend to secure a large amount of leisure both to the farmer and his labourers.

We now come to the subject which presents most points of interest for the modern reader—the classes into which agricultural workers were divided, the relations between the land-owner or farmer and his labourers, and the conditions under which they worked. The classes of workers were, for all practical purposes, two, the land-owners and their families on the one hand, and the slaves on the other; but, for the sake of completeness, we will treat free hired labourers as a third class.

I. LAND-OWNERS AND THEIR FAMILIES.—The representative member of this class would be the owner of a small holding, cultivated, as we have said, by himself, his family, and his slaves. Such a small land-owner would be under certain semi-feudal obligations to the head of his house or clan, and possibly to the chief of his tribe; and the language of the prophets indicates that these obligations were often made the instrument of vexatious oppression and ruinous extortion. But, under ordinary circumstances, the small land-owner occupied a position of considerable comfort and dignity. Liability to foreign invasion was not an unmixed evil. The farmer and his stalwart sons, who could speak with the enemies in the gate, were bound to receive consideration and generous treatment from the nobles who claimed to lead them in war, and who needed their assistance to protect such wealth as may have been accumulated. Under powerful and victorious kings, like Jeroboam II., the nobles sought to grasp for themselves the holdings of poorer men who were no longer necessary as allies in war. Clearly, therefore, in his better days, the Israelite farmer enjoyed a far more satisfactory life than that of the modern peasant proprietor: he was not driven to the grinding and sordid drudgery which is so often the lot of the latter; nor, apparently, were the holdings repeatedly subdivided, so as to become too small to support a family upon each holding. The prophets who denounce the

¹ On the other hand, the results of Israelite industry were often appropriated by foreign invaders, and though the Israelites retaliated, the balance was not in their favour. We may return to this later on.

land-hunger of the nobles do not seem to feel the pressure of any difficulty as to population; doubtless this immunity was largely due to the free play of the natural checks, war, pestilence, and famine. But throughout their earlier history the Israelites were still acquiring fresh land. They must have taken over much land from the Canaanites who remained amongst them; just as, after the Norman Conquest, there was a gradual and long-continued process by which Saxon holdings passed into Norman hands. On a larger scale, a tribe pressed for room more than once sent out an armed band of colonists to conquer for themselves a new settlement. Dan acquired a new territory in the north; and a careful examination of the most ancient historical sources suggests that Eastern Manasseh was also a colony founded from the West, after the tribe had taken possession of its Western inheritance and found the allotted portion too small for its numbers or its ambition. Probably other similar movements took place of which no record remains.

The honourable and healthy nature of the occupation of this class of workers is evident from the fact that the Old Testament records, in the most matter-of-fact way, the personal labours of its most distinguished characters, many of them members of the wealthiest and noblest families. The patriarchs, and Saul, and David do the ordinary work of shepherds; the Divine call comes to Gideon as he is threshing wheat; Boaz and the husband of the Shunamite woman personally superintend their reapers. Noble women lived with the simplicity of Homer's Greek princess of heroic times, who did her own washing; or the wife of the Macedonian king Perdeccas, with whom baking cakes was a regular habit, and not, as with our royal Alfred, an exceptional achievement. The ideal Hebrew woman depicted for us in Proverbs xxxi. seeketh wool and flax and worketh willingly with her hands. In modern times her servants would know that she was not a lady, and people in society would not call upon her; but in Israel, "her husband was known in the gates, when he sat among the elders of the land. . . . Many daughters did virtuously, but she excelled them all."

Perhaps the best modern parallel to the average Israelite citizen and his family is the well-to-do American farmer, settled within reach of Indians or Mexicans or unruly whites. The settler's life, with its agricultural industries, its spice of danger and occasional fighting, its sturdy independence and self-respect, reproduces some of the most important features of ancient Hebrew life.

II. THE HIRED SERVANTS.—This class was comparatively small, and does not seem to have been greatly appreciated. Neighbours, no doubt, did occasional work for each other, and sometimes might take pay, not merely by receiving similar services, but in some form which might be called "hire"; but the class of people who, without land or capital of their own, made a living by habitually hiring themselves out must have been very small indeed. The word *shākhîr*, *hired servant*, occurs only seventeen times in the Old Testament, always either in laws or figurative expressions, and not of actual named persons; we never see the *shākhîr* at work. The most

personal use of *shākhîr* is in Jer. xlv. 21, where it refers to the mercenaries serving in the Egyptian army. On the other hand, *'ebhedh*, *slave*, occurs hundreds of times. In Lev. xxv. 6, a passage not earlier than the close of the monarchy, "thy hired servant" is classed with other members of the household, after the male and female slaves, but before the "stranger"; and in Lev. xxv. 53 we read of "a yearly hired servant." But these passages represent the growing complexity of social life before and after the Captivity. In the Ten Commandments, where we have similar lists of the members of the household, "the hired servant" is not mentioned. The Book of the Covenant (Exod. xx.-xxiii.) is largely taken up with laws about slaves, but makes no reference to "hired servants": it speaks of hired things (xxii. 15), but not hired persons.

Even at this early stage of the history of wages it was found necessary to invoke Church and State, then virtually one, to secure for "the hired servant" his due reward. Both the law (Deut. xxiv. 14) and the prophets (Mal. iii. 5) intervene to prevent the hired servant from being oppressed in his wages. Moreover, the failure of the system of hire to give the worker an interest in his work was already apparent; the feature about the hiring that chiefly attracted notice was his anxiety to get to the end of the day's work and handle his wages. When Job wishes to find a strong figure for his intense longing for death, he compares it to the eagerness with which a hiring looks for the reward of his work.¹

In fact, we seem to find in the Old Testament the same half-contempt for the hiring which is implied in the words, "the hiring fleeth because he is a hiring." It will, however, be convenient to refer to this again in dealing with the status and condition of slaves in Israel. For the present, we may say that, if the Israelite land-owner may be compared to an American frontier-settler, the hired servant had points of contact with the "mean white" of the Southern States. As neither land-owner nor slave, he scarcely had any proper place in the regular framework of society.

There is one form of labour, specially common in the East, that may be classed with hired labour, namely, the *corvée*, or compulsory service for great public works. In the absence of professional contractors with organized staffs of trained workmen, such undertakings have always been carried out by forced levies of ordinary labourers. The great works of Egypt have been thus executed, from the Pyramids and Lake Moeris to the Suez Canal. Solomon similarly erected his temple and palaces by forced levies amounting in all to nearly 200,000 men; and doubtless other kings followed his example, on a smaller scale. Many of these labourers would be slaves; but the theory of Chronicles that they were all Canaanites was invented to save the dignity of the ancient Israelites. Nothing is said about pay for these levies; but, as they would receive their food and the engagement was temporary, they were for a time "hired servants." When Joash and Josiah repaired the Temple, we read of "carpenters and builders and masons."

¹ Job vii. 2.

Apparently, the building operations of the kings, and the growth of Jerusalem, had gathered about the city an artizan population; but we know little about them beyond the mere fact of their existence.

III. SLAVES.—The fact that Hebrew society rested like every other ancient civilized society upon a slave basis is effectually concealed from the casual English reader, though it may soon be discovered by the careful student even of the English Bible. The word "slave" occurs only once in the Authorized Version, and then curiously enough it translates the Greek word for "body."¹ Otherwise the Hebrew slave appears in English as "manservant" or "maidservant." The revisers have not ventured to remove these euphemisms from the text, but have gently suggested the real facts, by offering the marginal alternatives, "bondman," "bondwoman," "bond-servant." There is some justification for such reserve. *'Ebhedh* and *Shiphkhá* (male and female slave) do not always stand for actual slaves. Moreover, a generation has grown up since the abolition of slavery in the United States, and as far as this generation has not read *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, "slave" is as vague and unsuggestive as "bondman." To those who have read *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and to older people, who have some general information about slavery in America, the word "slave" suggests an exceptionally painful and degrading position. Hence the use of the word "slave" in the Old Testament would have suggested that Hebrew slavery was as exceptional and offensive as the Domestic Institution of the Southern States; whereas in Israel, as in the ancient world generally, slavery was universally accepted as a necessary and natural institution. Apparently an isolated prophet or philosopher now and then anticipated Wilberforce by some two thousand years or more, but only by way of impracticable and daring speculation. Moreover, for reasons to be referred to later on, the slave system of the Southern States was more cruel and repulsive than any other such system that has existed on a large scale, with the doubtful exception of that of the Roman Empire; and English ideas paint even American slavery blacker than it really was, because it is chiefly known in England by novels and speeches composed for polemical purposes and emphasizing its worst aspects. But while the course adopted by the versions may be supported by important reasons, it cannot be wholly justified. "Manservant" and "maidservant" have associations altogether incongruous with the realities of Hebrew life; they suggest liveries and neat caps and aprons, and a month's notice and other modern devices, which were unknown to the ancient world. They have the more serious fault of ignoring and obscuring the great gulf that yawns between ancient and modern civilization. All fairly educated people know that slavery was prevalent in the ancient world; but the immense significance of the fact is seldom sufficiently emphasized. Greek and Italian enthusiasts, when they dilate upon the glorious republics of Athens and Rome, ignore the fact that these republics were not true democracies at all, but oligarchies of privileged citizens living largely upon the produce of

¹ Rev. xviii. 18.

slave labour. The working classes, as we understand the term, were slaves in these ancient states. The true history of the People for many centuries would be the History of Slavery; the great histories of Greece and Rome are the histories of ruling minorities. And this is true with the necessary qualifications and limitations for ancient Israel.

Mr Ben Tillett has said that the modern labour questions arose when one man first hired another, and we have already had occasion to illustrate the truth of this remark; but we are chiefly concerned with it because it helps to bring out the contrast between ancient and modern life. The relations of life were more permanent in old times than now. The Land Question had not arisen, because farmers did not rent land, they owned it. The Labour Question had not become urgent, because, as a rule, employers did not hire labour, they bought the labourers out and out. The transient character of modern relations between labour and capital is symbolized by payment at so much an hour; the rigidity of ancient relations by absolute ownership. When rigidity thus takes the form of slavery, we are shocked and repelled; but if we are in any measure to understand Hebrew society, we must for a time put aside our modern ideas and try to forget the eloquent denunciations of anti-slavery orators. We must remember that what is an outrage on humanity in the nineteenth century was not felt to be such by either owner or slave eight centuries before Christ. We may even bring ourselves to believe that, in certain stages of history, slavery played a useful part in the progress of the race.

With regard to the efficiency of slave-labour in general, its inferiority to free labour has become proverbial, but in Judah opinion reversed this decision; in Deut. xv. 18 it is said of the slave, "He hath been worth double a hired servant to thee." Indeed, in a primitive community it is difficult to see how agriculture on any but the very smallest scale could have been carried on without the permanent and authoritative relations between employer and employed which were secured by slavery. Nor, on the other hand, would the slight organization of an early civilization have sufficed to secure even food for the labourers in slack times and hard seasons. Slavery not only secured to the master a permanent supply of labour, but also to the labourer permanent provision for his wants. Doubtless, a heavy share of the work was put upon the slave. Job's parallel figure to the anxiety of the hireling for his wages is the longing of the slave for night. The heaviest burden of drudgery fell upon the female slaves then, as, according to immemorial custom, the toil of working-women is most severe and their reward least adequate. The daily carrying of water and grinding of corn were heavy burdens to the female slaves. The continuous service of domestic life gave great opportunities to the harshness of any petty female tyrant; and while the possibilities of polygamy and concubinage opened a door of escape to the slave, the case of Sarah and Hagar reminds us that they often served to draw down upon her the persecution of a jealous mistress. But the life even of the less fortunate women-slaves must have

been a heaven of light and comfort, and liberty, compared to that of thousands of workwomen in London.

Indeed, there were many alleviations of the slave's lot, so that on the whole Hebrew slavery was as lenient and indulgent as it could well be. There was not that distinction of colour which cut off American slaves from the sympathy of their masters. When the slaves were Hebrews, ancient custom demanded that they should be set free after six years' service,¹ liberally furnished from the flock and the threshing-floor and the winepress, and from all wherewith Jehovah had blessed his master. Later legislation discountenanced altogether the enslaving of one Jew by another, and demanded that the Jewish slave should be treated as a hired servant.² The household, slaves and all, formed one family; from the master and his children, through the poorer and more distant relations, to the Hebrew, and then to the foreign slaves, was a gradual descent. Probably the distinction between the lowest class of freemen and the Hebrew slaves, or even the home-born slaves of foreign origin, was not very sharply drawn. In smaller households the master and the slave lived in close and constant fellowship in the field and the house, and this common labour must have fostered friendly feeling. The bastinado was used for slaves as it was to punish comparatively slight offences of free Israelites; but in the East such punishment is not degrading. The harshest provision of the law for slaves is that of the most ancient code, *Exod.* xxi. 21, "If a man smite his servant or his maid with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall surely be punished; notwithstanding if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished, for he is his money." Probably even this law was as humane as the temper of the times permitted, and represents an advance upon the previous standard of morality. But further advances were made, and this law disappears from the later codes. While the codes of American slave States aimed at protecting the masters and keeping down the slaves, the Hebrew law sought to provide for their emancipation and protect them from ill-treatment.

There are other general considerations which suggest that slaves in Israel were fairly well treated, and that their lot was greatly superior to that of negro slaves in America, or even of slaves under the early Roman Empire. The Hebrew might look forward to freedom in Palestine; the foreigner might, by ransom or escape return to his own land. There was no point in Israel or Judah more than three days' journey from a hostile frontier, and this possibility of escape for the slave must have tended to make the master fairly considerate in his behaviour. Shimei, indeed, was able to recover his two servants who had fled to Achish, king of Gath; but neighbouring states would not always be so complacent, and this event happened when united Israel was at the zenith of its power. During the Peloponnesian war the Lacedæmonian fort at Decelea in Attica received thousands of fugitive slaves from Athens, and the Athenian station at Pylos was the refuge

¹ *Exod.* xxi. 2; *Deut.* xv. 12.

² *Lev.* xxv. 39; cf. *Jer.* xxxiv. 14.

of large numbers of slaves who ran away from Spartan masters. In time of war the Israelite who wanted to keep his slaves must have treated them well. Indeed, in a moment of extreme peril in the last days of the monarchy, we read that the inhabitants of Jerusalem set free their Hebrew slaves, though they enslaved them again when the danger seemed to have passed over.¹

Another circumstance that must have tended to consideration and humanity, was the fact that it was always possible that the master and his wife and family might themselves become slaves. The favourite daughter of a great house might be carried off by a Syrian inroad, and become a slave in a harem at Damascus, or be sold in the slave-market at Tyre to Greek merchants, who would sell their purchase again at Corinth or Syracuse. The thought of what the caprice of fortune might have in store for himself would be a bond of sympathy between the master and his slave which was quite absent in America ; the white slaveholder could never become a negro slave.

The mention of such reverses of fortune reminds us that slavery would often be the fortune of the unsuccessful farmer who had been ruined by bad seasons and the fortune of war. This possibility may at times have been depressing, but it cannot compare with the gloom which the prospect of the workhouse casts over the closing years of many a life spent in patient and steady work.

Finally, the silence of the prophets, who were always eager to champion the poor, the suffering, and the oppressed, leads us to believe that the lot of the slave did not present any conspicuous or exceptional hardship.

We conclude, therefore, that as far as internal organization was concerned, apart from the chances of war, and the uncertainty of the seasons, labour in ancient Israel was pretty generally distributed amongst all classes, that in efficiency and mode of application it was adequate to the needs of the community, that each class had a respectable share of the results. The rudimentary stage of civilization attained by Israel involved the institution of slavery as a necessary evil, but the institution existed in its least objectionable form, at any rate as regards Hebrew slaves. We have little information as to either the number or the treatment of foreign slaves, but general circumstances suggest that they met with comparatively humane and considerate treatment.

¹ Jer. xxiv.

EXPOSITORY THOUGHT.

THE VEIL OF MOSES.

BY REV. P. J. GLOAG, D.D.

2 COR. iii. 13-18.

Authorised Version.—And not as Moses, *which* put a veil over his face, that the children of Israel could not stedfastly look to the end of that which is abolished: but their minds were blinded: for until this day remaineth the same veil untaken away in the reading of the Old Testament; which *veil* is done away in Christ. But even unto this day, when Moses is read, the veil is upon their heart. Nevertheless when it shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away. Now the Lord is that Spirit: and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. But we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, *even* as by the Spirit of the Lord.

Revised Version.—And are not as Moses, *who* put a veil upon his face, that the children of Israel should not look stedfastly on the end of that which was passing away: but their minds were hardened: for until this very day at the reading of the Old Covenant the same veil remaineth unlifted; which *veil* is done away in Christ. But unto this day, whensoever Moses is read, a veil lieth upon their heart. But whensoever it shall turn to the Lord, the veil is taken away. Now the Lord is the Spirit: and where the Spirit of the Lord is, *there* is liberty. But we all, with unveiled face reflecting as a mirror the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, even as from the Lord the Spirit.

THERE are not many variations in the readings of the different manuscripts of this passage, and these are of little importance, and do not materially affect the sense. The chief difficulty is in the interpretation—what meaning we are to attach to the different words and clauses. This is apparent from the numerous marginal readings attached to this passage in the Revised Version.

Paul alludes to an incident in the life of Moses. According to the narrative in the thirty-fourth chapter of Exodus, Moses was with the Lord forty days on Mount Sinai, holding communion with Him and receiving from Him the two tables of testimony containing the ten commandments. It would appear that during this period some change had taken place in his appearance: the glory of the Lord which he beheld was reflected on his countenance. Moses himself was not aware that any change had occurred: "he wist not that the skin of his face shone, while he talked with Him." But when he came down from the mount to the people, they were instantly cognisant of the fact, and were terrified at the glory which they saw shining forth from his countenance. "And when Aaron and all the children of Israel saw Moses, behold, the skin of his face shone, and they were afraid to come nigh him." In order to remove the cause of terror, Moses put a veil on his face. The use of the veil, then, was to conceal from the children of Israel the glory of his countenance, so that they might approach him without mental disturbance, and hold intercourse with him. According to this view of the incident, when Moses spoke with the children of Israel he wore a veil on his face; but when he turned to speak with the Lord he removed the veil. "And *till* Moses had done speaking with them, he put a veil on his

face. But when Moses went in before the Lord to speak with Him, he took the veil off, till he came out. And he came out, and spake unto the children of Israel that which he was commanded. And the children of Israel saw the face of Moses, that the skin of Moses' face shone: and Moses put the veil on his face again, until he went to speak with Him" (Exod. xxxiv. 33-35).

That Moses spoke to the people with a veil on his face is unquestionably the meaning given to this incident in the Authorised Version. But it is doubtful if we have here the correct translation of the Hebrew. It is to be observed that in verse 33 the word "till" is inserted. In the Hebrew, *וַיִּסְתֵּר* means simply "and he finished or completed." Accordingly the Revised Version renders the passage, "And when Moses had done speaking with them, he put a veil on his face," thus favouring the idea that Moses did not put on the veil until he had finished speaking with the people. And this is the interpretation given to the words both in the Septuagint and in the Vulgate. In the Septuagint we read, *Καὶ ἐπειδὴ κατέπαυσε λαλῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ κάλυμμα*; and in the Vulgate, *Impletisque sermonibus posuit velamen super faciem suam*: "And when he had made an end of speaking with them, he put a veil on his face." According to this view, Moses spoke to the people without the veil, with his face shining and glorified, and did not put on the veil until he had done speaking. And this view best agrees with the language of the Apostle, "And not as Moses, who put a veil upon his face, that the children of Israel should not look stedfastly on the end of that which was passing away." The use of the veil, according to this view, was not to remove the fears of the people, but that they might not look at the end or fading of the transitory glory. From this it would appear that the glory of Moses' countenance gradually waned and faded, that the lustre became dim; and in order that the Israelites might not see its entire disappearance, Moses put on the veil. When he ceased speaking with them, he veiled himself; but when he went in before the Lord to speak with Him, he removed the veil, until he came out and spake to the Israelites all that the Lord had commanded him; while he was speaking they saw that his face shone, but when he ceased speaking he again put on the veil; so that the veil was the symbol of concealment and transitoriness.

Paul, as his manner often is, allegorizes this incident of Israelitish history; as if he had said: These things are an allegory; the veil on the face of Moses answers to the veil which is even now on the heart of the Jews. In preaching the Gospel, he observes, we use great boldness of speech; we put no veil on our teaching, as Moses did on his face; we have no fear, as he had, that our glory should vanish away: the glory of the Gospel, so far from diminishing, increases. The veil of Moses typifies the blindness of the Jews: that veil is still upon their hearts in the reading of the Old Testament. Observe here the implied contrast between the Jews and us Christians. The Jews read the Scriptures with veiled faces, we have our faces unveiled; the Jews have their minds blinded by prejudices, ours are enlightened with the

light of truth ; the Jews cannot discern that the Old Covenant is done away with in Christ, they cannot look on the end of that which was passing away, we recognize Christ as the end of the law for righteousness ; the Jews have the veil on their hearts, from us that veil has been removed.

The use of the veil, then, was to conceal from the Israelites the fading away of the glory of Moses' countenance, and this, according to Paul, typified the fading away of the glory of the law of Moses : " Moses put a veil upon his face, that the children of Israel should not look stedfastly on the end of that which was passing away." The law of Moses was to fade and disappear before the superior glory of the Gospel. The rites and ceremonies and sacrifices of Judaism having served their purposes as prefigurations of the privileges of the Gospel, were to be abolished. Now, this was to be concealed from the Israelites until Christ came. The revelation made to them was partial and obscure ; the lights were broken, a veil was thrown over the future, they were not permitted to see the passing away of the law, its abolition in Christ. Had the Israelites been distinctly informed of the freedom and blessings of the Gospel dispensation, had its glorious privileges been made known to them—that such a golden age was before them, we can easily conceive how they might have become discontented with the Mosaic dispensation, with its bloody sacrifices, its burdensome rites and hindrances, and especially its vexing regulations concerning ceremonial impurity from which the most watchful and conscientious piety could not guard itself. This was, as St. Peter says, a yoke which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear. Hence it was in mercy that they were prevented looking steadfastly on the end of that which was passing away. And perhaps also the same reason may be applied to us with regard to the obscurity which hangs over a future state ; there is a veil upon it which God has not been pleased to withdraw. The revelation of the blessings of the heavenly world might render us discontented with our present imperfect state, and unfit us for the duties of this world.

The glory of Moses' countenance was also an evidence of his Divine commission. When he spake to the Israelites the message given him by God, his face shone ; the Israelites would see in this supernatural glory the proof that he was sent to them by God ; it was the glory of the Divine Shekinah that illuminated his countenance ; he carried with him the proofs of his authority as an ambassador sent from God, as a mediator between God and the people. Just in a similar manner our Lord was transfigured on the holy mount, when His face shone as the sun, and this impressed upon the wondering disciples the Divinity of His mission, that He was what He professed to be, the Son of God and the Saviour of the world.

The veil on the face of Moses was an emblem of hardness. " But their minds were hardened " : ἀλλ' ἐπαρώθη τὰ νοήματα αὐτῶν. The word ἐπαρώθη denotes hardened, not blinded, as in the Authorised Version (comp. Rom. xi. 25), though blindness was the necessary effect of the hardening of their minds. Just as Pharaoh's heart was hardened, so was the heart of the

Israelites. It is not said by whom this hardness of heart was caused; it may be considered as produced by God, or as caused by the Evil One, but it is best to leave it undetermined. It is said that the Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart, though the responsibility of hardening lay on Pharaoh himself. So, although the dispensation of God may have led to the hardening of the hearts of the Israelites, yet it was subjective on their part, they hardened their own hearts. Hence the comparative failure of Paul's preaching to his countrymen; they hardened their hearts against the proclamation of the Gospel. His success was great among the Gentiles; many of them turned to the Lord; but when he addressed the Jews, there were obstacles to overcome; their minds were already prejudiced against the Gospel.

"For until this very day," adds the Apostle, "at the reading of the Old Covenant, the same veil remaineth unlifted": "the same veil," the veil typified by that on Moses' countenance. The meaning is that even now, after Christ has come, and the Gospel has been promulgated, and the prophecies have been fulfilled, the same hardness of heart, the same incapacity for recognizing the end of the Mosaic law remains at the reading of the Old Covenant. The law of Moses was read every Sabbath in their synagogues, but the Israelites had not the capacity to discern its spiritual meaning, its fulfilment in Jesus Christ. It is not probable that there is here any allusion to the tallith or covering which the Jews put upon their heads at the reading of the Old Testament; the veil was not upon their heads, but on their hearts. By the Old Covenant (*τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης*) is here meant, not the Old Testament as we possess it, but the law of Moses which was the Covenant, which God made with the Israelites. The Apostle already calls it the Old Covenant, regarding the Gospel as the New Covenant predicted by the prophets.

The words which follow, *μὴ ἀνακαλυπτόμενον ὅτι ἐν Χριστῷ καταργεῖται*, admit of a twofold rendering. The Revised Version reads, "For until this very day, at the reading of the Old Covenant, the same veil remaineth unlifted; which *veil* is done away in Christ." And in the margin there is the alternative reading, "The same veil remaineth, it not being revealed that it is done away in Christ"; or the discovery not being made that it is done away in Christ. The second or marginal reading is to be preferred, as affording a better sense and more in accordance with the thought of the Apostle. It was because the truth, that the Old Covenant was done away in Christ, was unrevealed or undiscovered by the Israelites that the veil remained on their hearts. It is to be observed that both in the Authorised and in the Revised Versions τὸ κάλυμμα is regarded as the subject to *καταργεῖται*, which *veil* is done away in Christ. This, however, is doubtful; *παλαιὰ διαθήκη* is the nearest antecedent; it is not the veil, but the Old Covenant that is done away in Christ. Christ is the end of the law for righteousness; in Him the Old Covenant finds its completion; its rites and ceremonies having found in Him their fulfilment, it is done away with.

The veil on the face of Moses is transferred to the hearts of the

Israelites. "But unto this day, whensoever Moses is read, a veil lieth upon their heart." The veil is no longer on the face of the speaker, but on the heart of the reader. The veil is not on the law. The book is the same to all; the difference between those who understand and those who do not understand it is subjective, a difference of disposition: the minds of the Jews were hardened. And this was fully realized in the case of the generality of the Jews when the Gospel was preached to them. Although the prophecies pointing out Jesus as the Messiah were numerous and evident, although their fulfilment in Christ Jesus was clearly seen, although all the sacrifices of the law were emblems of the one great sacrifice for sin, yet the minds of the Jews were hardened; they could not understand their own prophecies, and they fulfilled them even by their unbelief. They had the Scriptures of the Old Testament in their hands, they were read every Sabbath in their synagogues, yet they did not understand them: the veil was upon their heart, the veil of ignorance, prejudice, and unbelief.

This veil of concealment, this emblem of spiritual blindness, shall be removed. "But whensoever it shall turn to the Lord, the veil is taken away." There are various conjectures regarding the subject of *ἐπιστρέψῃ*. Some consider it be *ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν*, as the nearest antecedent, "when the heart of the Israelites shall turn to the Lord"; so our two versions. Others regard it as *ὁ Ἰσραὴλ*; others as *Μωϋσῆς*, as the representation of the nation of Israel; and others the general *τίς*. It is best to refer it to the heart of the Israelites: when their heart shall turn to the Lord, when they shall be converted and receive a new heart, then the veil is taken away. Just as Moses put a veil on his face when he had finished speaking to the children of Israel, but when he turned to speak with the Lord the veil was taken away. There was blindness before, but now there is sight. *Παραίρεται* is in the present; therefore not "shall be taken away," as in the Authorised, but "is taken away," as in the Revised Version. The moment the heart of the children of Israel turns to the Lord, that same moment the veil is taken away; the removal of their blindness is instantaneous with their conversion.

We have here a prediction of the conversion of the Jews. The veil shall be taken from their hearts; they shall recognize in that same Jesus whom their fathers crucified the promised Messiah, the King of Israel, and the Saviour of the world. "Blindness (*πῶρωσις*, hardness) in part hath befallen Israel until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in." At present *πῶρωσις* hath befallen them; the veil is upon their hearts, the Jewish nation is the most hardened against the Gospel, conversions among them are comparatively few; though some of the noblest Christians of modern times, as Neander, Delitzsch, Phillipi, Saphir, Edersheim, are converted Jews. But the time shall come when the Jews as a nation shall turn to the Lord, and this shall be accompanied with a great revival of religion, as life from the dead. The fulness of the Gentiles is inseparably connected with the conversion of the Jews. And even in the present day there is a spiritual movement among the Jews toward Christianity and the recognition of Jesus as the

Messiah, especially in southern Russia. These are the drops before the shower, the precursors of that plenteous rain which shall water the Church of God.

The connection of the words which follow is somewhat obscure. "Now the Lord is the Spirit" (ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν). The Apostle has asserted that the heart of the Israelites shall turn to the Lord; and he adds, as if in explanation, "But the Lord is the Spirit." He perhaps refers to what he had formerly said when contrasting the law with the Gospel: the law is the ministration of death, but the Gospel is the ministration of the Spirit. Ὁ κύριος is the subject, not the predicate; and by the Lord here is certainly meant the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom the Jews on their conversion shall turn. He is the Spirit inasmuch as the Spirit who dwells in Him is the Holy Spirit, and it is by the Spirit that He dwells in the hearts of His people. As Meyer observes, "Christ is the Spirit in so far as at conversion, and generally in the whole arrangement of salvation, He communicates Himself in the Holy Spirit, and this Spirit is His Spirit, the living principle of the influence and indwelling of Christ." As Bengel says, "Where Christ is, there is the Spirit of Christ; where the Spirit of Christ is, there is Christ." The same thought of the immanence of Christ by His Spirit is stated by the Apostle when he says, "Ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be the Spirit of God dwell in you. But if any man has not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His." The Spirit is the Spirit of Christ, the Spirit who resides in Him as a perennial fountain, and whose influences He dispenses unto His people.

The Apostle adds, "And where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." Liberty here is opposed to the slavery under the law: the spirit is contrasted with the letter. The veil is the symbol of blindness, and so long as the veil continues on the heart, the spiritual activity is hindered; we do not see the truth, and therefore must stumble in our endeavours to attain to it. But when the veil is taken away, there is light and truth and freedom. We are then able to know our duties, and ability is conferred upon us to perform them. There is also liberty from the restraints of the law; we are no more bound by carnal ordinances, and even the commands of God are rendered easy to obey, they are no longer grievous, but the voluntary actions of our hearts turned from sin to holiness. When we receive the Spirit of the Lord, sin is regarded as bondage, and holiness as freedom. The liberty which the Spirit of the Lord confers is deliverance from the power and slavery of sin.

The shining on Moses' face was the reflection of the glory of the Lord. When he went to speak with the Lord, to behold His glory, the veil was removed, and that glory of the Lord was reflected on his countenance. So, says the Apostle, when we turn to the Lord, the veil is taken from our face, and we all with unveiled face behold the glory of the Lord. We all (πάντες)—not the Israelites merely, when the veil is taken away from their hearts—not we, the apostles and teachers—but all Christians; all who have turned to the Lord; we all resemble Moses, who appeared with

unveiled face before the Lord. The contrast is to the unbelieving Jews, who have still the veil of prejudice upon their hearts, concealing from them the light of the Gospel of Christ. With unveiled face we gaze upon the glory of the Lord (τὴν δόξαν κυρίου). By the Lord here is undoubtedly meant the Lord Jesus Christ. The glory of Christ is frequently referred to in the Gospel narrative. "We beheld," says St. John, "His glory, glory as of the Only Begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth." When Jesus performed His first miracle by converting water into wine, it is said that "He manifested forth His glory." And in His intercessory prayer for His disciples He says, "I glorified Thee on earth, having accomplished the work which Thou hast given Me to do. And now, O Father, glorify Thou Me with Thine own self, with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was." When He was in this world, He was in a state of humiliation; like Moses, He had a veil on His face. To the outward eye He appeared a mere man, without form or comeliness: there was no outward glory to attract the carnal mind. But even then the glory of His countenance shone through the veil of humanity; and on one occasion His face shone as the sun, and His raiment was white and glistening. The miracles which He performed were the manifestations of His glory. But the glory of the Lord did not consist in these supernatural actions; for, if so, we could not be transformed into His glory: but it was seen in the holiness, the purity, the sinlessness of His character, in His unquenchable love to the children of men, in His devotion to His heavenly Father, in His meekness and humility, in His unselfishness, in His forgiving disposition toward His enemies, and in His patience and resignation in suffering.

The word κατοπτριζόμενοι is only found in this passage; it does not again occur either in the New Testament or in the Septuagint. In classical writings κατοπτρίζω, in the active, signifies to show in a mirror, to make a reflection in a mirror; but in the middle, to look in a mirror, to behold oneself in a mirror, to see in a mirror. Two meanings have been assigned to it in our passage—that of the Authorised Version, "beholding as in a glass," and that of the Revised Version, "reflecting as a mirror."

The first meaning, "beholding as in a mirror," is more in accordance with the classical usage of the word. We look into the mirror, and see reflected in it the glory of the Lord. As Moses appeared unveiled in the presence of God, and saw a representation of His glory, so believers with unveiled face behold the glory of Christ. According to this meaning, faith is the organ of beholding; for it is only by the eye of faith that Christ is thus beheld. And the mirror in which the glory of Christ is seen is the Gospel, elsewhere called the Gospel of the glory of Christ. In this mirror we are enabled to discern the glory of Christ, the moral beauty of His character, the divinity of His person, the splendour of His ministry, the efficacy of His sufferings, and the extent and majesty of His kingdom. He then appears to us no longer without form or comeliness, but fairer than a the children of men. Then do our eyes see the King in His beauty. But

not only so, the glory which we behold has a transforming power: we ourselves are transformed into that glory—by beholding the glory of the Lord, we are led both to admire and to imitate; and just as the face of Moses shone in consequence of seeing the glory of God, so the lustre of the glorious character of Christ rests on the believer. The more we discern the moral beauties of His character, the more we will cultivate their moral perfection. The contemplation of Christ will produce resemblance to Christ.

The other meaning, "reflecting as a mirror the glory of the Lord," is, perhaps, not so strictly in accordance with classical accuracy, but is more suited to the Apostle's train of thought, and has been adopted by eminent critics. It is the view adopted by Chrysostom, Bengel, Billroth, Olshausen, and Stanley. The authority of Chrysostom shows that it is not at variance with the usage of the Greek language. It suits better the argument of the Apostle. He is speaking of the reflection of the glory of God on the face of Moses; so, he says, in a similar manner do believers reflect the glory of Christ. In this sense believers themselves are the mirror: Christ is seen in them; His character is so impressed upon them that they become Christlike. Like Moses, when he came from holding communion with God, their faces shine; there is a glory about their persons. They show forth the glory of the Lord. They bear a resemblance, faint and imperfect it may be, but still a real and striking resemblance, to the Lord Jesus Christ.

Thus, then, the Christian's life is a reflex of the glory of Christ. His life is lived over by them. They have imbibed the Spirit of Christ and drunk in His character. They become living epistles of Christ, known and read of all men. Their virtues are the virtues of Jesus Christ; the same Spirit which actuated Him actuates them. The believer shines in a glory not his own; as the light of the moon is but a reflection of the light of the sun, so the glory of the Christian is but a reflection of the glory of Christ. Christ Himself is the True Light that lighteth the Christian's soul.

The glory of Christ which the Christian reflects is increasing: "Reflecting as a mirror the glory of the Lord, they are transformed into the same image from glory to glory." Different meanings have been assigned to the words ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν. Some suppose that the meaning is that this change into the image of Christ proceeds from the glory of Christ (ἀπὸ δόξης), namely, beheld in the mirror and reflected on us to our glory (εἰς δόξαν), our spiritual transformation to the likeness of Christ. But such a meaning is more ingenious than correct. The meaning rather appears to be from one degree of glory to another, and a higher, thus representing the progressive nature of the change. Compare, "They go from strength to strength" (Ps. lxxiv. 7). Believers have no reason to fear that their glory, like that on the face of Moses, shall fade, and at length disappear. On the contrary, the lustre of the Christian's reflection of Christ will increase rather than diminish. The image of Christ impressed upon the soul becomes more discernible. To adopt the image in our text, the more polished the mirror, the greater the exactness and clearness with which it reflects.

The great work of transformation into the image of the glory of the Lord is effected by the Spirit: "even as from the Lord the Spirit." Different meanings have been assigned to the words ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος. The rendering in the Authorised Version, "even as by the Spirit of the Lord," is inconsistent with the order of the words. Meyer renders them, "even as from the Lord of the Spirit," a translation which the Greek admits of. He maintains that the Lord of the Spirit is Christ, in so far as the operations of the Spirit depend on Christ, for the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Christ: Christ is the dispenser of His influences. But this is a title which is unprecedented, being nowhere else ascribed to Christ. The words simply translated are, as in the Revised Version, "from the Lord the Spirit," just as ἀπὸ Θεοῦ Πατρός is "from God the Father." We must never forget our place in the background the agency of the Spirit in our salvation. The great office of the Spirit is to glorify Christ (John xvi. 14). He displays to us in the Gospel, as in a mirror, the glory of Christ. He forms in the hearts of all believers the character of Christ, so that they reflect His glory; and He removes the veil from their hearts, so that they see the beauty of Christ. Thus believers are transformed into the image of Christ from glory to glory, even as from the Lord the Spirit. This transformation is effected by the Spirit, the Author, the Upholder, and the Augmenter of spiritual life, who sanctifies us until we grow up into a resemblance of the Lord Jesus Christ.

"LET US HAVE PEACE WITH GOD."

ROMANS v. 1.

BY REV. PROF. J. AGAR BEET, D.D.

Few changes proposed in the Revised Version have met with less favour than the words quoted at the head of this article, as they stand in Romans v. 1, which in the Authorized Version reads, "Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ." Still more unwelcome are the renderings in verses 2, 3, "let us rejoice in hope of the glory of God . . . let us also rejoice in our tribulations." These important changes I propose now to discuss.

All these changes are due to a correction of one word, and indeed of one letter, in the Greek text of the epistle. Instead of "*we have peace*," the oldest and best manuscripts and versions and fathers agree to read, "*let us have peace*." The reading which underlies the rendering "*we have peace*" is not found, by the first hand, in any copy earlier than the ninth century, although it is found in corrections of the Sinai and Vatican MSS. dating back possibly to the fourth and sixth centuries respectively. Nor can we trace it with confidence to any early quotation. On the other hand, for the reading, "*let us have peace*," we find testimony practically unanimous, reaching back to the second century and coming to us from various and widely distant sources.

This abundant evidence is accepted with confidence in all recent critical

editions of the Greek text, by Tischendorf in his last edition, by Tregelles, and by Westcott and Hort. It is accepted by the English revisers with a singularly mild marginal note, "some authorities read, *we have*." The American revisers prefer "*we have peace*"; adding, "many ancient authorities read '*let us have peace*.'"

Every one admits the great preponderance of documentary evidence for the reading, "let us have peace." Those who reject it do so only because they find themselves unable to give to these words any satisfactory sense. It is the purpose of this paper to show that this difficulty arises merely from a misunderstanding and mistranslation of the words found in the ancient copies.

The revisers translate, "being therefore justified by faith, let us have peace with God." This suggests or implies that the readers are already justified but have not yet peace with God, and that St. Paul urges them, inasmuch as they are already justified, to seek for and obtain peace with God. Now, justification and peace with God are manifestly equivalent terms. For every monarch is at peace with a pardoned criminal. Moreover, in verses 10, 11, St. Paul assumes and asserts that his readers are already reconciled to God. It must be admitted that, if the revisers' rendering be correct, the reading so widely attested will present a most serious difficulty.

It seems to me that the revisers have misunderstood a very common Greek construction, viz., the aorist participle preceding a subjunctive or imperative. This construction implies simply, in the passage before us, that the abiding state of peace with God must be preceded by the event of justification; and leaves the context to determine whether justification is already obtained and is a reason for having peace with God, or whether justification by faith is the gateway by which we must enter the abiding state of peace with God.

That this latter is St. Paul's meaning in this passage, is suggested very strongly by the fact that this is the meaning of the aorist participle in, I believe, all the very many passages in which the construction before us is used in the New Testament. So, in 1 Cor. vi. 15, "shall I then take away the members of Christ, and make them members of a harlot?"; Acts xv. 36, "let us return now and visit the brethren"; Ephes. iv. 25, "wherefore, putting away falsehood, speak ye truth each one with his neighbour"; Heb. vi. 1, "wherefore let us cease to speak of the first principles of Christ, and press on unto perfection." Also Matt. ii. 8, 13, 20, iv. 9, v. 24, vi. 6, vii. 6, ix. 13, 18, xi. 4, xiii. 28, xvii. 27, xxii. 13, xxvii. 64, xxviii. 19. The above renderings show how, in other places, the revisers treat the construction now before us.

In the LXX. the same construction is very common as a rendering of two Hebrew imperatives, jussives, or cohortatives. So Gen. xi. 7, "let us go down and there confound their language"; xviii. 21, "I will go down now and see"; also xix. 2, 15, 34. This rendering reveals a difference

between the Greek language on the one hand and the Hebrew and English languages on the other. In all the above passages the Greek writer looks upon the action denoted by the participle, not as itself an object of desire, but as subordinate to, and needful to bring about the action or state denoted by the finite verb. This grouping of subordinate thoughts around the main thought is a conspicuous and beautiful feature of the Greek language. In such cases the Hebrew language uses two imperatives or cohortatives. But, in the passages quoted above from the Old Testament, the former exhortation is evidently subordinate to the latter. The Greek translations were therefore at liberty to use the rendering most in harmony with the genius of their own language. And in the passages quoted above the English revisers have correctly, where it seemed good to them, translated the Greek construction now before us by two English imperatives, in harmony with the genius of their own language.

So far as I know, Rom. v. 1 is the only passage in which the revisers interpret an aorist participle preceding a present subjunctive as describing an event which has already taken place. It is a solitary exception in their treatment of a common Greek construction.

It is right to say that in Romans v. 9, 10, an aorist participle preceding a future indicative describes an event which has already taken place, and which affords a ground of expectation of something still future. But the future indicative is not an exact parallel to the present subjunctive. Moreover, an aorist participle preceding even a future indication denotes not unfrequently an event still future. So Romans xv. 28, "when therefore I have accomplished this, and have sealed to them this fruit, I will go on by you unto Spain"; also Acts xxiv. 25; 1 Peter v. 4. These passages prove that an aorist participle preceding an indicative future does not necessarily imply that the event denoted by the participle has already taken place. Whether this event is looked upon as past or future must be determined by the context.

In view of the evident meaning of the passages quoted above, and in harmony with the revisers' own rendering of most of them, I venture to render the passage now before us, **LET US THEN, JUSTIFIED THROUGH FAITH, HAVE PEACE WITH GOD.** This rendering implies, in agreement with the use of the same Greek construction throughout the New Testament, not that justification has already taken place and is a reason for going on to a higher blessing, viz., peace with God, but that to the writer's thought justification through faith is simply looked upon as a means by which *we may have peace with God.*

To this natural rendering of a common Greek construction there is only one serious objection. How can St. Paul point to justification as a means of peace with God, when in ver. 9 he assumes that his readers are already justified? As an objection to my rendering, this question may be answered by asking another, How can St. Paul in ver. 1 write, "Let us have peace with God," and in ver. 11, "We have now received the reconciliation"? For reconciliation implies peace with God. But both questions require an answer

An answer will, I believe, be found in St. Paul's mode of thought. So intense is his realization of whatever he describes, that frequently he identifies himself with it and makes it the ideal standpoint of his thought, a standpoint rapidly changing with the progress of his discourse. So in Romans iv. 24 he throws himself back to the days of Abraham, about whom he has been writing, and looks forward to the Gospel as still future: "For our sakes also, unto whom it shall be reckoned, who believe on him that raised Jesus." From the future indicative in Romans iv. 24, the Apostle passes to the present subjunctive in chap. v. 1, and exhorts his readers to appropriate the reconciliation with God involved in faith reckoned for righteousness. This exhortation he prefaces, and sums up what he has said before, by interjecting the words "justified through faith." He thus points to the means of reconciliation.

What St. Paul in ver. 1 exhorts his readers to do, he assumes in ver. 2 that they have already done: "through whom also we have had our access into this grace in which we stand." For indisputably they who *stand* (a favourite word of St. Paul, denoting Christian steadfastness) in the grace of God have already peace with God. In other words, we cannot interpret the change from the future indicative in chap. iv. 24 to the present subjunctive in chap. v. 1, and to the perfect indicative in ver. 2, except as written from an ideal and changing standpoint.

If we accept this explanation of the change of tense, future, present, past, we may accept for vers. 2b, 3, the rendering in the revisers' margin: "and we rejoice in hope of the glory of God, and . . . in our tribulations." For the transition is now complete. They who already stand in the grace of God may well exult in hope of glory.

The exhortation in ver. 1, "let us have peace with God," is the more appropriate because, although St. Paul himself enjoyed a present and assured peace with God, he could not forget that many of his readers had not the same rest of faith. Their weaker faith he helps by the example of his own unshaken confidence, and by placing himself at their side, and by claiming along with them the peace with God which is the immediate result of justifying faith.

An ideal and changing standpoint appears again and again throughout this great epistle. In chap. iii. 7, St. Paul puts himself among liars and asks, "If the truth of God through my lie abounded to His glory, why am I also judged as a sinner?" In ver. 9, leaving out of sight those justified through faith, he says, "we have charged both Jews and Greeks that they are all under sin." This is the only explanation of the dark picture of himself drawn in chap. vii. 14-24, until in ver. 25 light shines upon him through Jesus Christ. For the moral bondage there described is utterly inconsistent with the joyful assertion in chap. viii. 2, "The law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has made me free from the law of sin and of death." Throughout the epistle, to the vivid thought of St. Paul, the spiritual state he is describing is actual and present.

As Rom. v. 1, 2 stands in the Authorized Version, it is a joyful assertion of assured salvation. In the Revised Version all this is changed, and we have only an exhortation to hope and joy. The spiritual loss involved in this change is felt by all devout minds. This is especially the case with ver. 3, where the revisers' rendering, "let us also rejoice in our tribulations," is a painful descent from the Authorized Version, "we glory in tribulations also." Fortunately, as I have endeavoured to show, the Greek words found in our oldest and best copies admit another rendering, a rendering favoured by the use throughout the Greek Testament of the common construction here used. The rendering I propose leaves vers. 2 and 3 as they stand in the Authorized Version, still expressing a joyful expectation of coming glory. It thus preserves for us the most valuable element of these verses. The phrase which, in the earlier English version, asserts that *we have peace* with God, gives place to another, which exhorts us to be at peace with God, and points to justification through faith as the means by which this peace may be ours.

The transition between the exhortation of ver. 1 and the calm assurance of ver. 2b is the assertion in ver. 2a that through Christ we have obtained, and now have (Greek perfect), access into the favour of God, and the further assertion that in this grace we now stand. These confident and unmistakable assertions prepare the way for the joyful hope which follows them.

It may be objected that the rendering given above is new. But we must remember that to modern expository thought the ancient reading is new; indeed, two of the best modern commentators, Meyer and Godet, refuse to admit it. It has been recently forced upon us by the results of modern research. The ancient commentators, *e.g.*, Chrysostom, do little to elucidate the meaning of the words which they evidently accept as genuine. In such a case, we have no resource except the methods of modern grammatical exegesis.

If the above exposition be accepted, it will increase our confidence in the modern textual criticism of the New Testament. This confidence would be somewhat shaken if we were compelled to reject a reading supported by our oldest and best documents. And great would be our perplexity if we were unable to find, for a reading so well attested, an intelligible and profitable meaning. In this paper I have endeavoured to show that, accepting the words of St. Paul as given in the best copies of his epistles, we can give to them a meaning in complete harmony with the grammatical usage of the Greek Testament, with St. Paul's modes of thought, and with the argument of the epistle.

THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

CHRISTIAN ASCETICISM.

By REV. S. A. ALEXANDER, M.A., KEBLE COLLEGE, OXFORD.

AN inquiry into the value or necessity of asceticism, like all other problems that fall within the range of the moral consciousness, is conditioned by a previous inquiry proper to the metaphysical rather than to the ethical philosopher. To decide rightly what are the true laws of the highest human well-being, and what is the loftiest and (in a very genuine sense) most natural ideal of the human spirit, and by what means that ideal is best attainable, we must first have reached at least an approximately clear decision on the larger question—What is the end of man? What place does man occupy in the world's chain of growth and development? Is he a creature *sui generis*, differentiated from other animals by the possession of a spiritual nature and by the assurance of grander destinies? or is he, in spite of his apparently unique gifts and possibilities, still one of the beasts that perish?

Amid the widest diversity of opinion on these essential problems of thought and feeling there is a fundamental agreement that the tendency and scope of conduct ought to be, and in part actually is, determined by a more or less conscious theory of the nature of man. If all man's activities and functions, however intellectual or refined, are purely animal, and limited by physical causation—like the fragrance that fades away together with the flower that gave it birth, or, to use a Platonic simile, the music that will never be heard again when the lute-strings are once broken—there is then one distinct criterion marked out for human action: the crown is awarded to the utilitarian theory of life, and the spirit of self-sacrifice which has inspired every form of asceticism forfeits its claim to be the mainspring of the soul. The higher nature, it is true, actuated by generous impulses or an enthusiasm for humanity, might still, on the one hand, prefer the pleasures of Socrates to those of the swine,¹ and, on the other, be willing, in seeking the greatest happiness of the greatest number, to postpone his own rights and privileges to those of others; and in this degree might admit asceticism to control his personal freedom. But such a man, as is often the case, would be better than his creed; his position would be, for himself, of doubtful consistency, and, for the world at large, impossible of attainment. To the mass of mankind it is a quite logical step from the premise "To-morrow we die" to the conclusion "Let us eat and drink to-day"; and no high-mindedness in the leader of an Epicurean school, however austere his rejection of the lower demands, can save his followers from the ultimate bathos of sensualism and self-interest. The "obscene transformation," theoretically probable, is historically certain.

¹ The antithesis is borrowed from J. S. Mill (*Utilitarianism*).

On the other hand, if virtue is, apart from resultant utility, an end in itself; if man has a moral nature which is not merely a modification of the physical, but a new fact in the world, bearing the impress of a Divine seal, and irradiated by higher lights than those of earth; if, above all, he draws his being from a God of wisdom and goodness, and is secure of personal immortality in Him—then, as before, the goal of duty is fixed and a plain path laid down. Let him be simply true to his own nature. Let him live as the child of God, open-eyed to whatever contributes, in thought or word or deed, to the realization of that sonship which Christianity assures to him, and strong in the repudiation of all behaviour that tends to vitiate his title-deeds, to clash with the calls of his better self, or to be out of harmony with the supreme destinies of which he is conscious. And if, for the earnest pursuance of these great ends, something akin to an ascetic habit of life be found necessary (as, in the sequel, will appear probable), let him adopt that habit without fear or reluctance; only acting, if he be truly wise, not merely or chiefly with a view to his personal development, but also with some distinct and conscious reference to larger and more social uses. The Christian, like the Epicurean, will be only following the dictates of the nature which he believes himself to possess; his morality will, in fact, be shaped according to the suggestions of his metaphysics.

For those who are inquiring into Christian asceticism, and not into asceticism generally, the metaphysical problem is beyond the need of discussion; it suffices to have remarked, very briefly, on its necessary connection with the moral standard. Christianity both implies and asserts the second of the given theories of the nature of man. It looks at man in the light of a son of God, and as the heir to a Divine kingdom in course of realization or preparation on earth, but only to be perfected in another life. It discovers the eternal elements in humanity. It proclaims that man is a citizen of two worlds, only lent by heaven to earth, and having his true citizenship above. It sees that, in a deeper sense than Aurelius divined, he is nothing but a "sojourner in a strange country." Assuming, therefore, that a man accepts this interpretation of the world and of destiny, and intends to aim at the higher life which is enshrined in the Christian ideal, we have now to ask whether asceticism is necessary or helpful to him in the race for perfection. In other words, what is the character and value of Christian asceticism? and what, if any, are its limits and dangers?

I. The word *asceticism* is not among the words which can claim an unvaried and distinct meaning. In modern times its sphere of reference has been so far confined that it is now applied only to the things of touch, of taste, and (in a lesser degree) of sight. We give the name of *ascetic* to the man who is specially distinguished for self-denial in regard to sensual pleasures of this class. But to the etymologist, asceticism (*ἀσκησις*) is a word of much larger content. It covers all actions, physical or mental, that aim at *exercise* in virtue—at the *training* by which mind and body are brought into, and maintained in, the best possible condition for the right

performance of their work; and in this, its original sense, it does not connote mortification or sacrifice. It serves rather to distinguish the practical side of the spiritual life from the theoretical—a distinction very easy to press too far, and constantly brought out in fourth century literature in the antithetic coupling of ἀσκησις and φιλοσοφία. The wider definition has at least a twofold value. In the first place, it marks the positivity which has always been a characteristic of true asceticism; and, in the next, it emphasizes the moral fact—often overlooked, and therefore of great importance—that asceticism is never more than a means to an end, never more than the crutch which helps a man to guide his faltering footsteps in the way of holiness while, concomitantly with his endeavour to perfect himself, he is attempting also to “fulfil the life-problem in human society set him by God.”¹ Like many other words, *asceticism* has thus undergone an undue specialization, so as to lose, in its narrowed meaning, the wide moral application of which it is properly capable. To be an ascetic it is by no means necessary to live perpetually “in sight of the death’s-head and the hour-glass,”² to withdraw oneself from society, and to lose touch with the warm movement of daily life. Such asceticism is, perhaps, only a refinement of selfishness—a whited sepulchre covering the dry bones of enlightened self-regard. There are other and higher forms than this. A modern theologian,³ in discussing the need of casuistry in ethics, has taken occasion to enumerate three classes of ascetics. The first class consists of those, if any, who deliberately believe pain to be a good, and follow it as such. Examples of this class are furnished most nearly by the Stoicism of the Roman Empire and the Monasticism of early Christianity; although, in point of fact, pain was to the Stoic rather a test of self-sufficiency than an end that was good in itself; and to the monk, primarily a means of spiritual advancement, and only secondarily, and by development, a thing of intrinsic interest and worth. Under the second head (not very clearly distinguishable from the first) are to be grouped all who submit to pain in the present world in the hope of securing happiness in the next—a large class, essentially utilitarian in spirit, and comprising members furnished by most of the historic religions. In the last division Maurice places those who are willing to surrender a lower good for the sake of a higher. He tells the story of how Napoleon, when a boy of fifteen at the military school of Paris, pleaded with the authorities for a severer training and a less luxurious style of living; and rightly attributes some part of the greatness of his after career to the spirit, thus early shown, of untameable resolution and self-control. Such asceticism—common to all who “have a work to do, and who determine that it shall be done”—must be so defined as to cover two of the distinctive traits of the man who is haunted by great ends: his comparative neglect of material pleasure and profit, and his determination to submit to any process of physical, mental, or moral hardening that may contribute to the right fulfilment of his work.

¹ Martensen, *Individual Ethics* (Clark), p. 404.

² *Ibid.*, p. 421.

³ F. D. Maurice, *Lectures on Casuistry*. Lect. iv.

We thus reach a preliminary hint of the underlying qualities, positive and negative, of the true Christian asceticism.

II. Although it is impossible to examine in detail within a limited space the shapes taken by what we might call the ascetic movement in the Church, yet if we hope to make any adequate estimate of its value we must attempt, however roughly, to grasp and express the character of the inspiration which gave it birth. What follows, then, on this head must be regarded, not as a *historic* survey, but simply as a *moral* estimate. The ascetic temper, in some form or other, has found a place in almost all religious systems, its earliest origin being no doubt the desire, still prevalent among savage tribes, of propitiating a hostile deity by some costly sacrifice. Starting from its cradle in the East, and passing continually Westward, it was accepted by Brahminism and Buddhism as an essential condition of the spiritual life, and incorporated, but less emphatically, by Judaism, in which its presence is marked partly, perhaps, by such institutions as fasting or the Nazarite vow, but still more clearly in the later stages of the national history by the existence of sects like the Essenes of the Dead Sea, and the Therapeutæ of Egypt. The Therapeutæ, whom we know chiefly through Philo, are described as contemplative fraternities governed by a strict rule of life; the Egyptian monks may be regarded as their lineal descendants. Even on philosophy Oriental asceticism had no little influence. The Gnostic heresies of the second century, though in the main nothing but metaphysical systems, are, for the most part, largely coloured by it in their attitude to practical life. The kindred and eclectic doctrine of Manichæism, with its theory of the inherent evil of matter, and its repugnance to all sensual pleasure, is still more distinctly an ascetic creed. Even Neo-Platonism possessed an asceticism of its own, drawn not so much from Plato as from the Oriental elements adopted into its system. On the other hand, the deeper channels of philosophic thought were left almost untouched. In spite of the suggestion that Plato brought home from his distant wanderings a tinge of the austerity of the East, a juster and wider view of the Platonic conception of the material world shows that his slight and occasional tendencies to asceticism are more than counter-balanced by his leading (and entirely Greek) theory of education as the harmonious development of all the faculties of the individual; while, from a more practical standpoint, it is clear that the life of Greece, even more than that of Rome, was always averse to the one-sided habits sanctioned by Oriental usage. In the case of the Christian Church it was partly from Judaism itself, and partly from a close contact with the original sources, that the new movement took its rise. Fasting, which very quickly assumed a prominent place in Catholic discipline, even at a time when the Church "was keenly conscious of its independence of Jewish legalism,"¹ was an immediate inheritance from the older dispensation; while the growing approval of celibacy, a usual though not invariable feature of asceticism, was probably derived more directly from the practice of the Essene, who, in the

¹ H. Sidgwick, *History of Ethics*, p. 118, note.

higher and esoteric stages of initiation, refrained altogether from marriage. This, it has been thought, was the point at which the ascetic spirit first entered Christianity.

The diversity of influences at work, combined with the difficulties of clear and exclusive definition, renders it no easy task to discern whether the ascetic movement in the Church was a development unauthorized by Christ's own teaching, or a revolutionary attempt to restore a lost perfection. The question is important because it partially includes the problem of the true character and limits of Christian self-denial. It has been asked and answered with reference not only to the orthodox monasticism, but also to condemned heresies like those of Novatian and Montanus. Did the monk possess the pure word of truth? Is Christianity so distinctly a religion of asceticism? And again: Was Montanus a heretic, or was he, with his great disciple Tertullian, a champion of the Christian faith against a degenerate age? According to one theory, the ascetic movement was thoroughly conservative. Both Monasticism and Montanism were counsels of perfection; attempts to realize for the few that high life which had been at first the ideal of all; loyal and (as Renan says of Montanism) very "natural" returns to the teaching of the Apostolic Church and to a golden era when all Christians were still living as strangers in the world, not yet assimilated with society at large or distinguished from it merely by outward forms and ceremonial, and when a Christian was never less than a saint nor schism held to be the worst of crimes. On the other side it is urged that Montanism was universally rejected by the Catholic Church, not as a dream of perfection or a refinement of holiness, but as an unorthodox addition to the requirements of the faith; that all the eloquence and energy, and even violence, of Tertullian could not save it from condemnation; and, above all, that asceticism generally, as practised and exemplified in its older and cruder forms (whether they have been recognized by the Church or not), is out of harmony with the idea of Christ, draws no authority from His own teaching or that of His disciples, and is, at least, based on mistaken interpretation of a few phrases, and on a partially distorted view of nature and natural religion.

Leaving, for the moment, the threefold appeal just indicated—to philosophy, to science, to the New Testament writings—we must proceed to a somewhat fuller characterization of the failures and qualities of the old asceticism. If it be true that the individual asceticism of hermit and eremite, shut off in deserts and lonely places from the fellowship of men, and the social asceticism of the monastic communities which, in the fourth and fifth centuries, took the place of the earlier isolation and formed centres of spiritual life, more practical in the West and more contemplative in the East, were in reality a development rather than a reaction, there is a strong temptation to believe that they were due to the tendency, common in certain stages of all religions, to lay stress on things formal and external at the expense of things spiritual and unseen. At any rate, it is to this materialism

and ritualism of the ascetic life that we must assign some part at least of the hypocrisy¹ and immorality which disfigure the pages of its record. The contrary tendency to complete absorption in a sphere of intense contemplation and spiritual wrestling with invisible powers also produced fruit of a very evil kind. Closely connected as it was with an exaggerated abhorrence of the flesh and the physical world, it underrated the part played by the senses and by nature in the education of the human soul; ignored the doctrine of Christian liberty as set forth, most prominently, in the Epistles of St. Paul; and, except in the rare case of a St. Francis, gifted with a genuine and naive delight in natural beauty, was totally blind to the charm and gladness of earth and her creatures, or looked upon them only as temptations to sin. It encouraged, in its first origin, a false conception of the Christian revelation, by insisting on that belief in the nearness of Christ's second Advent to which its own existence was in part due. Its severity of abnegation was, at certain times and in certain places, carried so far that, while it undermined the health and rejected all rational modes of fasting, together with the sober and thoughtful insight that sees in fasting only a means for securing for the soul its just ascendancy over the body, and of thus harmonizing both instead of silencing the claims of one, it also degenerated rapidly into a methodical self-torture, which turned existence into an ingenious pursuit of pain; in this way embodying the error that man can merit grace, and that God takes pleasure in watching human anguish. Here we have a return to something curiously akin to the barbarism which hoped to propitiate an inhuman deity by offering him, not a broken spirit, but the sacrifice of physical torment. It is perhaps this characteristic—this lack of faith touching the free gift of life—to which, more than to any other, we must attribute the revolt of English sentiment against monastic principles and ideals, and the Protestant condemnation of "ascetic piety," on the ground that it is "unevangelical."² Further, the old asceticism was by no means perfect in its theory of moral excellence. Instead of being a positive enthusiasm for virtue, it was too often a negative avoidance of vice; instead of being inspired by a rich and active sympathy for a world of need and effort and failure, it preferred to shun the demands of men, and, with ears shut to their piteous pleadings, to hide itself in a secluded heaven of personal interests, gained by its own labours and untrodden by strange feet. Sometimes, indeed, its very earnestness turned to its own ruin and plunged it into grave spiritual disaster. In proportion to the almost savage energy with which a man sought to work out his own salvation, was the apathy with which he regarded the fate of a condemned world. The inscription that might too often have been written above the hermit's cell was that of "every man for himself"; and the spirit which ruled within its inmate's breast was the spirit of a divine selfishness. The tireless vigour with which the precepts

¹ There is some truth in Gibbon's sarcasm (ii. 187):—"Loss of sensual pleasure was supplied and compensated by spiritual pride."

² Mark Pattison, *Sermons* (iv.).

of the Christian faith were pursued into active life grew out of a habit of literal interpretation of the sacred texts, ardent enough at times, if animated by a great and moving personality, to issue in a world-wide movement like that connected with Assisi, but more frequently falling into such depths of bathos and absurdity that edification is lost in amusement, and admiration in something very like intellectual pity. We wonder how it was that these Christian devotees failed to catch the metaphorical meaning of passages, the relativity of precepts, the provisional character of certain rules of life; that they insisted on forcibly reproducing, or attempting to reproduce, under most unfavourable conditions, the shapes and colours of mere local and temporal circumstance; that they were ignorant of the most rudimentary theory of development in practical religion, and forgetful of every distinction of letter and spirit. They appear to us almost like children—so earnest they are, so simple and confident, so full of quaint mistakes.

And yet, when all is said that the severest scrutiny or the most captious criticism can suggest, it is impossible to contemplate the lives of the old ascetics without a thrill of sympathetic emotion. Even their errors were often beautiful; and where they were right, they did an almost priceless work for the world. In spite of excesses and false theories and blind preferences of means to ends, they were still the champions of purity and faith—the saviours of Western civilization. Paganism had declared the flesh stronger than the spirit, and had made pleasure the end of life. Monasticism proved experimentally that the end of life is virtue, and that the spirit can rule the flesh. It was a magnificent protest, bizarre and distorted in expression, but still invaluable, in favour of the nobler side of man's nature; and while it appeals to us in this aspect, we cannot but feel that there is something out of place in the scornful compassion which early asceticism usually awakens in the modern mind. We recognize the historic worth of that asceticism. We perceive how in times of corruption and decay it preserved some seeds of vigorous life—and this, even while draining off from domestic and social service, and arresting in comparatively idle seclusion, much of the world's best energy and devotion. We realize that to it we ourselves are probably more indebted than we know for the strength and purity of our spiritual faith; that, if the walls of our sacred City are firm and strong, it is, in part, because their foundations were cemented with blood and watered with the dew of human tears. Like war, therefore, or slavery—those *crucis* of ethical science—asceticism has at least a relative value; it is, at its worst, part of the provisional morality by which, and out of which, the higher forms of the spiritual life have been developed. And, if we quit the comparative standard and seek for a more absolute judgment of the thing in itself, fairness will at once shut the doors on any sweeping condemnation. We may speak of it as a piece of exaggeration; but, after all, if it be such, it is an exaggeration of the good, not of the bad—not a *corruptio optimi*, but an excessive endeavour to realize what ought confessedly to be attained—not a falling short, so much as a more excusable overrunning,

of the mark—not a wilful rejection of God's gifts to men, so much as a tacit (and, it may be, not wholly untrue) recognition of the impossibility of making the best of both worlds. We may speak of it as built on a distorted view of man's nature and its right method of training; but the most ardent supporter of the Greek theory of harmonious development has always admitted, for the sake of the general good, some degree of specialization in individuals; and what were the old ascetics but specialists in the moral life, bent on the resolute rejection of the good things of earth in the hope of securing the favour of heaven? It is this spirit, this reality and fire and earnestness, that forces from us an admiration not unmixed with awe and shame. Like Spinoza or Novalis, these men were "*god-intoxicated*." They saw the ruin of the world about them, and fled for refuge into a life of solitude to escape the impending judgment of that God for whom and in whom their every hour was spent. To them the earth was a mere battle-field on which the forces of God and the Devil were for ever fighting: men and women were no more than actors in the great tragedy of sin and goodness. Their struggles were a perpetual proclamation that religion is neither an airy dream nor a casual amusement; that the Christian life is not an easy and shallow thing, that may be lightly undertaken, but a grand and infinite endeavour, calling for a man's utmost devotion and energy. It may be true that their very intensity of emotion ended in reactions; the mechanical law of action and reaction has its moral, as well as its political, analogue; and we all know too well how close together lie our lowest and our highest principles. It may be true that their very introspectiveness defeated its own ends by creating purely imaginary and subjective trials,¹ and by increasing the force of their temptations. And yet whatever deductions we choose to make, we cannot help finding a genuine greatness in men who passed their lives in contemplating the nature of God (as they conceived it), and the transitoriness of earthly things; who saw "the possibility of soul-culture,"² and placed it to the practice of holiness, giving up themselves wholly to God, and sometimes attaining to such sanctity that a distinction at last arose between "ordinary Christian" and "monastic" virtue; who underwent with cheerfulness any suffering rather than yield to sin; who felt that the time given to the body was "for mere necessity's sake,"³ and not for self-indulgence; who helped to create the virtues of purity and simplicity; and whose fine enthusiasm and earnestness of life did so much to spread the spirit of self-sacrifice and to propagate the Christian faith. Even the poor, tortured, deluded Stylites, lifted up in exposure to sun and frost and storm, has a pathetic and solitary grandeur that cannot be overlooked; and as he stands there erect on his lofty pillar,

"A sign betwixt the meadow and the cloud,"⁴

we see in him a sublime testimony to the spirituality of the soul of man.

(*To be concluded.*)

¹ This seems to be the explanation of the Visions of monastic history.

² Mark Pattison, *Sermons* (iv.).

³ Athanasius, *Life of Antony*.

⁴ Tennyson, *Simeon Stylites*.

EARLY CONTACT OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH WITH THE ROMAN WORLD.

No. IV.—CYPRUS AND PISIDIA.

A MIGHTIER MAGIC AND A NOVEL PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

By REV. PROFESSOR H. R. REYNOLDS, D.D.

WHILE the Antiochenes, according to their wont, were amusing themselves harmlessly with the creation of a new nickname for the movement which threatened the order of their beautiful city, Jerusalem was in the throes of a struggle with the loathsome madman who was wielding the destinies and forces of the empire. The terrible threat to introduce a colossal image of himself as the *NUMEN* of the Temple of Herod, led to such a manifestation of inflexible fidelity to the sublime truth of the Hebrew creed, that, for a while, this blasphemous proceeding was arrested. To what extent the Jerusalem Church sympathized with the chiefs of their nation in resisting this bitter humiliation we do not know. Seeing, however, the constituency of the Church, and that a company of priests became obedient to the faith, and noting the fervency of the Christian adherence to the prime truth of the unity of God, it is more than probable that the disciples of Jesus took their part in the struggle and aided the passionate and prolonged resistance to the imperial edict. By this is meant that they helped to accentuate and hurry forward the movement which ultimately terminated the national existence. At all events, while Caligula was with insatiable vanity pursuing this special spite against the Jewish people, they had no heart and no special inducement to persecute the disciples of Jesus. A momentary pause in the agony supervened, and the new society developed its forces, and organized its representatives, working for a while along identical lines with the bulk of the nation. The Apostles themselves had not departed from Jerusalem.

The story of the "*Legatio ad Caesarem*" must also have been heard in the bazaars, synagogues, and palaces of Antioch, and many of the solemn forecasts of prophetic men took their tone from the wild freaks of the imperial madman. The death of Caligula and the advent of Claudius tended to augment every existing tendency in Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem. The name of "Christian" was never adopted by St. Paul. Herod Agrippa II. used the term with ill-concealed scorn (*Acts xxvi. 28*), and when St. Peter, in *1 Peter iv. 16* made use of it, the phrase "suffer as a Christian" implied that it was still an accusation rather than a well-accepted epithet. The Jews, for the reason that the term represented a fusion with themselves which they hated, preferred the designation "Nazarene" or "Galilean." This was the term said to have been adopted on a memorable occasion by the Emperor Julian.

It is not our intention to pursue the story of the Church from *within*, but to endeavour to represent the advent of its various features, as they broke upon the Roman world. Strangely perverted by rumour or utterly ignored, Christianity was confounded with Jewish pride and prejudice, or with

Oriental superstition. Some of its real essence and veritable mission must, nevertheless, have slowly become the talk of the court and the camp, and stirred the stagnant pools of feculence and ignominy which degraded all the centres of power and civilization.

When Herod Agrippa I. received the title of King of the Jews, though he had been the favourite of Caligula, and was possibly mixed up with some of the monstrous devices of his imperial patron, he felt that he must conform to the prejudices and policy of his new subjects, and pretended a special predilection for the customs and observances of the High Church party at Jerusalem.

In these moments of comparative peace, and when the dominant Hellenists of Antioch had almost overpowered and quite outnumbered the Jews who had partially accepted the new title of *Christian*, Herod projected a sharp outbreak of mischievous wrath against the disciples of the Lord. Almost as a bolt out of the blue sky, he had "killed" one of the sons of Zebedee, "James the brother of John with the sword." What it was that gave to James this pre-eminence we may conjecture from the few hints supplied by the synoptic narrative of the fiery intensity of the Boanerges. To the mothers of our Lord and of the Apostle John this martyrdom must have recalled the awful tragedy of earlier days, and the whole of the poverty-stricken society of the metropolis must have been smitten with fear. The foiled intention of Herod to seize and slay the most conspicuous of the twelve Apostles was so closely associated with the blasphemous flattery offered to the king and with his subsequent death, that for a while the restless thirst for vengeance was allayed, and the Roman governor, Cuspius Fadus, if he troubled himself at all with the new movement, might have heard that the famine-struck Nazarenes in Judæa were being aided by the generous contributions of the "Christians" at Antioch. The energy of a new moral force may have arrested his attention, for such benevolences were not too common, so that the phenomenon may have startled him as a novel sign of the times. The liberality and mutual sacrifice of Christians a hundred years later gave edge to the satire of Lucian in his *De morte Peregrini*. Mere sentimental love to man as man is often now the theme of bitter reproach; but when it takes the practical form of self-denial and substantial charity, even the world of to-day admits it to be a "great fact" that has henceforth to be reckoned with. Not only did the wealthy Jews of Antioch make contribution for the poor saints at Jerusalem (as Queen Helena of Adiabene and her son Izates were doing for the sufferers in Judæa during the reign of Claudius), but the "disciples"—Greek and Roman, Tarsian and Cypriote, soldiers of the empire and converted publicans—had been moved with compassion over the depressed condition of the so-called *ecclesia* of the metropolis.

But the organization of the empire was touched by the strange effect produced upon a distinguished proconsul of the island of Cyprus by two strangers who arrived there in the year A.D. 44, in the fifth year of Claudius.

Barnabas and Saul of Tarsus had been the centre of a group of prophetic

men who were directing the activities of the Church at Antioch. Having recently returned from Jerusalem on their mission of benevolence, and tasted the bitterness of the hatred still cherished by the chief representatives of Jewish opinion, their hearts must have yearned to carry the message of life to the "regions beyond." They saw visions, they dreamed dreams. Their love to and yearning over their own people may even then have been intense enough to make them ready to go to prison with Peter or to the scaffold with James, to suffer the loudest and most sweeping anathema, nay, to be "accursed by Christ" Himself for their brethren's sakes, yet they were prepared with more burning fervour still to make known the Person and Word of the Lord to the heathen of the West. Barnabas was a Cypriote, and a Levite, Saul was a Hebrew of Hebrews, and a free-born citizen of Rome, and they must have foreseen that which awaited them if they attempted a propaganda of their faith in the Jew-haunted island of Cyprus, in the cities of the sea-board of Pamphylia, or in the great plateau beyond the passes of the Taurus. Nevertheless, the hand of the Lord was upon them. A strange passion to reveal the open secret forced them on. They had felt the common emotion of the Spiritual Brotherhood in Antioch. A voice which was to them nothing short of that which had led Elijah to show himself to Ahab, or Daniel to confront all the power of Babylon and Persia, or Jeremiah to deliver messages of stern rebuke to the kings and princes of Judah had been heard, and this voice separated them to a special work. They were driven forth of the Spirit to a fierce and fiery temptation, to a work of surpassing difficulty, and one demanding heroic courage and profound conviction. They carried with them the electric thrill which had been communicated to them in the fellowship of believers and brethren of which they became the representatives. No more momentous journey had ever been undertaken by mortal men if we estimate it by its ultimate results. It was the true beginning of the great missionary enthusiasm which has done so much to create the modern world. It was a movement of souls dilated with the sublime hope of shaping the eternal destinies of mankind. It was the beginning also of the long series of agonies by which the work was done. Disappointment, sickness, murderous mobs, physical sufferings, heartrending sorrows, harassed almost every step of the journey.

Barnabas was not only a native of Cyprus, but must have known and participated in the early efforts to diffuse the good tidings in the island, and can scarcely have been ignorant of the zest with which the early converts had begun to preach the Word to Greeks as well as Jews. While Peter was led by vision and heavenly voices to include the Græco-Roman officials of Cæsarea in the society of the early Church, and even to open wide the door of faith to the Gentiles, this spontaneous movement had independently taken place at Antioch, and had been the occasion of the extraordinary accession to the Church which led Barnabas and Saul to the present enterprise.

They landed first of all at the eastern extremity of the island, at what was then called *Salamis*, and for unknown reasons pressed forward through

the mixed population of Egyptians and Cyrenians, of Greeks and Jews, until they reached Neo-Paphos, near the site of the famous and infamous shrine of Aphrodite, and the seat of the Roman Proconsul Sergius Paulus. They found this nobleman ready to listen to their word. Like many another Roman, both sceptical and cynical, he had sought to draw some consolation from the random visits of the wandering *Magi*, Jewish or Oriental, who had grown rich on the credulity of their dupes. It would seem more than probable that Citium in Cyprus was the birthplace of that chief of sorcerers, Simon, whose ideas, whose wild theosophy, whose excitable nature, whose deadly animosity to the faith, casts a deep shadow over the earliest records of Christian history and literature. Elymas or Bar-Jesus was a frequenter of the court of Sergius Paulus, one perhaps of many who, by thaumaturgic arts and pretence of mystery had tried to unroll the book of fate. The secret guilds of these necromancers made popular use of the ancient magical formulæ and ritual which had come down from ancient Assyrian literature. The dignity of these old secrets lent some tinge of respectability to their adepts. Half-physicians, half-wizards, professors of an antique philosophy, and a knowledge of the occult forces of nature, these men were pressed by the universal need for some intelligence issuing from behind the veil of sense transcending reason, some way of securing a surer indication of the purposes of heaven with reference to the issues of life and death. This passion cannot in its origin have been ignoble. Divination is as old as religion. The eager search after some resting-place beyond the sphere of the visible universe has been a constant stimulus of religious observance and theosophic speculation. Not only were *Eastern* faiths upheld by diviners, prognosticators, searchers into the book of fate, but from early times the Etruscans and the Latins had believed that by auguries and sacrifices, by astrological prevision and necromancy, they could unroll the future. The prophets of the Hebrew people had been always confronted by the ranks of these eager rivals of their own claims. They were haunted, and sometimes foiled, by divination, by weird symbols, and the loud proclamations of those who sought to achieve political ends or religious devices of their own. The credulity of men has provoked the false prophet to profess a deeper knowledge than he possessed. The bare assumption that he knew the will of God tempted him to imposture and chicanery, to fresh vaticinations, and to novel methods of compelling confidence. Nor has the practice ever died out, even in the West. A fringe of spiritualists, of those that "peep and mutter" over the dead, of those who profess "second sight," who have secrets to tell to the initiated, has hovered round not only the advancing armies of Christian light, but has even beset the pathway of the scientific students of nature. A full sketch of the history of divination would bring him who could write it face to face with every phase and development of society in every generation and country of Christendom. It is a far cry from Simon of Citium to Montanus, from Montanus to the prophets of Zwickau, from Peregrinus to Paracelsus, from the mysteries of Eleusis to modern theosophy;

yet it is of deep interest to observe that, from the beginnings of Christianity to modern spiritualism, the word of the Lord—the message and secret of Jesus—has challenged the oracles, has overturned the tripod, has burned the instruments of magic and books of the dead; by fair and sometimes by evil methods has cast out the crafts of the witch, and driven the diviner mad. And, strange to say, the thing has been done, and the victory has been won by the demonstrations of a higher Spirit, by the utterance of an “open secret,” by verily rolling back the door of heaven, by a self-evidencing revelation. “That which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, that which hath not entered into the heart of man to conceive, God has revealed unto men by His Spirit.” Consequently, what one might expect, and that which is reported as most credibly true and historic, is that one of the first impressions upon the Græco-Roman world was the conviction wrought in the mind of a man of affairs, the governor of a senatorial province, that a veritable revelation had occurred which could and would satisfy minds that were hungering and panting after a deeper knowledge of unseen things, of Divine purposes, of the future destiny of individuals, of nations, and of the world.

Archdeacon Farrar suggests that the apparent interest in Bar-Jesus on the part of Sergius Paulus was no sign of his weakness or of any lack of intelligence, that Rome was a centre where men of this class congregated, that Marius had trusted the prognostic help of the Jewish Martha, that Tiberius was surrounded, according to Juvenal, “with a herd of Chaldæans on the rock of Capri,” and that Pliny (H. N. xxx, 2, 6) has given an account of two schools of soothsayers at Paphos, to one of which this Bar-Jesus, this Elymas, may well have belonged.

When Sergius Paulus heard of the arrival of the missionaries at Paphos he courted their instructions, and conviction was flashed upon his mind. The spells of the sorcerer were unwound, the enchantment vanished, the vision of God was conveyed to his own inner intelligence. He caught the mighty secret. He believed, and the court favourite was roused to retaliate and to put forth all his power to undo the effect of the teaching of Barnabas and Saul. This was a moment of typical character in the history of the Church of God. The holy wrath of Saul (who is also called Paul) flamed up in a vigorous outburst, as he saw efforts made to shut the golden gate, and to turn away the proconsul from the faith. The issue was that the prediction of Paul was verified. The sorcerer fell into a swoon of darkness, and was led away blinded from the presence of his master. When Sergius Paulus saw what had happened, he believed, being overwhelmed at the teaching concerning the Lord.

Again and again the like scenes occurred at Ephesus and Philippi. The heathen world of Eastern Europe was touched, and in many respects convinced, that as the secret of the Lord became known to men the whole army of conjurors, tricksters, traffickers with mysteries, nay, even the hierophants of tremendous initiation, and the merchants who grew rich upon these impostures, was broken up, and often with wild imprecations of

vengeance. The same conflict has occurred in many forms, and a thousand times, since that day. When the Emperor Julian, during his brief but marvellous occupancy of the throne of Constantine, endeavoured to rehabilitate the "mysteries" and to renew the revolting rites of the ancient worship, and even to invest the heathen hierarchy with some of the garments and functions of the Christian Presbyter, the failure was absolute. "The Galilean conquered." The veil of the temple of Jehovah had been rent in twain, and the veil of Isis too; the cloud that rested upon the grave had been lifted; the mighty magic of the Cross, notwithstanding all the attraction of the prince of this world, was drawing all men to Jesus. Doubtless the Christian faith must have assumed the character of a species of mysticism, and been unintelligible to those who took no heed of its promises, and made no serious attempt to understand the breadth of its revelations, or to accept its blending of mercy and judgment, or to credit the historic facts by which the height and depth of the love of God had been guaranteed. That could only come with time. Roman society from end to end felt that another superstition had been added to the crude and beguiling follies which afflicted it. Its very origin discounted its value, but the rumour that it was spreading like wild-fire in the great cities of Antioch, Alexandria, and Ephesus, and still further was leading to outbreak in the metropolis of the world, is well authenticated in the pages of Roman historians.

Like all great revelations of unseen realities, it has run the career incident to human nature. On the one hand, it has itself put on the character of a dangerous and perhaps licentious fanaticism; it has assumed a knowledge which it could not sustain; it has gathered into its train, like a gigantic comet, other meteoric and similar materials, illusions as well as indubitable facts, and has led to strange Gnostic speculation and magical practices, which in their licence and extravagance have rushed to their own ruin as well as to the defamation of Christianity. On the other hand, the Divine revelation has been stereotyped, or crystallized into form and ceremony, into hard dogmatisms or vulgar hierarchical claims, so that through the entire history of Christianity the grand elements of the revelation given in Christ could only reassert themselves in mighty movements of irresistible conviction, resembling the superb outbursts of enthusiasm which for a while swept over the communities of Jerusalem and Antioch.

As previously stated, the present series of meditations is no attempt to produce an historical sketch of the progress of the new movement through the provinces of the Roman Empire, or of the growth of Christian doctrine, or the development of the Christian Church, but rather to look at the character which these tendencies assumed in their earliest stages as viewed from without and by Græco-Roman society.

The interesting historical and geographical questions raised by M. Renan, and more recently by Prof. Ramsay, touching the real site of the Galatian Churches, whose petulant and fickle character led to one of the

most notable and authentic documents of the Christian faith, must be left on one side for the present. All Biblical students eagerly await the publication of Prof. Ramsay's forthcoming work.

If the first missionary journey of St. Paul, as described in Acts xiii. and xiv., represents the founding of the Galatian Churches, a fresh gleam of light is thrown upon a considerable portion of the New Testament. So far, the transference of St. Paul's zeal from Cyprus to the great plateau beyond the Taurus range seems to fit with startling propriety sundry references in the four great Epistles of the Apostle of the Gentiles. The visits to Antioch, Lystra, and Derbe, with their dramatic incidents and their revelations of apostolic wisdom, fervour, and courage, brought into view a schism between two sections of those who were alike ready at first to accept St. Paul's interpretation of the old covenant. But the Jews who were prepared to admit the Messiahship of the Lord Jesus "contradicted and blasphemed" the position that a Messianic benediction could be offered freely to the world at large, independently of ceremonial rite or devotion to the national ideal of the Jew. The conflict produced very notable effects on the Christian society, dominated the movements of the Apostles, and produced tendencies which reveal themselves in sub-apostolic literature.

Many efforts have been made by modern critics to transfer the sentiments of the second century, as displayed in the Clementine literature, back into the first century, and to account for the records of the activity of Paul, Peter, James, and John, on the supposition of the rooted antagonism of feeling that divided the great Apostles from one another. It has been supposed that some of the most valuable documents of the New Testament—the Acts, the later Epistles of Paul—were written in the close of the second century in order to hush up, ignore, and hide the antagonism that had divided Paul and the Jerusalem Apostles, but which at last had been subdued; and that the Johannine literature was a final effort to represent the inner union of the contending factions in a mystical philosophy and a Catholic Church. In my opinion, the supposed contrast between the three Apostles is misleading, and that Paul was as deeply rooted a Hebrew as either Peter or John, and even more of a mystic than the beloved Apostle.

I do not profess in this place to handle the controversy, nor to adduce the strong reasons that exist for believing that St. John's contribution to the literature of Christianity dates from a far earlier period than is compatible with the theory of the Tübingen schools. Nor will it be necessary to defend the general trustworthiness of the historical details of "the Acts." Let us rather observe how the Roman world, step by step, was compelled to recognize a new fact and a potent influence which it could not bend to its will. We see that Roman governors minimized for a time the whole contest between Jews and Christians, as well as between Jewish and Gentile believers, as turning upon a difference of opinion about what was supposed to be a very petty matter of fact, *e.g.*, that Paul affirmed to be alive a Man whom his enemies averred had been crucified.

No great matter or movement could, as they thought, emerge out of a craze of that description, and frequently the Roman authorities threw the shield of imperial protection over the advocate of such a harmless puerility. But the gist and pith of Paul's teaching in Pisidia, one which led to violent commotion and perilous positions for this unwelcome stranger, but whom they, the magistrates, must in the end have protected from further insult, was nothing less than a new philosophy of history and a new conception of the Godhead. Some of the following notions must (perhaps in a perverted form) have been discussed in the busy centres of the commercial, military, and civil activity of these prosperous highlands.

1. That the Godhead was living and beneficent, universal and one, the Source of all things, the Giver of all good; that all nature contained the signs of His presence; and that the daily and yearly routine of light and shadow, winter and summer, dearth and fruitful seasons, were continuous witness of His wise and gracious Providence. These were positions which would make a favourable impression upon the governing classes, and might be referred by them to the higher teaching of the philosophic schools. But when on the faith of such fundamental ideas the strangers did not scruple to denounce the sacrificial worship of the popular mythology and all idolatrous practices, even though it might have resulted in great gain and reputation and respect to themselves, the presence of a new power betrayed itself. Even the stoning of the unknown prophets was rather a welcome diversion, likely to strike as they hoped a little sense and expediency into their Jewish zealotry. From their standpoint, the new school, or clique of strangers, was making the Jewish quarter of the cities more than usually objectionable, and raising in the minds of the authorities a fear lest a propaganda of iconoclastic ideas and practices might arise which would give serious trouble and anxiety to those who had the responsibility of keeping the peace. Novelty in the presentation of fundamental ideas of God is the harbinger of social changes, and often the pioneer of political insubordination. As long as ideas resembling the philosophical opinions of certain sections of Græco-Roman society were simply national and tribal in their range, as long as *Henotheism* was a Hebrew badge, it was allowed to pursue its course unchecked; but when a pure monotheism, the oneness or solity, the righteousness and power of the Eternal, was preached to subjects of the empire as the basis of all ethic, and the ground of all hope, to Greek and Lycaonian, to Celt and Roman, carrying with it the repudiation of ancient traditions and immemorial custom, alarm took the place of indifference, and inquiry and legislation, or cruel edicts, were sure to follow. The temple worship, the profitable guilds, and traffic were at stake; a new power was honey-combing society, and a certain obvious criticism played over the face of the populace, now emancipated from time-honoured superstitions, as they watched the Prætor or Proconsul patronize an idolatrous *fête*. It was no unnatural that the teachings and the teachers of this brotherhood should be carefully watched, and that they should be spoken of in Macedonia as men who were turning the world upside down.

2. This, however, was not the whole of the novelty. On several occasions the most prominent advocates of the new faith were propounding a *new philosophy* or *rationale* not only of the daily routine of nature, but of the entire *procession of history*. The great historians from Herodotus and Thucydides to Livy and Tacitus set forth the succession of historic events in the form of a natural evolution of political or constitutional changes, or a series of surprises and disappointments, or a posy of charming anecdotes, or an impeachment of depraved but sovereign masters of the world, or a sketch of the inexplicable conflict between the immortal powers whose contradictory caprices were imaged in human affairs and national destinies. It would be easy to cull from the current historical literature a masterly exposure of incompetence and blind folly, pathetic climaxes of vanity and presumption ending in catastrophe, or cunning and bravery overcoming terrible odds; and more than this, old legends of the prehistoric ages had been dressed up in sumptuous poetry and with consummate art to indicate the haunting consequences of sin, and trace the blending of supernatural fate with the free-will of man, forcing upon a doomed family not only punishment, but the grim necessity of committing the very sins which called for tragic doom. But the entire historic sense must have been stirred by the intense conviction shared amongst the first preachers of the new faith, that the succession of events through a lengthened past was one continuous preparation of an elect people to receive the most transcendent privilege and sublime heritage, and to offer it to the world at large. Paul and Barnabas at Antioch, as Stephen before the Council, and as Peter on the day of Pentecost and other occasions, claimed with convincing power to prove that the history of Israel was the womb in which was carried the destiny of all the nations; that the transcendental facts of which they were witnesses were the foreseen and culminating goal not only of their own national career, but of all history and all people; that prophetic men always fell victims to their own call and to their own commerce with the infinite, and were but partially understood, but that through all the stiff-neckedness and the calamities of the sacred race the same advancing plan of the Eternal had emerged more and more into view, until the deepest tragedy of all had become not only a message of mercy to them, but the provision for all men of a salvation from sin and death.

The very lesson which they pressed first upon the Jew and then upon the Roman was a word meant for every individual of the human race. It would not escape the keen intelligence of the governing classes of Rome in its provinces that while the pressure of Roman conquest, and the construction of the outlying and subsidized principedoms, brought their anticipation up to the dead blank wall of a world-wide organization, it could not penetrate for the moment into the future of this huge order of things, and that it took the very smallest account of the individual, and had no faith whatever about such future: yet that in these new voices was a recognition of the future of the soul. They must have heard that the true explanation even of the conflicts between the Hellenes and the Persians, between the

kingdoms into which the dominions of Alexander had broken up, and between Rome and her province of Judæa had all been anticipated, and were hurrying on the crisis of the world's history, a new heaven and a new earth. They must have found it to be a matter of faith that the goal of the entire history, even of Rome itself, and that the destiny of all nations had converged upon an event which had rolled back the heavy curtains of this world's fate, and was diffusing itself as a new source of joy and fellowship. This linking of the generations; this supposed fulfilment of often-repeated promises; this interpretation, not only of Solomon's temple, but that of Zeus, of Artemis, and of Pallas-Athene; this meaning, now first given to the functions of all kingly, prophetic, and priestly men, was doubtless in their opinion the wildest dream and, for a time, a preposterous superstition; but, nevertheless, wherever it travelled, it laid hold of susceptible minds, of cultivated women, of "holy and humble men of heart." At all events, we cannot be far wrong in the conclusion that such an effect upon Græco-Roman minds must have been one of the earliest impressions which the world received concerning the new faith. Men and women said to each other, Here, at least, is a plausible solution of the riddle of the past; here is the *dénouement* for which we and our fathers have been striving; here is the end of one vast æon of humanity, and the absolute beginning of a new world. Birth is an agony and a fear to the travailing woman. So great a transition of thought from the womb of the past to the free life of the future is often accompanied with the blended cry of both the mother and her child; but when the cry of pain is over, both can exult—each will forget the anguish in the deeper joy.

In this nineteenth century there has been a frequent flutter when some audacious theory of the universe has been proposed which has threatened to make itself the goal and the summation of all previous attempts to unriddle the mysteries of thought and civilization. The pompous claim of Auguste Comte to have linked all facts and laws of nature, all the progress of allied and successive civilizations, religions and philosophies, all races of men, all great tendencies of mankind by one evolutionary method into the construction of a humanity conscious of itself, and supplying to all the individuals of which it was composed a sufficient object of worship and a real organon of society, with Paris as its metropolis, and himself as the founder of the absolute religion, created a sensible disturbance in the *salons* of Paris, Berlin, and London. Its audacity, its comprehensiveness, its subtle utilization of the past, its prophecies of the future, held many fine minds captive, and led superior persons in the chief centres of European thought to watch the progress of the speculation "with bated breath."

That huge speculation has vanished into the mystic shadows where the Republic of Plato, the New Atlantis, the Leviathan of Hobbes, the New Jerusalem of Swedenborg, and a thousand other dreams faintly contend for the mastery; but the conception of the end of history, and the meaning of its successive stages, and its stupendous appeal to the individual conscience, with its superb constructive power and organizing force, its beneficent

influence upon all sorts and conditions of men has outlived Roman imperial system, Grecian wisdom, poetry, and art, has survived the most stupendous changes brought about by science and art, war and culture, feudalism and the Revolution, and, spite of the spasms of hatred and ecstasies of scorn, does at this moment hold in its hand the keys of both worlds.

CURRENT AMERICAN THOUGHT.

THE FEDERAL HUMANITY AND UNIVERSAL MEDIATION OF THE CHRIST. By Rev. WM. RUPP, D.D. (*The Reformed Quarterly Review*).—The manhood of the Christ, which is the medium of all Divine activity among men, is not merely that of a particular man among others of his kind. He is the central, the universal man, the Second or Last Adam, in whom the human race has its real bond of union. "The human race is not merely a mass of disconnected individuals, but an organism of which Christ is the all-embracing, all-sustaining centre." But Christ is not only the head and crown of humanity, He is also, in one sense, its beginning. The end of any organic process, whether it be in nature or history, must always be regarded as the organic and controlling idea of the process; just as the workman's conception of the end to be accomplished is the directing idea of the work which he performs. If humanity be more than the mere chance-product of the blind self-evolution of an unconscious world-process, then we must recognize in the unfolding life of humanity the presence of a great governing vitalizing idea; and this is the idea of the Christ. We cannot conceive it as ever a mere abstraction of the Divine mind. Divine ideas are always realities, and the creative, organic idea in humanity—the idea which lies at the root of every man's being, determining both his own peculiar nature and his relations to the whole, must be an essential form or subsistence of the Divine personality itself, or, in other words, a Divine person; and this Divine person is the Eternal Christ, the Logos of St. John's Gospel; of the thought of which the *Sophia* of the books of Proverbs and of Wisdom was a vague anticipation and prophecy.

According to St. John, the Logos, who is God, and yet distinct from God, is the medium of every Divine creation. To men He stands not merely in the relation of creator and life-giver, but also in that of illuminator. "In Him was life, and the life was the light of men." The light shining in reason and conscience. The early fathers held that the heathen, even in pre-Christian times, were in some real way related to Christ. But if we grant that all men, of all times and places, stand in some relation to the eternal creative Logos, does this imply that they are in any essential relation to Christ, the incarnate Logos? The answer depends on our conception of the relation between the eternal Divine Logos and the man Christ Jesus. Is this relation eternal and necessary, or temporary and accidental? The Word became flesh, but does this imply that He became something essentially other than He was before? God cannot become anything for which there is no aptitude or pre-determination in His eternal being. When the Logos becomes man, He does not become anything that previously was foreign to His nature. The state of being man must be an eternal disposition or mode of being in the Divine Logos. "Godhood and manhood are not contradictory entities mutually incompatible, and capable of exist-

ing only side by side with each other, but they must be conceived as ideally and essentially one in the constitution of the Eternal Logos, who in the fulness of time became incarnate and was made man. And this becoming incarnate was a *temporal* act only as viewed from our present human standpoint. As viewed from the Divine standpoint it is an *eternal* act—an act that is wholly above and apart from time. The historical human Christ is but the temporal manifestation of an eternal ideal Christ.

The conception of the eternal ideal humanity of Christ helps to explain the constitution of Christ's Person, and the relation to each other of the attributes of the Divine and human natures which co-exist in Him. The difficulty in the doctrine of the Incarnation is to hold fast the idea of the unity of person along with that of the duality of natures. This difficulty theologians have sought to remove by asserting the impersonality of Christ's human nature. But personality is necessary to the integrity of human nature; and an impersonal human nature would be human nature devoid of its most distinguishing characteristic. Still, the question may be asked, What is it that makes the human individual a person? "It is the personality of the creative Divine Logos, by whose action in humanity, conditioned by the natural process of generation, a physico-psychical basis is produced, out of which the proper human self or person, with all its mental and moral qualities, raises itself by its own spontaneous effort. The developed personality can contain no more than is originally involved, in the way of potentiality, in the physico-psychical basis or germ; and that germ cannot have its origin in impersonal matter, or in nothing (*nihilo*), but only in the life of the personal creative Logos. The Logos, therefore, is in a most real sense the root of every human person; and every human person is, consequently a relative manifestation, or resounding (*personare*) of the creative Logos in human nature."

"Through an extraordinary creative agency of the Divine Logos at a certain point in the life of humanity, a physico-psychical being is produced, from which there arises a personality that is progressively one with the personality of the Logos. This is the personality of Jesus, who, therefore, is the Son of God in a pre-eminent sense that applies to Him alone." The conception of the oneness of the real Christ with the eternal or ideal Christ in the Divine being enables us to understand the relation to each other of the attributes of the Divine and human natures in His person. If the human nature which the Logos assumed was something absolutely foreign to the nature in which He existed before, it is impossible to conceive of the Incarnation without doing violence to either nature concerned. But the two natures as united in Christ are homogeneous. The author endeavours to support this view by passages from the Pauline epistles.

If the idea of Christ is an eternal predetermination in the Divine essence, of which the historical Christ is but the temporal manifestation, then this manifestation could not have been conditioned as a reality by any accidental circumstance in the history of the world. The Incarnation was not called for simply by the fact of sin; it has its ground of necessity in the essential nature of God, and in the essential nature of the world as determined by the eternal will of God. Quite apart from sin, the Man Christ Jesus is the Mediator between God and men. All men are constitutionally related to God in Christ, and without Christ they sustain no relation to God at all. The idea of universal headship is distinctly implied in the designation of Him as the Last Adam.

But has not this constitutional relation of humanity to Christ been dissolved by the occurrence of sin? It is held by some that the Adamic race is totally sundered

from God, totally depraved, totally dead in sin, the object of Divine wrath, and under sentence of eternal damnation. Christ as Last Adam is the head of a new race, which consists of some of the old race reborn and recreated. This Augustinian view is now happily left behind by the more advanced Christological theology of to-day. This makes Christ central in the actual constitution of humanity. It affirms that men's essential relation to the Christ is original, constitutional, and permanent. This relation could be disturbed and obscured by the entrance of sin; but it could not be annihilated without annihilating man himself. There is in man a perverse moral tendency, but there are limits to it, and counteracting tendencies, manifesting the presence of an incorruptible moral power. There is a sense of God in all men; it is the light of the eternal Christ shining in the darkness, and shining in spite of the tendency of that darkness to suppress it. Pelagius was right when he asserted that there is in man some real moral ability, some ability for good; but he was wrong in supposing that this moral ability resides in human nature considered apart from its constitutional relation to God in Christ. The doctrine of a limited atonement is the most natural outcome of this Christless conception of humanity. Those theologians have not been mistaken who, like Clement of Alexandria and Origen in ancient, and Erskine, Robertson, and Maurice in modern times, have emphasized the idea of an indissoluble essential relation of all men to God in Christ—a relation obscured indeed, but not broken by sin, and involving in itself the possibility and principle of salvation from sin. Man as man is the child of God, and this relationship holds in and through the eternal Christ.

The realization of the possibilities involved in the Divine constitution of a human being is not a spontaneous or natural, but a moral and spiritual process. In order to become Christian it is necessary that the soul should come into a direct moral or personal relation to Christ; and in order to this it is required that the Christ be presented outwardly by means of the Gospel, and inwardly through the Spirit. Christ's essential mediation must become a mediation in the Spirit, and the essential relation between Him and the soul must be transformed into a spiritual relation. The Holy Spirit is the medium through which the saving life-giving energy of Christ is brought to bear upon the spirit of man, in order to the subjective realization of the objective redemption of humanity in Christ.

The Spirit is the principle of self-consciousness, in God as well as in man—the principle of actual personality. Spirit in general may be defined as the identity of subject and object, or of thought and existence. God is revealed to Himself in the Spirit. In the Logos the Divine essence objectifies, images, and expresses itself; in the Spirit the same essence apperceives itself, looks through itself in that objective image, and thus knows itself. These three factors in the eternal essence of God—subject, object, and identity of both—are three distinct subsistences, and are named in theology Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The Spirit is also the revealer of God to all other selves outside of God, but He acts in union with the other subsistences in the Godhead. "For these subsistences are not three Gods, but three determinations or modes of one Divine Being." The complete activity of the Holy Spirit became possible only after the ethical completion of the person of Christ, or after the complete historical expression of the Divine Being and character in human nature. The Spirit could only come after Christ was glorified.

But man is the image of God, and there was in humanity from the beginning an essential expression of the Eternal Word; and in so far there was the possibility also of a revealing, completing, perfecting activity of the Holy Spirit among men. Essentially and potentially Christ was in humanity from the beginning, and the

formal actualization of life-germs in nature came to pass through the agency of the Holy Spirit. Christ was conceived by the Holy Spirit; He was filled with the Spirit; He offered Himself in the Eternal Spirit; and, having been put to death, He was quickened in the Spirit. And now, the moral realization of the Christ in the individual human soul, that is, the appropriation of His character by means of personal union with Him, is brought to pass likewise through the agency of the Holy Spirit. Salvation means essentially the realization of moral likeness to God, or the actualization of the Divine image in the human soul. And for this men must become spiritually related to Christ.

Those are in error who hold that the presence of the essential Christ in human nature, and the universal activity of the Holy Spirit, are sufficient for salvation, even without the testimony of the Gospel. If the simple fact of the universal immanence of Christ in humanity, as the cause of the light shining in reason and conscience, were sufficient for the salvation of individuals now, then it would seem that it should have been sufficient also for the same purpose previous to the actual occurrence of the Incarnation; or else we must assume some presentation of Christ to the acceptance of every man before his doom is finally fixed.

The Church is the sphere in which Christ in the Spirit now exercises His mediatorial office among men for their salvation. The author thus describes the work of the Spirit as we can now recognize and trace it. "By an impact of the Spirit of Christ upon the soul, at the essential centre of its being, back of all consciousness, it is quickened into that spiritual life which its original constitution in Christ properly implied and demands. It is only this touch of the Spirit of Christ that brings out the soul's true nature, and without this it can, therefore, never be truly itself. In developing a Christian personality it unfolds itself according to its original idea and constitution in Christ.

SAUL'S EXPERIENCE ON THE WAY TO DAMASCUS. BY Prof. ERNEST D. BURTON, Univ. of Chicago (*The Biblical World*).—Whatever may have been the actual facts of this incident, Saul ever afterward believed that at this time he received indubitable evidence that Jesus of Nazareth had risen from the dead. To understand the nature of the change wrought in Saul by this experience, we must understand what sort of a man Saul was before he passed through it. 1. He was a man of profound moral earnestness. He was always intense. Earnestness did not begin with his conversion. 2. He was an earnest seeker after righteousness. "It would seem as if our Lord's blessing on those who hunger and thirst after righteousness could have been pronounced on Saul before his conversion." 3. The method by which he sought to attain righteousness was a strict obedience to the law as interpreted by the Pharisees. By his expression "righteousness which is in the law," Paul means not merely a righteousness which realizes the law's ideal, but something both more and less than that, viz., a righteousness which is attained, so far as attained at all, by a self-reliant effort to obey the law. Law stands in Paul's vocabulary for that method of life according to which a man sets before himself what he conceives to be the demands of God, and gives himself to the endeavour to attain right character, and so to earn Divine approval as a thing deserved at God's hand. Righteousness thus acquired, and in so far as it is thus acquired, is by its very nature self-righteousness. The cherishing of this conception of righteousness as something to be attained only on a basis of law and of merit would inevitably be a serious obstacle to a hearty acceptance of Jesus, or would become so the moment the real spirit and teaching of Jesus were understood. "The very spirit of humility and lowliness of mind which Jesus

exemplified and inculcated were calculated to repel one who had not only accepted as a dogma the Pharisaic idea of self-acquired righteousness, but had become imbued with the self-sufficient spirit likely to be cultivated by the holding of this dogma. 4. Saul had, before he became a Christian, attained as nearly perfect success in his effort to become righteous as under this method was possible. 5. His persecution of the Christians was in some sense conscientious (Acts xxvi. 9). His own statements concerning it show us a man of profound moral earnestness pursuing a course of bitter persecution of the Christians under the stress of a sincere conviction of duty. 6. Despite his success in attaining the righteousness that is in the law, despite his conscientiousness in persecuting the Christians, Saul was not wholly at ease. The words "It is hard for thee to kick against the goads" imply three things: that Saul was at this time subject to certain influences tending to turn him from the course which he had chosen; that he was resisting those influences; that such resistance involved some struggle on his part. Probably in his life as a Pharisee he was, at times at least, and probably with increasing frequency and intensity, greatly dissatisfied with his general moral condition. "The passages in his epistles in which he speaks with such emphasis and feeling of the unhappy condition of men under the law must certainly reflect his personal experience, even if they were not based wholly upon that experience." "It was then a conscientious and upright man, ill at ease with himself, who rode from Jerusalem to Damascus to persecute the Christians; haunted perhaps by vague doubts which he could not wholly suppress respecting the rightfulness of this very mission, certainly dissatisfied at times with all his success as a Pharisee, painfully aware that his highest success was after all a failure."

7. Up to the time that he met Jesus in the road leading to Damascus, Saul had not believed in a Messiah who was to suffer and rise again. The evidence outside of the New Testament seems to fall short of proving that a suffering Messiah was looked for by the Jews of Jesus' day. From the point of view of the Pharisaic dogmatics, it was impossible to accept Jesus as the Messiah. The argument against Him was short and easy. The Messiah does not die, still less does He die rejected by His own nation. Jesus did die thus rejected; therefore Jesus is not the Messiah. With this was necessarily connected the denial of the resurrection of Jesus. That denial did not rest on any opposition to the general doctrine of resurrection, but on unwillingness to admit that one regarded as an impostor could have received such a Divine attestation. Both Jews and Christians thought the resurrection of Jesus, if it was a fact, would be proof of His Messianic claims. This appears in the anxiety of the Jews to disprove the fact, and in the anxiety of the Christians to keep it ever in view. Denying the doctrine of a suffering Messiah led, since Jesus had died, to the denial of His Messiahship. Denial of His Messiahship necessarily involved the denial of His resurrection, since His resurrection would have been a Divine attestation of this Messianic claim.

"There is no direct evidence that Paul felt any hostility to the personal character of Jesus. His profound moral earnestness, his eager quest after righteousness, and the readiness with which he accepted Christ when once the dogmatic obstacles to faith were broken down, lead us to believe that he would have been strongly attracted by the character of Jesus." Righteousness, in the sense of character acceptable to God, was still for him the great thought of life. There was an antagonism between the character of Jesus and the ideals of Saul created by the lowliness of Jesus and the spirit of Pharisaic self-sufficiency. But possibly in this there was a marked difference between Saul and his fellow-Pharisees.

There were four obstacles to Paul's acceptance of Jesus, two intellectual and two moral. 1. He could not believe in a rejected and suffering Messiah. 2. He believed in righteousness obtainable by obedience to the law. 3. He was seeking for righteousness in his own strength. 4. He was resisting the evidence and the influences tending to show that his present course was wrong. On the other hand, his moral advantages were: (1) his moral earnestness; (2) his eager desire to be righteous before God, and his freedom from vice and empty formalism; and (3) his dissatisfaction with his old life and inward unrest. The question for consideration is, How would such a man be affected by the Damascus experience? It is certain that Paul thought he then actually saw Jesus Christ. This at once overthrew his first intellectual obstacle to the acceptance of Jesus. To see the risen and glorified Jesus is to be compelled to accept the fact of His resurrection. To accept the fact of His resurrection is to acknowledge His Messiahship. It does not remove the difficulty of a suffering Messiah; it simply overwhelms all objections by the superior might of the argument of the visible appearance of Jesus of Nazareth. And it is not less important to see that it at once demolished Paul's confidence in the righteousness that is attainable by law. "In one blow the whole structure of self-acquired righteousness is overthrown. He is himself the consummate flower of Pharisaism, the highest product of righteousness attainable under the system of law, and yet it is revealed in this revelation of Jesus Christ that he has been fighting against God Himself." The very perfection of Saul's obedience to the law before his conversion was an important element in this new conviction. He may not have realized at once all that was involved in the overthrow of his former view. But all his subsequent theology is but the unfolding of the logical consequences of the discovery which, as in a flash of lightning, he made when he was smitten down as he approached Damascus.

We further inquire what effect the epiphany of Jesus had upon the moral obstacles which stood in the way of Saul's acceptance of Him as the Messiah and his Saviour. His seeking of righteousness by his own strength, dependence on law as against faith, could remain after the demonstration of the futility of the method only by obstinate resistance to evident duty. He had been resisting evidence; here is overwhelming evidence. He had been deceived by the darkness of his own soul, but here is light. The change in him is one of profound moral significance. The spirit of self-dependence bars God out of the soul. Faith opens the door to God, and brings light and hope where before were failure and anguish. In Phil. iii. 4-9 Paul describes his conversion as an abandonment of the principle of righteousness, and the acceptance of faith instead thereof.

But it may be said that, seeing righteousness was already the supreme object of his endeavour, the absence of faith could not be a fatal defect. Does the coupling of the spirit of self-dependence to the eager desire to be righteous fatally vitiate it? Or does the existence of the sincere desire to be righteous show that faith is already germinally present? It must be granted that, as the New Testament teaches, faith is the only right, in the end the only successful, method of attaining righteousness. But if righteousness is really the supreme desire of the soul, in this desire there is latent the true method of attaining it, viz., faith. On the other hand, the absence or repudiation of faith is the index of the fact that the desire for righteousness is not supreme; that the soul desires righteousness indeed, but desires it subject to the condition that it shall be wrought out in self-dependence. And this is to make self supreme, not righteousness. If we conceive Paul as making the self-effort supreme, then his acceptance of Jesus by faith was at the same time the supreme choice of righteousness. In the one act he elected the only right object of endeavour and the

only successful way of its attainment. Paul always speaks as if the difference between righteousness by law and righteousness by faith was for those to whom he wrote fundamental. "We are almost driven to say that if he had before his Damascus experience made such choice of righteousness as that his attitude towards God was already fundamentally right, and his conversion a change of opinion rather than of heart, he himself never discovered the fact." Surely the conversion was one in the deepest sense of the term—a choice of righteousness and a surrender to God through faith in Christ; an act fundamentally changing his attitude toward God and fundamentally affecting his character.

MAN'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR HIS BELIEFS. By G. R. W. SCOTT, D.D., Brookline, Mass. (*Christian Thought*).—Man is a creature of God; but matter is also God's creation. The two, however, differ. Matter obeys a law; but man's action is not due to a law which must be implicitly obeyed. Man is created a free moral agent. He has the endowments of self-consciousness, conscience, reason, choice, and will. He is, as is matter, connected with a law, but as a steward, not as a tool; he is bound, but not necessitated, to obey it. There is a moral obligation, but no imperative and abstract necessity determining his action. A free agent is one who, according to the teachings of his reason, can adopt or not adopt a line of action presented. He has power to choose between different motives and impulses which call for action. This is essential to constitute moral action, and consequent responsibility. Responsibility denotes answerableness (*respondeo*), and intimates power to discharge obligation. Belief includes that which has moral character—that which demands choice, reason, affection, and will. Is man, then, responsible for his beliefs? Acts are the logical results of beliefs. A man is and does what he believes. If one is responsible for his beliefs, he is by consequence responsible for his acts.

1. Responsibility for beliefs is taught by nature. When her laws are violated, penalties are inflicted. Nature is inexorable in her demands; and deals with man as a responsible being of some kind. The scientist and poet, both students of nature, though approaching her for different ends, agree in saying that she deals out severest justice to any rebel in her realm, while upon the loyal she bestows her sweet embraces. 2. Law, as crystallized by government, teaches in clearest language that man is responsible for his acts, for his *intent*s, as traced back from the act or the attempt. Our legislation, laws, courts, and jails are all founded upon the belief that man is responsible for his acts, and therefore his beliefs. Responsibility is at the very basis of morals. It is in the very nature of things. Out of it sprang laws and all restraints. Law, as well as nature, does not excuse man when he acts contrary to it, because the criminal considers vice and virtue a peculiar arrangement of matter, and that he has nothing more to do with the one or the other than with the size of his frame or the colour of his hair. Legislation looks not alone at the external act, but at the motive of the agent. The intention defines the act, and puts it in the proper category. The intention involves freedom. Dr. Scott sums up the matter thus: "No freedom, no responsibility; no responsibility, no obligation; no obligation, no sense of duty; no sense of duty, no morality; no morality, no distinction between right and wrong."

Looking at man himself, is not responsibility for belief and act the very part of the nature bestowed upon him? By experience we find that good and right actions fit best in man's constitution, that they tend to man's happiness and harmony, and that they are in agreement with the thought of a God. The idea of God is a necessity of thought. Man is so constituted that he demands some self-existent Being. Human reason recognizes a higher reason. The pronoun I has wrapped up in it that from

which comes the idea of moral obligation. This conscious personality it is which differentiates man from all other animals. Man knows he is a self-determining being, that he has reason, affection, intuition of universal principles, power of choice, and also of unifying knowledge, freedom of will, a moral and religious nature, and the capacity of knowing and loving God. These are the constants of human consciousness. Man knows he has the primary conditions of responsibility. This is the testimony of experience, the universal belief of civilized men. When consciousness rises to moral law, conscience shows itself. Man, there, recognizes more distinctly authority, which to him is a grand source of moral obligation. The Divine will proclaims through conscience the eternal law of right, and places obligation upon man. Duty rises so plainly, and presses so closely, that it is recognized as an integral part of man's constitution. It is even recognized by those who deny any *ought*, when they tell us we *ought not* to recognize the sense of duty. The untutored savage recognizes the close relation of knowledge and light to responsibility.

Choice, wherever the freedom of the will is expressed, is somewhat different from volition, the executive power. An animal has volitions, but makes, we believe, no choices. An animal is compelled by instincts and impulses, but man is impelled by motives. Man's volitions are the logical outcome of his choices, and by consequence he feels that he is responsible for what is wrong in his volitions. He is conscious of bringing the will into exercise, of forming his beliefs. For the proper employ of the will, which is under his control, man is responsible. The will is not in bondage to temptations or motives that it *must* fall. If it fall, it is the result of choice and not of compulsion. We fully admit the strength of lower impulses, and also that there are modifications of responsibility so far as character is influenced by conditions determined by a higher power, and so far as action results from habits or tendencies, independent of choice, and which have not come into the realm of the will; but it is also seen that man has the power, within limits, of modifying his character, and so far as this power extends is he responsible for the modifications. We may say, then, that the complex constitution of man, as well as nature and law, holds man responsible alike for his beliefs and his acts.

Now, the appeal may be made to God's Word, what is its message in reference to man's responsibility? The Bible supplies man's illuminated reason, the demands of true philosophy, in naming One who controls all things, even the disorder of a sinful world, in giving One who will enforce the laws of right, and meet the demands of justice; but, going farther, in presenting One who can overcome evil by good, and restore man to himself, his fellow-men, and to his God. The Bible gives us explicit testimony in reference to man's responsibility for his beliefs. It is the eternal enemy of any form of pantheistic philosophy. It has nothing to do with such immanence as makes duty, truth, obligation, purity, evanescent. It tells even the pagan world that it is responsible for its beliefs. It judges the heathen by the light and knowledge received. It tells man that God, as the moral Governor of the universe, knows our secret thoughts, and can judge our opinions and beliefs. It declares that belief in God is a duty, and unbelief a sin. It attaches moral character to belief and unbelief; and its language in respect of these things is in agreement with the principles of true philosophy. Man is responsible for his beliefs, and acts because nothing unreasonable is demanded of him.

A man's habits influence opinion. If a man blink his moral sight by sin of any kind, such an immoral bandaging will blind the intellect. When the heart is corrupted the mind becomes perverted. Is he, *then*, no longer responsible for his belief? Observe that it is not lack of evidence but of will which has made him what

he is, and that will is under the control of perverted affections. Even the pagan and the imbruted know more than they put in practice, and are thus guilty before God.

Man is no mere machine, with no will and no faculty of choice, but a being of great importance in the sight of God, because made in His likeness. God has entrusted to him great concerns. Upon his faithfulness depends, in great measure, the progress of the world. To him is given work which is for the glory of God. With power to do, with light to see, with knowledge to direct, with motives to induce, with promises to hearten, man must incur a fearful penalty when he refuses to obey God's commands.

THE MONISTIC THEORY OF THE SOUL. By JAMES T. BIXBY, Yonkers, N.Y. (*The New World*).—Among the problems confronting the psychologist in these days is that of the nature of the soul and its fundamental relation to the body. Whatever answer we give to this psychologic problem, it will colour and determine our æsthetic, political, moral, and religious convictions. The controversy is now carried on with more caution than twenty years ago, and on different lines. On the other hand, among the advocates of a permanent spiritual reality as the ground of consciousness, we find no such positive assurance and dogmatic condemnation of their opponents as was formerly current. They freely grant to the organism and cerebral processes and conditions very great influence. Every day it is more widely admitted that the "psychological asceticism," as Prof. Sully well calls it, which would disown the body altogether, and elaborate its theory of mind-action from pure introspection, is hopelessly sterile and belated. On the other hand, among psychologists of distinction, the old-time materialism has become almost extinct. Comte reduced psychology to a department of physiology, but to-day the foremost expositors of mental phenomena claim for this domain characteristic functions and qualities not to be confounded with any lower realm or merged in it. Thus, Prof. James Sully says, "The modern scientific psychologist follows the tradition of philosophic spiritualism so far as to insist on the radical disparity between the psychical and the physical. A sensation is something intrinsically dissimilar to any form of physical movement, such as presumably takes place in the nervous system. Consequently psychical processes cannot be included in, and studied as, a part of the functional activities of the bodily organism. However closely connected with these last, they form a group of phenomena of a quite special kind." This certainly indicates a decided ebbing of the materialistic tide. The agent to which it is due is modern science, with its precise measurements and its inexorable laws. When the laws of the correlation and transformation of the various modes of force were first discovered, the materialists were jubilant; thought would soon be shown to be "a mere mode of motion." But when the discovery was brought to strict scientific tests, unexpected difficulties were met with. If mental phenomena are physical forces transformed, they must be subject to the established laws of the conversion and correlation of energy. But this is not the fact. So the transformation theory has given way to the view that physical and mental phenomena move together, side by side, but that neither passes over into the other, or has any causal connection with it. But this is not wholly satisfactory, because it leaves an impassable gulf between matter and mind.

A more rational theory is found in the monistic theory of the soul. According to this view, the nervous and the mental circuits are not independent series, but dual forms of one and the same event. Lewes declares that "a mental process is only another aspect of a physical process. There is no more difference between a nerve vibration and the accompanying sensation than between the concavity and the

convexity of one and the same arc." This theory is really due to Spinoza: "He essayed to put mental activity in a position where it could safely allow to the physical series all that uninterrupted causal connection which he foresaw that it would insist upon for itself." Professor Clifford regarded this theory as "not merely a speculation, but a result to which all the greatest minds that have studied this question in the right way have gradually been approximating for a long time." The latest advocate of monism is Dr. Paul Carus. In his work, *The Soul of Man*, he starts with a consideration of feeling and motion. They are radically different, but feelings cannot exist by themselves. They are states that accompany motions. Every natural process is animated with the elementary germs of psychic life. Feeling and motion are abstractions of thought. The reality from which they are abstracted is one inseparable whole, which from the subjective side appears as feeling, from the objective as motion. Their doubleness is due to our different modes of apprehension. Every atom has, therefore, its sentient side, or element of feeling. It is only, however, when it is combined and organized with a group of its fellows into a fitting structure that these dim elements of feeling are combined into full feeling, and these simple feelings concentrated into what deserves the name of mind. Feelings grow into mind by being interpreted, by becoming representative. By repetition and the possession of memory they become significant of the presence of certain objective facts. The growth of mind is spontaneous, a necessary outcome of a combination of feelings. From these perceptions ideas develop, and finally the sense of self. The definition of soul is therefore "the form of an organism." Consciousness is no motor power. The subject, or self, is not a mysterious agent distinct from the different ideas, but it is the very idea itself. Man's mind is a society of ideas of which now one and now another constitutes his ego.

This monistic theory has been widely accepted. It meets exactly that desire for complete unity and simplification which is the master impulse of modern thought. But it will hardly stand careful criticism. Pure matter, the monists see, can never explain the origin of thought or feeling. So they remodel the idea of matter, and add to it, as original and universal qualities, the elements of sentience, and a subjective side. The knot of difficulty that the problem of the soul presents is the co-existence in the thinking man of sentience and materiality. The monistic theory simply takes the two attributes, whose co-existence in the whole body is so difficult to understand, and roundly asserts that they co-exist in every fibre, bone, molecule, and cell, and then calmly assumes that the enigma is made clear. But this is no explanation of the difficulty; it is only a restatement of it in other terms.

On the monistic theory, there should be a constant and exact ratio between the size and elaboration of the brain and the manifestation of mental power. A general correspondence there is, but nothing more. A table made by Dr. Boyd, from 1,607 post-mortem examinations, shows that the human brain reaches its *maximum of weight*, in proportion to the rest of the body, between the ages of seven and fourteen; it then begins to decrease through life. While intelligence is rapidly increasing from twenty to sixty, the brain is actually *diminishing*, both relatively and absolutely. "That which constitutes the essence of mind—its capacity to judge and discriminate; to adjust itself to an unforeseen contingency; to learn by experience; to associate conceptions on rational grounds; to subordinate physical energies to moral considerations; to adopt an intelligent plan, and bend hostile circumstances, by force of wit and will, to its advance—all these lie in a realm of law of which physical force knows nothing."

The author elaborately discusses the objections to the monistic theory which may

be suggested from various points of view, and comes to this general conclusion:—"The more one studies the monistic theory, and the expositions made of it by its advocates, the more plainly do we see that it is a theory standing in unstable equilibrium. As long as the scales are held exactly even, the problem of the co-existence of the mental and the material is simply shoved further back and made a universal mystery, and its insolubility seems to be tacitly admitted. As soon as it essays to explain things more clearly, it slips off either into monistic idealism or a more or less blank materialism."

WHAT IS BIBLICAL THEOLOGY, AND WHAT IS ITS METHOD? By Prof. GEORGE B. STEVENS, PH.D., D.D., Yale University (*The Biblical World*).—In America Biblical Theology is a department of study distinct from Exegesis, and distinct from Systematic or Doctrinal Theology. Continental theologians have long cultivated Biblical Theology as a separate branch of study. Biblical Theology is the scientific presentation, on the basis of Exegesis, of the contents of each type of Biblical teaching. These types may be represented by a single book, or by the various writings of a single author, or by the books of various authors which belong together by reason of likeness of contents or some other similarity. The method of Biblical Theology is especially adapted to exhibit the individuality of the Biblical writers. Its immediate aim is to reproduce in the clearest manner, and in systematic form, the ideas of the writer who is the subject of study at the time. When each type has been exhaustively studied by itself, the work of comparison can be hopefully attempted.

Biblical Theology is the systematized result of Exegesis. In Exegesis we take the books one by one, and study them critically from beginning to end. Then Biblical Theology asks, What does the writer in question teach concerning God, concerning sin, and the like? Exegetical study which is not carried to its true culmination in Biblical Theology is likely to leave the mind of the student embarrassed by the details which are inseparable from its method, without conducting him to any clear and definite doctrinal results. It may be asked, Is not Doctrinal Theology Biblical? If we grant that Systematic Theology is Biblical, there is still a useful place for Biblical Theology in theological education, on account of its peculiar aim and method. "The doctrinal theologian must treat the various themes of theology in a philosophical method and spirit. His aim is to justify them to reason, to defend them against objections, and to incorporate them into a system—a rational construction of doctrines." There is necessarily a large apologetic element in Systematic Theology, and, as it has commonly been pursued, a large metaphysical and speculative element. Biblical Theology, on the other hand, distinctly disclaims any philosophical or speculative method. "The Biblical theologian places himself, for the time, in the age and circumstances of the writer with whom he is dealing. He asks simply what this writer says or means, not how that can be justified to reason, defended against objection, harmonized with the teaching of other writers, or translated into the equivalents of modern thought, and made part of a general scheme of doctrine. He abjures all such questions. He tries to see with the writer's eyes, and to think his thoughts after him. He seeks to apprehend the form and matter of the writer's thought according to the manner of his time; to place himself at the writer's standpoint and to read him in the light of his age and circumstances.

Exegesis and Biblical Theology have hitherto been less diligently and thoroughly cultivated than Systematic Theology. Our theological systems have been fortified by the citation of "proof texts," which have been too often employed without a careful and just estimate of their significance in their original connection, and without appreciation of the Biblical writer's standpoint, purpose, or mode of thought.

Biblical Theology will operate as a check upon the extravagance of the proof text method. It presents to the doctrinal theologian the Biblical material, organized and systematized. There exists just now a certain distrust of theological systems. The temper of the age offers a great opportunity to Biblical Theology. The critical spirit holds sway. The demand of the time—so far as theology is concerned—is for a thorough and impartial investigation of Biblical teaching in its genetic development and its various forms. Biblical Theology, if developed in a critical and scientific spirit, and at the same time with a reverent appreciation of Biblical truth, will be one of the greatest aids to Doctrinal Theology, and will inevitably have the effect of arousing interest in it.

CHRIST, THE CHIEF CORNER-STONE. By Rev. A. J. HELLER, A.M. (*The Reformed Quarterly Review*).—The expression is found in the passage, Ephes. ii. 19-22. Christ is declared to be the original and perpetual ground and source of the Church. In Him alone is to be found that which is essential for gathering those who are to compose its membership, building them up in righteousness and holiness of life, and uniting them into one harmonious body. He is the principle or source of knowledge, of power, and of unification; and these are a threefold manifestation of the one principle, comprehending the revelation of God, namely, Christ Jesus. In the power of the Holy Ghost the Apostles went forth to preach the Gospel. They proclaimed Jesus crucified, risen, living, and life-giving. They demanded repentance and faith. He who responded was said to be "born again." The knowledge which awakened a sense of sin and need, which pointed the way, and caused men to surrender themselves unreservedly to Christ, was the dawning of a new life within them. The next step in the building up of souls thus gathered was instructing them in regard to the privileges and obligations of the Christian life; and Christ Jesus was held up to view as the model of character and of action.

Many practical questions pressed for solution. On many of them Christ had given no formal deliverance, but the endowment of the Spirit enabled Apostles to deal with them. The Holy Spirit adds no new faculty to man; He reveals no new fundamental fact or institution, no other universal, all-comprehending principle, for there can be but one such. Man is influenced by the indwelling of Christ, but he is free to think and free to act. This leaves room for progress in revelation, or the gradual unfolding of the truth presented once for all in the incarnate Son of God, which is the same as to say for development of doctrine and Christian character. We observe such progress already in the time of the Apostles. They give unmistakable evidence of growth in knowledge and strength. The people of every age and every nation are called upon to solve for themselves the problem of their own salvation by adapting the Gospel to their own needs.

There is a sense in which the Bible comes before Christ. It preserves for the world the knowledge of Him, and heralds His presence; it pictures His character and life, but men thus directed to Him come to understand Him more fully, and to know Him better, afterwards, in their own religious consciousness and personal experience. The Bible must be interpreted in the light of Christ's character and life. If Christ is the type of man, man is akin to God, and the modes of thought and reasoning are the same in both. If there are contradictions, as some affirm, in the sacred Scriptures, these must be dealt with, adjusted, or resolved in such a way as to accord with the character and life of their Author. When men make some doctrine, mode of worship, form of government, or mode of administration central, instead of Christ, they turn the Bible into a treasury of ready-made theories and plans.

Knowledge is not partitive. It is not a commodity which can be in part or in

whole separated from its possessor. The teacher simply reveals the thoughts, states, and intents of his mind, by which he elicits like thoughts, states, and purposes in the mind of the reader or hearer. The Bible does not teach. It is Christ who teaches, by and through the Word and the Church. "The chief point, then, is to keep Christ always in view, to trust Him with implicit faith, to follow whithersoever He leads in thought and life, and then we shall not fail to know and to understand His Word so as to be able to apply it. Then will the Bible be a more real Word of God to us than it can possibly be on the basis of a shallow Bibliolatry."

But while knowledge is of great importance, an abstract word cannot save. Along with the knowledge must go the power of a living person. Every word of communication must possess real contents, otherwise it is a mere empty sound without meaning or force. But whence comes the power? It has its source in Christ Jesus our Lord. It is His work; His power acting on and through man. This wonderful work is not accomplished by an abstract word spoken to man, but by Christ's own peculiar and special indwelling presence with him. Of course, it is not meant that Christ, in any material or partitive sense, imparts Himself, or any portion of Himself, to His people. Illustration may be taken from that subtle electric influence which one man exerts over another. The wise and good, by their consistent words and actions, always impart something of themselves to their fellows. In like manner, but in a far deeper sense, are men strengthened and quickened by constant communication with Christ: only they must apprehend or lay hold on Christ in order to receive moral and spiritual power.

The knowledge and power which issue from their source in Christ are the means of blending Christians of all times and places into one body whose head is the Lord. Christ is the unifying principle; for as in Him men become reconciled to God, they likewise in Him become reconciled to each other. Christians may differ in opinions, and perhaps always will, on a thousand or more subordinate, non-essential matters, on the nature of the sacraments, on methods of worship, on forms of Church government, on modes of administration, but on this vital and essential point, faith in the Lord Jesus Christ and unreserved consecration to His service, they are and must be one. It used to be very popular, and it sounded very plausible to say, "We make the Bible the foundation of Christian life and fellowship." But the cry in time proved itself a cheat and a fraud, for it was always the Bible as they who raised the cry understood it. "The only reason why the different branches of the Church are not more closely united to-day is, because men have not yet learned fully and clearly to distinguish non-essentials from essentials, and to practise mutual forbearance in matters of opinion in respect to that which in no way affects or conflicts with sound saving faith and right living. Whether organic union is necessary or not may be disputed, but if true Church union is ever to be realized in this world, it must work itself out from Christ as the centre and principle of life and co-operation—the 'chief corner-stone.'"

THE LIMITS OF LEGITIMATE RELIGIOUS DISCUSSION. By BISHOP COLEMAN, Delaware (*The North American Review*).—A discussion which calls into question the fundamental principles of religion is not legitimate. A discussion which involves disrespect to them transcends its proper bounds. Is there in the United States any form of religion which may be called national, and which its adherents may on that account consider entitled, so far as its fundamental principles are concerned, to limitation of debate? This must be answered in the affirmative. From the very beginning of its colonization the United States has distinctly recognized Christianity as its religion. Thus Chancellor Kent, of New York, delivered

in 1811, the following opinion: "The people of this State, in common with the people of this country, profess the general doctrines of Christianity as their faith and practice." The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania subsequently ruled that "even if Christianity were not a part of the law of the land, it is the popular religion of the country; an insult to which would be indictable as tending to disturb the public peace," adding that "no society can tolerate a wilful and despicable attempt to subvert religion." It may therefore be affirmed that a discussion which would include within its limits an attack upon the fundamental principles of Christianity is, so far as that attack is concerned, distinctly illegitimate. We recognize this dogma when applied to civil affairs. When a citizen essays to bring into disrepute the fundamental principles of that form of government under which he is living, he is accounted a traitor, and is liable to arrest and punishment. Is it not much more treasonable to bring into contempt the institutions and tenets of Christianity? Hardly anything is more injurious to the State than a lack of confidence between man and man. It threatens the disruption of the very bonds of society. And this is the risk that is run in allowing religious discussions to go on indefinitely and wantonly, robbing men of their faith in God and Christ, and so, in time, of their faith in one another, for faith in man has its highest development among those who believe in God.

But what are the fundamental principles of Christianity? None is more distinctly so than a belief in the personality of its Founder, Jesus Christ. And with this goes the equally fundamental belief in Him as both God and Man. Few deny the fact of His existence. More refuse to acknowledge His Divinity. And herein lies a transgression of the limits of legitimate religious discussion. Indeed, one who denies the Divinity of Christ takes himself out of religious discussion altogether—at least so far as this country is concerned. He robs Christianity of that which primarily makes it *the* religion of the world, and reduces it simply to a system of wilful deceit and shameless wickedness. I would not condescend to enter into a debate with one who should wish to discuss the character of my mother—that is, as to her goodness. Shall I be compelled to discuss religious matters with one who does not recognize Christ's Divinity? The disciples of Christ's religion have good grounds for insisting that its verity should not be so frequently impugned as it is with stale, worn-out, and a hundred-times-answered statements and arguments. These repetitions do but little credit to those intellectual gifts to whose exercise the impossibility of accepting Christianity is attributed.

May we not say that in the truths of Christianity we have reason in its highest form? Without them, indeed, reason oftentimes becomes only another name for will, and is set against conscience. Our reasoning powers when alone, without the aid of the Spirit of God, are likely—nay, one may say certain—to become most weak and untrustworthy in dealing with moral and religious truth. Christians acknowledge mysteries beyond, though not contradictory to, our reason. Our opponents insist upon understanding all things. When they come to such as pass their comprehension, these are rejected as untrue. They would substitute for Christianity a human system or theory. Christianity is the religion of reason, and of reason in its strength and purity. It is the answer to the soul's deepest and truest wants, and of its common wants. Thus, as related to all men, it is a religion of history. It is founded on facts. The first Adam was no myth. Neither is the second Adam an abstract idea. Christ is—not only was, but *is*—a person. And it is as being a person of perfection, the Incarnate Son of God Himself, that we feel that in assaulting Christianity *He* is assaulted, and in assaulting *Him* all virtue and all grace are likewise assaulted, and that in assaulting them the very foundations of our life are liable to be overthrown.

However true it is that many divisions exist among Christians, yet it is equally true that to all alike the doctrine of Christ's Divinity and of man's salvation through His atonement is too dear to allow it to be questioned by any one.

And these limits I would set not only as regards the discussion of His nature and His character, but also as regards the discussion of His commandments. The two sacraments were unquestionably ordained by Christ Himself. But how flippantly oftentimes, is the question of their obligation discussed; it ought to be beyond the legitimate limits of a religious discussion. I know how liable one is to be misunderstood who sets up such a strong claim for Christianity, but in setting up a weaker claim one is thereby lowering the standard of morality. For while it is true that by our unduly magnifying morality we belittle Christianity, it is equally true that in belittling Christianity we degrade morality.

We are much too lenient as to the immorality of so-called moral men; of men who, while they select certain precepts for their obedience, treat with disdain other precepts just as binding upon their consciences. A really Christian man is always a moral man; but he who is only what the world calls moral may be very far from being a Christian man.

Holding such views concerning the significance of the terms "Christian" and "moral," the Bishop declares he cannot but feel that persons who venture to deny the Divinity of our Blessed Lord, and the obligations of His sacraments, practically transgress the limits of legitimate religious discussion, inasmuch as these principles are fundamental to its existence.

PAUL'S PURPOSE IN WRITING ROMANS. By MELANCTHON W. JACOBUS, D.D. (*The Presbyterian Quarterly*).—However germinal may have been the theology Paul received on the Damascus road, he thought it out in the years that intervened between his conversion and his settled work, and kept developing it as his work went on. However profound may have been the inspired thoughts which, when that work was over, he gathered into his epistle to the Church at Rome, he had behind them the personal experience of all his journeys over the mission fields, and all the close contact into which those journeys had brought him with the souls of men, in the deep darkness and foul deadness of their sin. Back of the epistle is the personal experience. Paul was the Calvinist he was, not only because of the truths which he had received from God, but also because of the confirming facts which had confronted him in the world in which he lived and worked.

The theories as to Paul's purpose in writing the epistle gather into two general groups. 1. Those who hold that the motive was determined by the needs of the Church to which the letter was sent. This group subdivides into the didactic, and the polemic. 2. Those who hold that the motive was determined by the needs of the Apostle who sent it. The didactic group holds in substance that the epistle is an attempt on Paul's part to present to the Roman Church a systematic exposition of Christian truth for their enlightenment and strengthening in the faith. This is the ancient view, and is taken by the middle age scholastics, the Reformers, and the later German and French critics and expositors. The polemic group holds in brief that the letter was written to combat a tendency to Judaistic views in the Church at Rome. Some thinking there was a Judaistic party in the Church, others regarding the trouble as one which Paul anticipated. This view was held by Augustine and others, by Erasmus, Tholuck, Ewald, and some recent writers. The group which considers the epistle to have been determined by the Apostle's needs holds that the purpose is an apologetic one; and that Paul's aim was to prepare for himself a favourable reception at Rome in view of the prejudices which existed in that Church.

Some take those prejudices to be against himself, some take them to be against the doctrine of his Gospel, and some take them to be against the practice of his Gospel work. There is much to be said in favour of this theory.

Much depends on the composition of the Church at Rome. Whether the Church was prevailingly Jewish or Gentile will be quite significant in considering whether the letter was or was not a polemic against an actual or a threatened Jewish tendency in the people's midst. A very decided proportion of Jewish element must have been necessary to make Judaizing possible. What are the facts to be considered? 1. As to the Church's origin, the theory that it was founded by the Apostolic Peter during the reign of Claudius must be laid aside. It is incapable of historical proof. 2. There is a choice between two possible positions, (1) That the Church owed its origin mainly to the Jewish Christians who came from Palestine to Rome. (2) That the Church originated with Gentile Christians who came to Rome from other quarters than Palestine. The author examines the historical facts and references, and comes to the conclusion that, though the Jewish converts may have been the first to come to Rome, it was the Gentile converts who began the organizing of the Church there, and carried it on to that degree of organization which it had when the epistle was written. "We see nothing against the possibility of Jewish converts from Pentecost having been the first Christians at Rome, and yet the formal Church having been begun and carried on by the Gentile converts from regions outside of Palestine, and so having been definitely and decisively Gentile in its origin."

It was, then, to a Gentile Christian Church—Gentile in its development, Gentile in its then present condition—that the Apostle sent his letter. But we see at once how the above groups of views are affected by this fact. The *polemic* view is virtually set aside. For if the origin and development and growing character of the Church was Gentile, it becomes exceedingly difficult to find anything to justify the existence in its midst of a Judaizing party. The *didactic* group is rendered most improbable; for if the character of the Church was, from its origin, Gentile, and if that Gentilism grew as Paul's mission work extended, and his Gospel became known—a Gentilism of the Pauline type—where was the need for Paul to instruct it in the principles of his theology? The *apologetic* group is thrown into a decided doubt; for if the Church in its history was pre-eminently Gentile, and in its then present condition was Gentile, in a Pauline way, where could have been its prejudices against Paul himself, or his Gospel, or his mission work? It was the Jewish element which found fault with the Apostle's doctrine and work.

Moreover, a study of the epistle itself at once disposes of the didactic view, and that, too, simply because the contents of the epistle are not the contents of Paul's Gospel. There is lacking all discussion of the doctrines of Christology and eschatology. *A fortiori*, the contents of the epistle are not the contents of the general circle of Christian truth. There is no treatment of Creation, or the Incarnation, or the Church. The Epistle is specific, even within Pauline lines. A study of the epistle also renders the polemic view impossible. It is not, technically, a controversial epistle. There is but one passage that can, in any way, be said to refer to Judaizers (chap. iii. 8). The seemingly controversial parts are not a polemic against an opposition party in the Church.

It would seem as if we were driven for refuge to the apologetic view. But the study of the Epistle shows us how unsafe even such a refuge would prove. For if Paul desired, in writing this epistle, to remove from the Roman Church the prejudices which it had against him, because of his hostility to the Jews and his

partiality towards the Gentiles, then it is evident that he has taken a strange way of doing it. Testing the groups, we must conclude that neither of them is satisfactory.

There are two things to be considered in the solution of the problem, first the epistle and then the Apostle. "We must first secure a view that will fit in with the exegetical character of our epistle, and then we must put that view to the test of the Apostle's historical surroundings at the time of the epistle's composition. Though the epistle is no didactic *résumé* of the system of Christian truth, or of the circle of Pauline doctrines, it is nevertheless didactic in its form of presenting what truths it does include. There is a carefully prepared and conscientiously followed plan of instructing the Church at Rome from some specific point of view regarding some specific matter, and there is an evident desire on the Apostle's part to direct his instruction against some wrong views that this people held. There is throughout the epistle's doctrinal discussion an evident attitude against some error point. It would solve the problem if we could find the point. See what progress towards finding it has been made. "We have secured an idea of the general epistolary lay of the land—a didactic argumentative letter sent ahead to prepare for the Apostle's coming work. We are even located where the motive is likely to be found—in the erroneous views of his people, which the Apostle had in mind when he wrote the letter." What those views were is suggested by the peculiarities of the argument of the epistle. 1. The argument begins with an arraignment of the morals of the heathen world; and this with the manifold design of showing that mankind is in need of a righteousness other than its own. "Paul's purpose was to correct the attitude of the Gentile element in the Church at Rome. They were exalting his Gospel at the expense of the Jew. His plan in writing the epistle, therefore, was to take up this Gospel of his, so far as it was now wrought out intellectually in his mind and practically in his work, and show that, after all, it did not ignore the Jew, either as an essential element in the Christian Church or as the still unbelieving people of God outside of it. In other words, that his Gentile Gospel was not to be overpressed and placed in opposition to all the revelation and work of God so far. That it did not separate the Old and New Dispensations, but rather joined them vitally together. That it did not alienate, but rather united, the Jewish and Gentile Christian life."

This theory may be tested by the peculiar surroundings of the Apostle when he wrote the letter. Does it agree with them? Paul had finished his work in the East, and was in purpose now to begin it in the West. But his work in the East had been largely the struggle and victory of his Gospel of Gentile Christianity. What Gospel could have been more acceptable to the Gentile Christian Church—the Pauline Gentile Christian Church—at Rome? Where would it be more likely to be accepted with heartiness and propagated with zeal? And what more likely than that just this zeal would be an injury to the truth, distort it by over-pressing one side of it, hinder it by overburdening one part of it? So the view of Paul's motive agrees with just the historical situation in which the Apostle found himself when he wrote the letter. This being the situation in which he was, this was exactly the sort of letter that we should expect him to write.

This theory will account for the didactic cast given to the epistle; the misunderstanding of the Apostle's Gospel into which the Gentile element of this Church had fallen required that the true principles of that Gospel should be didactically presented to it. It will account for the polemic tone of certain portions of the letter; and it will equally account for whatever of an apologetic tone which may be discovered in it.

"The question is, What was the definite object which the Apostle had before him in view of the condition of affairs in the Church at Rome? We believe this question

is answered by the view which we have tried, however imperfectly, to present—the *correcting of the attitude of the Gentile element in the Church*. And if it accomplishes nothing in the future study of the epistle beyond bringing this element into a more careful consideration, assigning it at least a more definite place in the Church's position towards the Apostle, and a more decided part in the Apostle's thought towards the Church, we will be satisfied."

SOME HOMILETIC USES OF THE DOCTRINE OF ELECTION. By REV. HERBERT W. LATHE, Denver, Colorado (*Bibliotheca Sacra*).—Theodore Parker said that Reason acknowledges no unnecessary or useless truths. With greater force it may be urged that Revelation discloses no superfluous doctrines. The idea that the doctrine of election is of value only to the speculative theologian, but not profitable for instruction to the Church at large, is a mistake. The Apostle Paul does not embalm this doctrine in the wrappings of religious philosophy. The electing grace of God is far more to him than a necessary factor in a theological system. His logic is on fire with it. It is a significant but not a strange fact, that Paul, of all the inspired writers, should be the most fervid expositor of the doctrine of election. It is explained by his exceptional religious experience. It could easily be shown that the truths on which he lays stress in his epistles are those which had been emphasized in his conversion and subsequent Christian growth. The fact of election had grounded itself in his personal history. Never to the end of his life could he think of it as anything but a marvel that God laid a saving hand on him, the blasphemer, the persecutor, and enlisted all his powers in the service of Christ.

No man is ready to preach the doctrine of election until he has had something of this personal experience of it which fired Paul. The minister must approach the doctrine of election along the avenue of personal experience, if he is to speak to edification. "If he comes to it by way of his seminary lectures merely, or only along the road of philosophic investigation, his sermon will be as angular, hard, and heavy as the chiselled stone which the builder fits snugly into the arch. Out of his personal experience of the truth the preacher will so present it as to set before his hearers the meaning and the comfort of Christian sonship. The doctrine, rightly explained, will on the one hand define to the mind of the Church the true import of adoption into the family of God, and on the other hand will fortify the confidence of believers in the security of their standing in Christ. What makes us sons of God? Adoption into the family through Jesus Christ—God's eternal purpose in their redemption. His electing grace, unmerited, resisted from the first, inscrutable, infinitely merciful and condescending. Sonship is God's work in the soul.

The preacher will show that the doctrine of election assures the believer of his continuance in the faith even unto the end. Faith in electing grace blossoms into the assured hope of eternal life. God chose us; then He will hold us fast. There is much inspiration in this comfortable old doctrine of the perseverance of the saints. Turning to the relation of this doctrine to holy living, the preacher is tempted to present them in antithesis, as if utter reliance on electing grace might prove fatal to good works. He seeks to guard his hearers against the supposed evil consequences of trusting too much in God's choice of them, reminding them that, *although* they are chosen, they must *nevertheless* strive to lead righteous lives. The Scriptures do not present the case in this way. They set forth the fact of election as a great incentive to, and a sure guarantee of, good works. The only results which can follow trust in electing grace are obedience, fidelity, unreserved consecration. Is it objected that men will continue in sin that grace may abound?

In his own person Paul is the best answer to the objection—the most ardent believer in election leading the holiest life. But he answered the objection by saying that adoption means death unto sin, and “how shall we, that are dead to sin, live any longer therein?” The sense of having been chosen of God unto salvation will infallibly prompt the believer to live worthy of his high calling. In this doctrine the preacher has an irresistible leverage upon the noblest emotions of his people. If the believer is chosen to bear fruit, he is able to bear fruit.

The tendency of this doctrine to foster true humility would not be so worthy of note were not humility so elusive and treacherous a virtue. One way in which to aim at it is to abase the pride. This process may only leave a vacuum. Another way is to preach on sins and sinfulness. It is a bold preacher who often discourses directly upon Christian humility. The moment one thinks of it he is apt to lose it. If one cherishes it he may easily fall into morbid and unreal feeling. But the humility which comes of high honours bestowed, the sense of unworthiness which accompanies the wonder and joy of receiving spiritual gifts from God, is so free from the dross of self, and withal so grateful, so leavened with bold confidence, and so little in danger of excess, that were it only to produce such a virtue we might well preach often upon electing grace. If the preacher sets before his hearers the glory of their high calling in Christ, it will hardly be necessary for him to exhort at the close, “Put on therefore, as the elect of God, humbleness of mind.” The humility nourished by such preaching is a joyous, grateful humility, a virile Christian virtue, emptied of self because filled with Christ.

That the presentation of this doctrine will greatly exalt God in the minds of His people is manifest. Our thoughts dwell upon the infinite love and condescending electing grace, and we gain sublime conceptions of the Divine nature. The believer should be taught to view his salvation as a spiritual miracle wrought by God for His own glory. Much of the piety of our day lacks depth, because the work of human redemption is regarded as having for its chief end the happiness of the redeemed. It is a Divine undertaking for the glory of God.

A vivid sense of having been chosen of God binds Christ's disciples together. Dr. Emmons said that he prevented Church quarrels by keeping his people interested in the great doctrines. None so good for this purpose as the doctrine that all disciples are made members of Christ's body by a sovereign act of God's will. We are already one in Christ. Not because we have agreed to some scheme of unity but because of God's act in choosing us. To repudiate the relationship is to sin against the grace which called us.

CURRENT GERMAN THOUGHT.

RELATION OF THE PROLOGUE OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL TO THE ENTIRE WORK. By A. HARNACK, Berlin (*Zeitschr. f. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1892, No. 3).—Dr. Harnack thinks that the influence of the Logos doctrine on the fourth Gospel has been overestimated. The conclusion to which his essay points is that the Prologue and the Gospel are quite disparate, and that the former was added merely to conciliate Greek readers. However little we may accept the results, and however singular, not to say contradictory, some of the opinions expressed, it is important for us to understand

the tendencies of the new Ritschl school which is so active and which is provoking so much discussion in Germany. The above periodical is its organ, and the school commands theological chairs in Berlin, Marburg, Giessen, Bonn, Tübingen, Kiel.

The questions which Dr. Harnack asks are such as these: What is the aim of the Prologue, and what that of the Gospel? Do these coincide, and is the Prologue really an introduction to the Gospel? Does the Gospel begin where the Prologue ends, and is the Prologue the quintessence, so to speak, of the Gospel? Is it the key for understanding, or entering into the holy place of, the Gospel?

1. First, the Gospel is considered apart from the Prologue. The aim of the Gospel is plainly stated in chap. xx. 81. It is to produce the faith that Jesus is the Messiah, who is the Son of God; life follows as a consequence of this faith. "The working out in every chapter corresponds to this purpose. It is conceived on the broadest plan. It is meant for the circle of disciples already won, for half believers, for Jews in their different aspects—even the Samaritans are not forgotten—the Greeks, all mankind. In regard to time also, it moves in universal ideas. It looks back to Abraham, Moses, and the law, and forward to all future believers. But even these limits are left behind. At the beginning and the end lies eternity; He who is spoken of embraces both. Here there is no detailed explanation, and all historic particulars vanish in the unity of the whole. There has never been an author, before or since, able to write history *sub specie æternitatis* in this fashion. The author not merely sinks time in eternity, but he is able also in his story to evoke a corresponding sentiment. He himself moves and lives in a supernatural element, and raises, with strong yet gentle wing, those who listen to him to the same height. Yet only the most superficial thought can suppose that there is nothing more than a general elevation to the supernatural. That to which he desires to raise us is not a new indefinite sphere of existence, however light and pure, but he leads to a *person*. This person is to him the light, the truth, the life. This supreme possession, as the substance of a historical life, has become to him a reality upon earth. If the ability of the author to lift history into eternity is astonishing, still more astonishing is his ability to combine this course with the magnifying of a historical person, who contains and imparts the fulness of all celestial blessings."

The nature of this great person—Christ—comes out in the names which He uses of Himself—the Sent of God, the Son of Man, *i.e.*, the Promised One, the Son, *i.e.*, the Son of God. Only the latter name corresponds fully to the author's view of Christ. "This is all the more noteworthy as the historical Jesus is everywhere the starting-point of the Gospel. He is the subject of all statements, not some one unknown, whom He represents. There is no question of a double personality, or of a separation of a heavenly and earthly one, a Divine and human one. To import such thoughts is to mistake the Evangelist's purpose. Rather everything said, however great and lofty, applies to the entire person, who stands over against disciples and foes." The proof in Christ's statements about Himself, that He is Son of God, is twofold, from the Son's perfect unity with the Father, and from His perfect dependence. The former is seen in the fact that the Son is in the Father, and the Father in the Son, that Father and Son are one, and that whoever sees the Son sees the Father. Hence the Son possesses, and is all that the Father possesses and is. "The Son is the life, the light, the truth. Because by His teaching about Himself and His deeds He proves Himself the life, He is the Son; that life, light, and truth belong to the Godhead, *i.e.*, the Father, need not be shown." On the other hand, perfect dependence also proves that He is the Son. "The sayings, in which it is said in ever-varying phraseology, that Jesus does nothing of Himself,

but performs the work committed to Him by the Father, teaches what He hears from the Father, keeps the command which the Father has given Him, are perhaps the most numerous in the Gospel" (see iii. 34, vi. 88, v. 19, 20, 80, viii. 26). Having life in Himself (v. 26) does not disprove the dependence; mark "given," and "in yourselves" (vi. 53). "How the perfect subordination can exist in the Son along with that immanence of the Father may seem mysterious, and, as is well known, became a stumbling-block to after times, which those times by a bold stroke simply abolished. But to the Evangelist it was neither a stumbling-block nor a perplexing riddle. We learn from his letter why he found no problem here; he himself lived—by the Son—in a fellowship with God, in which he knew himself born of God and abiding in Him without losing the sense of God's majesty. The will of the Father, who is light and life, is the imparting of light and life first to the Son, then through the Son to all others."

The writer then enters upon a more detailed investigation of four points—(1) the meaning of the word "Son," and Son of Man; (2) the sayings of the Son about His pre-existence with the Father; (3) the use of "the Word" in the Gospel; (4) the separate working of the Father from that of the Son.

(1) The discussion of the first terms and the related term "only-begotten" is significant and remarkable. In the latter phrase, which is equivalent to "only" (*unicus*), no stress is to be laid on "begotten"; there is therefore no reference to a pretemporal generation or birth (see i. 18, iii. 16, 18). If "begotten" is to be regarded at all it must refer to "the *historical* Jesus in the totality of His manifestation." "Nowhere does Jesus where He calls Himself Son of God glance back at His eternal relation to the Father as born either in a realistic or metaphorical sense." "Jesus Christ, as He lived in time and space, not as a phantom, not as a double being, but in human form, is the Son of God. To Him, as to all men, belongs but *one* birth, by which He came to manifestation. The Evangelist does not state whether and in what sense the special Divine Sonship of Jesus is grounded in the nature of this birth into the earthly. One may therefore suppose that he assumed such a miraculous birth as Matthew and Luke speak of. But one may also suppose that the Evangelist contemplated the Sonship in the special relation in which the Father stood to this Jesus from the beginning. To decide here would be to do violence to the Evangelist's words. We are rather bound to stop where he himself stopped in his contemplation. The idea of a pretemporal generation and birth is not definitely excluded, because it is not suggested by anything that is said." "The expression, 'Son,' 'Son of God,' expresses His unique relation to the Father. No theory of the origin of this relation is given, nor does the idea go beyond the limits of the human existence of Jesus. He is the Son on the ground of the immanence of God the Father in Him, and the communication of the Father to Him springing from it."

Son of Man is made equivalent to Messiah on the ground of passages like i. 51, iii. 13, 14, v. 27, vi. 62, viii. 28, xii. 34: "the Messiah, as Daniel beheld Him (according to the interpretation of his prophecy then current), namely, dwelling in heaven with God and descended from heaven. The Evangelist using the name Son of Man for Messiah just where the Messiah is regarded as a heavenly being, makes it plain that to him faith in the heavenly nature of the Messiah was just as current as the word Son of Man to describe such a nature." "The phrase 'Son of Man' describes Jesus as the Messiah subject to God; but with this designation is inseparably united the idea, that He dwelt in heaven, came down from heaven, will ascend and be glorified, and finally sit in judgment. Thus, the exact converse of that which the common opinion assumes is true. The designation of Jesus as Son

of Man points directly to heaven and to 'metaphysics,' not the designation Son of God."

(2) The discussion of the idea of pre-existence results in a denial of actual pre-existence. It is pointed out that the idea is always connected with the Messiah or Son of Man, not the Son of God (i. 51, iii. 14, viii. 28, xii. 84, vi. 62). The humanity remains a fact, and no double personality is suggested. "The Messiah is indeed man, but still, and indeed as man, before His temporal manifestation He dwelt with God." There is no reference to an ideal man. The following is the explanation given: "Because God calls forth history, fixes its aims and guides it, therefore everything stands before Him, and what is to be developed by Him as great and lofty is prepared by Him 'before the foundation of the world.' Thus what is afterwards to appear on earth is already in heaven, and is the more certainly there the greater and loftier it is." This mode of conception was at first a way of honouring God; afterwards it was used to honour persons and things. In the age of Christ and the Apostles it was applied to the Messiah. "The Messiah, who as man will be born from men, dwells already with God in heaven. . . . How any one, who will be born as man, can already dwell with God before the creation of the world, men did not ask, because they did not philosophize, but desired to glorify God and the Messiah by such modes of expression. But when it was seen that the Messiah had come and not appeared at once in glory, the conclusion was drawn that He will be glorified (John xii. 23, xiii. 31), that as He came from heaven, He has gone back to heaven, in order to return to judgment." "There are no sayings about pre-existence in the sense now attached to the word; for they do not assert that Jesus existed as a Divine spiritual being (as *Αβυος ἀσπικτος*) before His earthly existence, but they transfer the *entire man* to the pre-worldly time with God." This is plain enough.

Dr. Harnack, however, candidly acknowledges that there are some passages where the idea of pre-existence is more prominent, and where it cannot be explained away by the above methods, as i. 80, iii. 31, viii. 28, and especially viii. 58. The further explanation cannot be called successful. "The solemnity with which it is introduced and used to solve a difficulty shows that the thought it contains was not merely a makeshift to the author, but was a decisive point in his faith in Jesus. It can, therefore, scarcely be doubted that he has alleged not merely an ideal pre-existence of Jesus, but a real existence with God. But he has neither connected this real pre-existence with the name of *Son*, nor has he said how it is to be exactly conceived. Those who assert the former, and also explain the nature of the pre-existence, import into the texts what is not to be found there. Only one thing can be said, that the sayings about the pre-existence cohere with the Evangelist's antithesis of above and below, heaven and earth, spirit and flesh, God and the world. But we must here guard against 'metaphysical' explanations. The pre-existence of the Son is to the author the self-evident conclusion from the facts that He is the sent of God, and that He is not from the world. It, therefore, contains no more than what lies in these two facts, but puts into complete, conscious expression what they contain. Here is no twilight, no dissolving of time into eternity; rather the Evangelist definitely takes Jesus back into eternity, thus removing Him from the antithesis ruling earthly existence." The writer then tries to establish a partial parallel between Christ and believers, who are also said to be "of God" (viii. 47), not "of the world"; to be first God's, and then given to the Son (xvii. 6); but confesses that "Jesus is from eternity that with God which they are to *become* through Him and are already only *proleptically*." "But if the pre-existence of Jesus in this sense is a feature in the fourth Gospel distinguishing it from all others, if they are only

sub specie eternitatis what He is, here also it is true that Jesus is what He is from eternity as this Jesus. In this connection also there is no allusion to a twofold element in Him, a Divine and a human nature. But, what is still more important, there is no hint that the Evangelist saw any riddle or problem here; he judges not by the impressions of space and time, but by the import. His only 'metaphysics' is found in vi. 13, 68. For this very reason he has no occasion for speculative reasoning. He is certain that He who speaks God's words is Himself spirit and life, and therefore belongs to God and to eternity."

(3) The writer then examines the sense in which "the Word" (Logos) is used in the Gospel apart from the Prologue. It occurs thirty-six times, and is never applied to Christ. Of course, no one questions this fact. But how this prevents the term being used in a personal sense in the Prologue we do not see.

(4) According to another line of teaching, the Father's working is sharply distinguished from that of the Son, in witnessing (v. 87), drawing to the Son (vi. 44), &c. This is said to show that in the Evangelist's eyes the Father and Son, despite all unity of nature as light, life, and truth, are "two really different subjects" (v. 17).

In summing up this part of the discussion, Dr. Harnack holds it equally wrong to suppose that the fourth Gospel makes the "consciousness of Jesus" either "simply human" or "Divine," or "a Divine one." These questions do not exist for the Evangelist. The Gospel, apart from the Prologue (i. 1-18), would never suggest the identity of Jesus with the Alexandrine or any other personified Divine Logos. The Gospel alone does not directly answer the question whether Jesus is God or man. Its standpoint is the Jewish tradition of the Messiah, while leaving the Jewish conception far behind. "The Saviour of the world, who meets us in the Gospel, whether He is called 'Son of Man,' 'Son,' or 'Son of God,' is not of the world, but from God; but He would not be Son of Man, &c., unless He were born, i.e., man. He reveals the Father by His words, discourses, acts, and demands to be honoured as God because He is one with Him. But His relation to God rests on the will of the Father, on His endowment and unity of will with the Father. Just for this reason He must be described as man. But in holy reverence the Evangelist has never said this plainly, because he requires that this Saviour be known and judged by the spirit of life proceeding from Him. Only thus does he himself know Him. Holding to this position, he must be utterly unintelligible to all Greeks and all who seek and inquire as they do." His standpoint is simply practical. He knows nothing of the "nature" of Christ, of which a Greek would think, but steadfastly closes his eyes to such questions. His answer on such points is unsatisfactory, looked at from the Greek standpoint, but satisfactory from that of Jewish thought and practical religion. "Religion seeks a tangible Saviour, in whom it becomes certain of God, and through whom it experiences God's working; everything else is indifferent to it. All those who looked for a Messiah expected a man who should realize the kingdom of Jehovah in Jehovah's strength. In this sense the religious standpoint of the Evangelist is the realized hope of Israel, perfected by the knowledge of Jesus Christ, purified and raised into the absolute religion. The Evangelist could therefore set himself no higher task than to produce the faith that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God. But, of course, by Messiah he understood, both extensively and intensively, something very different from what the Jews understood by this idea."

(3) The Prologue (i. 1-18) is next discussed. First of all, every attempt to sever the Prologue from the Gospel, or omit portions of it, must be resisted, "however difficult it may be to define the connection"; the agreement in decisive points is too close to

allow separation. Dr. Harnack is strongly convinced that the Logos-idea is of Alexandrian origin. "The Logos, here introduced, is the Logos of Alexandrian Judaism, the Logos of Philo. There is nothing in the first five verses which a Jewish philosopher of Alexandria could not have written; and, on the other hand, it is utterly unknown to us that any but an Alexandrian philosopher could so write about the year 100." We give the material parts of the exposition without the minute analysis of the verses which follows. We confess the difficulty of understanding much that is said in consistency with what has preceded.

"The Evangelist begins by putting the Alexandrian Logos-idea at the head, and continues this idea, making it the subject of the narrative. A comparison of vers. 1 and 18, the beginning and end of the Prologue, supplies an important key for understanding it. The opening says that the Logos is 'God,' and in the beginning of all existence, *i.e.*, before all existence, stood in a living relation to God. The close puts (1) the visible *Deus unigenitus* (or the *filius unicus*) in the place of the invisible Logos; (2) the return to the bosom of the Father, and abiding there in the place of the phrase, 'living relation to God'; (3) the statement that the knowledge of the Divine nature is now made accessible in the place of the saying respecting a supernatural mystery inaccessible to human eye and thought. Obviously the beginning is written in reference to this final verse; and when the author concludes with it, in order now to pass over to the narrative of the work of Jesus, it is plain that, by substituting the 18th verse for the 1st and 2nd, he has fulfilled his purpose in the Prologue." But the 18th verse cannot be understood without the 17th, for which it gives the reason. "The 17th verse says that grace and truth, *i.e.*, the full knowledge of God in contrast with the law both as to matter and form, has come by Jesus Christ. But it could only come to us through Him, because only a manifestation of God Himself could unveil the knowledge of God to human thought and Jesus Christ, as 'God only-begotten,' is this manifestation. The final thought of the Prologue runs thus: A historical person like Moses, Jesus Christ, has revealed and established on the earth the perfect knowledge of God, which is in contrast with the law in form and matter; He is, because man has never seen God, 'God,' uniquely and intimately united with God, from whom He springs, to whom He has returned, and with whom He dwells."

"This closing exposition of the Prologue is really both the heading and the theme of the following 'Gospel.' As the Logos is not again mentioned in the Prologue, so also in the Gospel; but what it asserts is really expounded in the following narrative. Looked at more closely, it contains in itself already a proof of the 'God only-begotten,' which seems to make all other proof superfluous. If it is certain that Jesus Christ has brought the perfect knowledge of God, it follows from the premisses, No one has ever seen God, of strict necessity that He is Himself *Θεός*, and since He cannot be *ὁ Θεός*, because He is a historical person, He must be *Θεός μονογενής*. Thus vers. 17 and 18 are complete in themselves." There is the following note on the phrase, "God only-begotten": "This phrase implies three things: (1) the Divine nature; (2) distinction from God and historical manifestation; (3) uniqueness. The Divine nature follows from the revealing of the truth, which, according to the Gospel, includes light, life, and all blessings; the historical manifestation is a fact; the uniqueness follows from His leaving even Moses far behind Him. It is certainly contended—and this applies also to the phrase 'only-begotten Son'—that the phrase involves historical manifestation. But no passage can be shown, either in the Prologue or the Gospel, in which Jesus Christ is considered as Son of God outside His historical manifestation." The Logos-idea is introduced as well known. The object is not to teach that there is a Logos, but to say what He is.

The emphasis in ver. 1 is on "in the beginning," "with God," and "God." Three things are said of Him: (1) He is God, and was in the beginning with God; (2) the relation of the world, which He made, to Him was a disturbed one; (3) He became flesh. The Gospel thus gives definiteness to our idea, before indefinite.

8. Let us gather up some of Dr. Harnack's conclusions. (1) The Evangelist cannot have been the first to apply the Logos-name to Jesus; otherwise, his introduction must have been different. (2) Why did he use it? Three answers are possible. Either to prepare Hellenistic readers to understand the person of Jesus Christ, the Son of God; or to correct the wrong conceptions of the identity of Jesus Christ and the Logos; or to give objective proof of the doctrine of Jesus Christ as pre-existent and born of God. The two former are not exclusive of each other, and are rendered probable by the Prologue. At the standpoint of a Hellenistic reader the Prologue reads naturally, advancing from the known to the paradoxical or more difficult, not, as it seems to us, the reverse way. And at the same time it looks as if the author, when he so carefully puts the Logos in the right relation to God and the world, must have had wrong views before his mind. The first epistle puts this beyond doubt. The third possibility is only plausible. If it had been the object, the Prologue must have had a different conclusion from vers. 14-18. Those addressed believed in the Logos; no objective proof was necessary; the question was as to the subject. The Gospel, too, gives no objective proof of the Sonship of Jesus from God. The Gospel does not conclude with the sentence, "that you may believe that Jesus is the Logos," but "the Christ, the Son of God." (3) Not only is the current idea of the Logos remodelled, but the person of Christ as "God only-begotten" is substituted for it. The previous exposition and the contents of the Gospel show this. Not that a right is substituted for a wrong view; but the definite for the indefinite. When the definite is reached, the indefinite disappears, as is the case in this Gospel. (4) This being so, it cannot be said that the Logos-doctrine is a "helping notion," or that it brings the Johannine teachings to unity. Not the first, for it is never used as a help. "It is rather supplied to the author, and he has used it to lead into the holy place of the Gospel, and so really as an introduction." Not the second, for the discourses of Jesus do not assume and develop it. "It reaches just to the point where the designation of the Redeemer as Jesus Christ and as 'God only-begotten' appears." The doctrine of the Gospel is not based on the idea. "How a Logos-doctrine looks may be seen from the apologists of the second century. How different is their theory of the world from that of the fourth Evangelist! For them only the Logos really exists, and Jesus Christ is one of His forms of manifestation, if they think it at all necessary to mention this form. For the Evangelist, on the other hand, Jesus the Christ, the Son of God, exists. Because he has drawn grace and truth from His fulness, he knows that this Jesus the Messiah is from above, *ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ*. Because he knows this, he knows also that this Jesus existed before He came. Just for this reason, he can take up the speculation which others began and identify Him with the Logos. But he takes it up, because he can use it—correcting and remodelling it—as an introduction to what he has to proclaim about this Jesus: *that He is the Son of God*. Certainly, the Johannine theology has elements which are not historically intelligible without recourse to Hellenism; but whoever makes the Logos-doctrine the key to the fourth Gospel must first abstract from the discourses of Jesus in the Gospel a series of questions and problems, which the Evangelist himself either did not put or answered otherwise than with the help of that doctrine. He did not put them, because the peculiar nature of the heavenly Son of Man was not to him a

metaphysical problem, and because he could assert the being from God and pre-existence about Him without falling into philosophical scruples. . . . The Evangelist has not called the 'Word' the 'Son,' but he has so called Jesus, and has prepared for this designation by the other, 'the Word.'" (5) According to Harnack, also, the sentence, "The Word became flesh," is not the ruling thought of the Gospel, as is often supposed. Its position is due to later controversies, which insensibly influence our reading of the Gospel. The dominant thought is rather, "The Son of Man is come from above"; "The Son was with God and came from God." "The declaration, The Word became flesh, is neither the explanation of that thought, nor does he repeat the ideas involved in it (he uses others in part), nor does he follow it up in any direction; whilst, on the other hand, he was simply compelled by his premisses to formulate it *once*. From the premisses, 'Jesus Christ is the Logos, and Jesus Christ is the historical manifestation which we have seen,' 'The Word became flesh' followed of necessity, especially when there were already those who divided the Redeemer's personality, acknowledging indeed the Logos in it, but not fully identifying this Logos with the historical manifestation. Nowhere does the fourth Evangelist exhibit anything of the amazed impression made on a later age by the saying, 'The Word became flesh'; nowhere does he present any formula deduced from it. Irenæus's dictum, 'He became what we are that we may become what He is,' does not lie in his range of vision. He has a similar thought, but it runs very differently: 'that they may be one as we are, that the love with which Thou lovedst me may be in them and I in them.'"

"The Prologue of the Gospel is not the key to understanding the Gospel, but prepares Hellenistic readers for it. It joins on to a well-known figure, the Logos, revises and re-models it, implicitly contesting mistaken Christologies, in order to substitute for it Jesus Christ, God only-begotten, or to exhibit it as this Jesus Christ. From the moment when this is done the Logos-idea is dropped. The author now only speaks of Jesus in order to establish the faith that He is the Messiah, the Son of God. This faith has for its chief article the confession, that Jesus springs from God and from heaven; but the author is far from any attempt to bring about this confession on cosmological and philosophical grounds. On the ground of His testimony to Himself, and because He has brought complete knowledge of God and life—purely supernatural, Divine blessings—Jesus, according to the Gospel, proves Himself the Messiah, the Son of God."

"A thought once uttered does not always operate simply in the direction and extent given it by its author, but by a logic of its own and its own inherent force. The thought, The Word became flesh, has had a history which did not begin in the intention of the fourth Evangelist. We do not, indeed, know what share the Prologue of the Gospel had in spreading and shaping the Logos-doctrine in the Church, as also we do not know who first identified the Messiah Jesus and the Logos; but even in the second century the fourth Gospel was not without influence on the reception and development of the doctrine, and soon the Gospel had to be read as to-day men think it must be read, as the Logos-Gospel. But in truth the Gospel contains no Logos doctrine, but it exhibits the Logos as Jesus the Christ, the Son of God; it describes Him whom heathen, Jewish, and Christian philosophers thought they knew as the eternal Son of God, who is Jesus Christ."

It is scarcely probable that we shall ever have a better account of the Christology of the Ritschl school, or of the way in which that school understands the fourth Gospel, than Harnack here gives. It will perhaps be agreed that it is easier to say what is not than what is the view of that school on these subjects. The combination

In the foregoing article of high praise of the Gospel with disintegrating criticism is remarkable.

WAS THERE A PERSONAL PIETY IN EARLIER ISRAEL? By Dr. F. SCHNEIDERMAN, Leipzig (*Neue Kirchh. Zeitschrift*, 1898, No. 2).—"Psalm xviii. is to be understood throughout figuratively, not literally; the speaking I is the community, which expects, as a reward of its innocence and piety, the establishing of the Messianic kingdom by a theophany and the universal rule of Israel thus assured. These words of Cornill (*Einleitung in d. A. T.*, S. 119) take us into the heart of what is at present a burning question of Old Testament research. A thoroughly Biblico-theological question emerges out of critical labour, and we may rejoice in the mere fact. The issue is nothing less than this: Can there have been in the time of the Kings a believing relation of an Israelite as an *individual* to Jehovah the God of revelation? We have hitherto assumed this; we have regarded it as no unhistorical proceeding to ascribe to an earlier Israelite an attitude of soul which put into his lips, as his personal confession, the words: 'I have set the Lord always before me; because He is at my right hand, I shall not be moved' (Ps. xvi. 8). This is expressly denied by the moderns; they think they have been driven, in the course of literary and historical study of the Old Testament, to the opposite view, namely, that the *nation* stands in covenant relation to Jehovah, and the individual is pious *only* in so far as he belongs to the nation and participates in the traditional or prescribed acts and duties of religion, *e.g.*, the feasts; subjectively pious, indeed, but not when he tests, seeks to gain, affirms *his own* salvation, *his own* drawing to God in repentance and faith (there was no such thing yet), but when the nation's need is his, the nation's deliverance his, the nation's great future hope his. In Smend (*Stade's Zeitschr.* viii.) this has led to an exposition of the Psalms standing in conscious opposition to all earlier exposition; this may be seen at once in the first Psalm: The man of whom it is said, 'Blessed is he who walks not,' &c., is the *community*, or congregation; therefore this Psalm stands at the head of the collection to be put into the lips of the community (of course, community of a later date)! Cornill speaks indeed of 'circles which cherished a piety after the pattern of the Psalms,' but who, according to him, the speaker in the Psalms is, we have just seen by the example of Ps. xviii. In the same way, in the case of the Song of the Bow (2 Sam. i.), that undoubtedly 'genuine relic of David's poetic activity,' he emphasizes the 'entire absence of the religious element.'"

The writer proceeds to test this statement about 2 Sam. i. "I should think the religious element was obvious enough in ver. 20: 'Tell it not in Gath,' &c. Certainly, not in the personal sense, but in the general, national sense. To David it is a bitter thought that triumphal songs will be heard among the heathen, all in scorn of Israel and of God, on whose revelation this nation lives. But the question is only whether such a piety, restricted as yet to the national limits, must not, when the experiences were of a personal kind, have borne the flower and fruit of a personal relation to Jehovah, in the first case, of course, in those who were naturally disposed to sympathize with others, and therefore according to all that we know of him in David. An eminent example in every sense is 2 Sam. vii. Inward piety must be ascribed to him if only on account of his words in ver. 2: 'Behold, I dwell in a house of cedar, and the ark of God dwells under curtains.' The opposite of everything artificial lies in these words; they do not sound like the outcome of a cool, politic consideration. The national element is not concealed; on the contrary, it forms the turning-point of the matter. How can it be fitting that the king should have a well-built palace (chap. v. 11), and on the other hand the ark of the covenant, that sign of

Jehovah's presence among His people, remain in a tent (vi. 17), since the king's highest distinction is to be permitted to dwell at the Lord's right hand (Ps. cx. 1)? But it is elevated into a personal attitude of soul to God; in connection with the temporal statement of ver. 1, which is not meant to be a mere date: 'When now the king sat in his house, and the Lord had given him rest from his enemies round about,' we get the impression of overflowing thankfulness in David to Him who had brought him to such a position; he is ashamed, God's goodness humbles him; by building a permanent abode he will satisfy an inner craving, and remove a state of things which he feels to be unworthy! On this it is to be further observed: his experience is not quite that of a simple Israelite who feels that he has been graciously led by God; what God has done to him He has done to him as the head of His people; here also the national medium is seen. But through this veil the rudiment of a truly personal relation appears.

"And is it not still more decisively seen in the conduct of David on the bringing up of the ark in chap. vi.? We read there how David according to old custom dances before the Lord; how on this account he is exposed to the scorn of his wife, Michal, and how he replies by a joyous assertion of his inner attitude to God and of pious custom. I *will* be vile in my eyes; with intention and delight I have played before Jehovah, who has done so great things for me—if thy moral feeling is different, leave me mine! We see also that historically attested indications are not wanting that a different attitude might be taken. In Michal proud contempt for popular custom is stronger than gratitude to Jehovah; she shows want of piety. David, on the other hand, is glad to feel and show himself one with the people in devotion to Jehovah. And this history in 2 Sam. vi., according to Cornill, is 'very old,' even, in his opinion, a well-transmitted narrative standing near the events!

"Let us go still farther back. 1 Sam. iv., belonging to the second oldest source of 1 Sam., contains the glorious history of Eli's daughter-in-law, the wife of Phinehas. She was with child; she hears the news, that the ark of God has fallen into the hands of the enemy and Phinehas and Hophni are slain; her pangs come on her, she dies; but in her last conflict, when the women about her try to comfort her by saying, 'Thou hast brought a son into the world,' she puts all her remaining strength into a mournful song on her child; the song has but two words; it is the name she gives her child, and runs—I chabod, the glory is no more; for, she added, the glory is gone from Israel, for the ark of God is taken. Unless the beginnings of personal piety are apparent here in the entire devotion of a soul to the fate of the people—and this in a woman—all moral and religious states of transition must be denied.

"To a woman, Hannah, the song 1 Sam. is ascribed; a woman, mother of Moses, is called Jochebed, Jehovah is glory; of a woman, Rebekah, in Gen. xxiv. an act is told which can only be explained as a cheerful, obedient compliance with Jehovah's will; it is not rash to say that women were expected to exert influence in the direction of a right attitude to Jehovah, which must then, through the natural temperament of women, have taken a leaning to the personal, however much the national form and limit remained. And by what means under Divine leading was the actual deeping into the personal brought about? We see no course open but to say: through the men, who heard a revelation like, 'The Lord looks at the heart,' the prophets. Samuel's saying, 'Obedience is better than sacrifice,' Nathan's still more personal saying, 'Thou art the man,' just the work and the significance of these older prophets needed a new, more thorough exposition. We have only sought to raise a brief protest against 'lowering the level of the pre-Exilic religion of the people of Israel.'"

DR. H. HOLTZMANN ON HARNACK (*Zeitschr. f. wissenschaftl. Theologie*, 1893, No. 4).—In Hilgenfeld's periodical Dr. Holtzmann reviews the article of Harnack summarized above. It is both interesting and instructive to hear one leader of advanced criticism on another. While agreeing, no doubt, in the final interpretation to be put on John's Gospel, Holtzmann traverses each one of the new positions taken up by Prof. Harnack.

1. Harnack limits the force of the designation "Son," "Son of God," to Christ's historical manifestation. Holtzmann, on the other hand, agrees with those, both of the orthodox and critical side, who find in the term the idea of identity of nature or origin within the Godhead. The use of "Son" in iii. 17, and of "only-begotten Son" in vers. 16 and 18, shows that the two terms are identical in meaning, the shorter form being Christ's, the longer the Evangelist's. Of course, there are not wanting orthodox expositors who refer the term Son to the historical Christ. Thus, Luthardt explains it of the fellowship of Jesus with the Father founded on His origin from God. Holtzmann quotes Köstlin, Hilgenfeld, Scholten, Pfeiderer, Lipsius, as agreeing with Olshausen, Godet, Meyer, Keil in the meaning of the term, although, no doubt, the former would explain it of ideal, the latter of real existence.

Holtzmann observes that, with John's "being in God," derived causally from "being from God" (1 John v. 9), and this again from "begotten of God" (1 John iv. 7), we are at the heart of the Johannine "mysticism," which must not be resolved by the aid of the Pauline legal "adoption" into mere figure. Nor must the "seed of God" (1 John iii. 9) be explained by the "word of God" (1 Peter i. 23). Numerous passages in the first Epistle (ii. 29, iv. 7, v. 1, 4, 18) show how the idea is to be understood. "The Johannine 'birth from above' is indeed in substance akin to 'regeneration' (Titus iii. 5), and 'begotten again' (1 Peter i. 8, 23), perhaps based on the latter. It is distinguished, however, from the ideas mentioned in this, that these look back to a past state that is to be transformed, and hence lay the stress on the renewing in the birth; whereas John, so far as *ἀνωθεν* means 'from above,' takes into view the origin of those who are *ἐκ τῶν ἀνω* (viii. 23), the mode of their generation, but when it means 'again' merely refers to the beginning of life already found in the first birth." "John is the pioneer for those theological lines of thought which recognize a fertilizing of the human by the Divine Spirit, in virtue of which more is made of man, far greater things take place in man, than the idea of a natural being, however high his standing, would ever admit." We need not pursue further Holtzmann's own exposition.

2. Holtzmann also questions the position that no emphasis is to be placed on the second part of "only-begotten" (*μονογενής*). Harnack translates by "only-born." It is shown that the word has both shades of meaning, "only-begotten" and "only-born" (John i. 18). The use of *μονογενής* instead of Paul's *πρωτότοκος* (Rom. viii. 29; Col. i. 15) confirms this. Both indeed express the thought of some relation, but the relation to the creature is less conspicuous in John's than in Paul's phrase. "The fourth Evangelist uses the term in the sense of a Son beside whom the Father has no other, or none else like the Father. Although the phrase serves to raise the 'only-begotten one' absolutely above the level of the 'children of God' (only this phrase, but not the equivalent 'sons of God,' which on the contrary is used only in the singular and reserved for Christ alone, is therefore taken from Paulinism), on the other hand it does not withdraw Him from all comparison with them. Rather a connection of the two ideas is discernible even in John, corresponding to the Synoptist connection between 'sons of God' and the Son pre-eminently. . . . The process of generation, which produces children of God in

abundance, will be carried out once in perfectly normal order and with perfectly normal result. This perfection of begetting, the uniqueness of the relationship existing between God and this absolutely normal result of the process, is exhibited in the name 'only-begotten.' The possibility of such a master-work, the crown of God's creative activity, is only understood in the context of the Prologue, that the Logos, who everywhere appears as mediator (i. 8), has effected something in this case unique of its kind—He Himself 'became flesh' (i. 14). If elsewhere He only works on creation, He this time places Himself in the created world; He is, so to speak, His own product, and as such is called 'the only-begotten.' If on such a background of thought the origin and use of our phrase appears intelligible, it is also evident that the idea of 'Son' is by no means synonymous with that of Logos, but only denotes that final stage of the movement at which the Logos above history becomes a historical being. He now lives in the form of a human consciousness knowing itself one with God. The begetting of a self-consciousness, such as is presented in the Johannine discourses of Christ, is the last act of the work of the Logos in the world." We do not wonder that Holtzmann goes on to argue at length in favour of Harnack's exclusion from the term "only-begotten" of all reference to any miraculous birth of Christ, or to the pre-temporal generation of the eternal Son.

8. Holtzmann differs further from Harnack in his suggestion that the idea of pre-existence is connected with the Messiahship of Jesus. If so, he says, it is strange that the idea does not appear in the Synoptists in the same connection. The pre-existence is, in fact, already implied in all that is said of the Logos (i. 1). It is thence transferred to the historical Messiah. Holtzmann thinks that a comparison of passages like i. 18, iii. 13, vi. 83, 88, 46, precludes the assertion that the Evangelist has not connected a real pre-existence with God with the name of Son. "On the contrary, to him Jesus, as a historical manifestation, is the Son absolutely, because the eternal relation of Logos stands behind the historical manifestation. To him the phrase, which links itself historically with the Messiah-idea, is explained and glorified in the light of the latter. . . . The name 'Son of God' is not to be understood merely as a Messianic title of honour, but can only be understood, without infringement of Christ's testimony in the entire Gospel, of the Divine Being, whose relation to God and the world has been already stated in the Prologue." For the rest, to Holtzmann, as to Harnack, Son of God and Messiah are equivalent.

4. Holtzmann also questions the statement that the fourth Gospel is not to be regarded as a "Logos-Gospel." The fact that Logos is used in the course of the Gospel in its ordinary sense or senses, of which so much is made, really makes no difference. "On the map of a spiritual territory it may happen that two places bear the same name; but they lie in different districts, and we do not lose the remembrance of the one when we come to describe the second. A poem, which in the preface speaks of the 'spirit' of the Middle Ages and professes to be written in this 'spirit,' is not untrue to itself, if here and there in the narrative a 'spirit' and 'spirits' play a part."

CURRENT FRENCH THOUGHT.

THE INSPIRATION OF THE BIBLE. By A. BOUVIER (*Revue Chrétienne*).—Few subjects force themselves on our attention in the present day with more pertinacity than that of the inspiration of the Bible—that is to say, of the presence and action of the Spirit of God in the Bible.

The word inspiration comes from *spirit* (*spiritus*, *πνεῦμα*), which properly signifies breath. So close is the connection between the two, that the Spirit of God is compared, in the conversation between Jesus and Nicodemus, to the wind, of which we do not know whence it comes or whither it goes. It is therefore a figurative expression, and, like all such when applied to things of the spiritual order, it only imperfectly sets forth the underlying idea. The action of a breath is external—it passes over the skin, it travels through an organ-pipe; and so, too often inspiration has been regarded as something that is external and superhuman in its operations. The Bible, it is true, has supplied a corrective to this misconception in the very multiplicity of the figures it uses for describing the work of the Spirit of God. In the history of creation the Spirit is compared to a brooding dove, by its kindly warmth kindling the germs of life; and the figure is recalled in the narrative of the baptism of Jesus, as if to intimate that the Spirit of God is about to bring forth a new moral world. Again, it is compared to a spring of living water, to the sap which flows from the vine-stock to the branches, and to a fire which both illuminates and cleanses; while the tongues of fire alighting on the heads of the Apostles are a vivid symbol of that fervid eloquence which was about to convert the world. So varied are the manifestations of the power of that Spirit which operates within the soul, and makes itself felt in and through the Sacred Scriptures. It is of its presence in the Scriptures that we have now to speak. The reality of the fact, and the nature of it, will engage our attention.

A fact is not proved by reasoning, but shows itself; it is attested by trustworthy evidence. In the case of inspiration, the fact is proved by a twofold testimony—that of the sacred writers themselves, and that of the Christian consciousness in its estimate of their writings and the impressions it has received from them. The prophetic writers of the Old Testament have full consciousness of their mission and calling. They feel and account themselves the interpreters of God—arrested, possessed, and impelled by a religious conviction which they wish to spread abroad. They present themselves as the messengers of God, and speak in His name. They tell us of special crises in their lives, and of prophetic dreams or visions; but they do not lay much stress upon these, they rather treat them as of secondary importance. The canonical prophets are quite aware that the false prophets have similar experiences. And in New Testament times the Apostles do not overvalue the merely external manifestations of inspiration. In 1 Cor. xiv. we see how St. Paul estimates the extraordinary gifts so highly valued in Corinth, and how he prefers to the ecstatic speaking with tongues the simple and persuasive word. A very significant circumstance in the experience of the prophets is their internal struggles. There is conflict between the Divine will and the human; the man is afraid, or timid, or divided between the Spirit which urges him on and the flesh which holds him back. The most striking example of this is that of Jeremiah, who cries, "His word was in mine heart, as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not contain." St. Paul in his turn says, "Necessity

is laid upon me: yea, woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel." The prophets, it is to be remarked, always feel themselves able for their task; they are strengthened and endowed with energies of conscience, will, and love needed for the accomplishment of it. Who can have animated such lives, dictated such words, but the Spirit of God?

The second testimony is that of the religious consciousness—the testimony rendered by the Spirit of God who is in the believer to the Spirit of God who is in the Bible. The representation given by prophets and Apostles of the government of the world by God—of His supreme, unchanging rule, tempered by His righteousness and His mercy—and the passionate feelings of adoration, penitence, and love they express are full of a Divine life. And this life the Bible imparts—that is to say, it communicates to those who read it the holy passions by which it is animated.

From the testimony of the sacred writers and of the religious consciousness to the fact of inspiration we pass to the nature of that inspiration. It is not the mere transmission of a message—the carrying of a sealed letter by a man who may be deaf and blind, and yet none the less efficient as a messenger. No; the prophet is imbued with the Divine thought, he apprehends it, and makes it his own, substance of his substance, and soul of his soul; and then with all the energy of his being he communicates it, either as a spoken or as a written word. Inspiration is not only the act of God in him, but also a spontaneous and voluntary motion of his whole personality—religious, moral, intellectual, and physical—at least so far as visions and ecstasies are concerned. No infringement on human nature takes place; but a fuller, holier, and more perfect humanity is evoked—the life of the spirit is awakened or strengthened by communion with God. The inspiration which results from this is not something magical and superhuman, neither is it always of the same quality or intensity. It is subject to two conditions—to that of the epoch at which it occurs, and to that of the individuality of the man on whom it comes. Revelation—Divine truth—is progressive, and hence it follows that at such and such an epoch a certain truth is dimly perceptible to a few enlightened minds, which at a later time is common property, and is clear and intelligible to all. The great ones of the earlier era are thus surpassed by comparatively inferior personages in the era that follows. The lowliest in the kingdom of heaven knows more, and is therefore greater than John the Baptist. The second condition is that of the individuality of the prophet or apostle. There is diversity, and even inequality, in the gifts of inspiration. The thoughts of some who are inspired are greater than those of others; the knowledge of the Divine plan which some possess is deeper than that given to others. Surely the deutero-Isaiah surpasses in this respect Obadiah and Haggai; St. Paul surpasses St. James. The mission of some is local, temporary, and Jewish; others, like Ezekiel, Daniel, and the author of the Apocalypse, have knowledge of the general destiny of nations and of mankind at large. Some are poetical and others are prosaic in their diction; some are distinctly original, others are imitators; the modes of thought of the priest or of the layman influence the form in which this prophet or that states his message. Individuality is not suppressed by inspiration; it receives an elevation of tone, but is not abolished.

The question naturally arises, Is inspiration confined to Israel and to the Bible? My firm opinion, which is based on the teaching of the Bible itself, is that it is not. The activity of the same Spirit which inspired the Bible has ever been manifest in the Church and in humanity. The prophet Joel anticipated the coming of a time when the gifts of the Spirit, which were then the possession of a limited class, would be poured out upon all—upon young and old, bond and free. And on the day of Pentecost St. Peter announced that the prophecy had then begun to receive its

fulfilment. In the fourth Gospel, in like manner, Jesus promises the Spirit to guide, and comfort, and teach all who believe in Him. And the Apostles declare that the Churches they have founded have received the Spirit, that all faith and life and energy and knowledge are His gifts. It would be arbitrary in the highest degree to assert that inspiration was the exclusive privilege of one nation of antiquity—of the nation which crucified Jesus, and drove the Apostles out of its community. The Book of Genesis represents the Spirit of God as the active power in the creation of the world, and Ps. civ. speaks of that Spirit as the principle of animal life. It can scarcely be erroneous, therefore, to think of the Spirit as the author of all that is true and noble in the religions and civilizations of the world. The Book of Exodus ascribes to Him the genius and skill of the workmen who constructed the Tabernacle; the Book of Judges represents the physical strength of Samson and the military prowess of Othniel and Jephthah as proceeding from Him. And should we be afraid to ascribe to the same source the profoundly religious genius of a Michael-Angelo, a Guido, a Bach, a Handel, a Lesueur, a Thorwaldsen, or a Scheffer, or the martial courage which St. Louis, Coligny, Gustavus Adolphus, and Washington consecrated to holy causes? All that is true and holy and inspiring must come from the one Divine source; and to desire to limit the inspiration of God to one age or people or book, is a kind of unbelief in God—it is to set bounds to His power and love, and to impoverish the world, which is already too sorely enfeebled by the inroads of sin.

CURRENT DUTCH THOUGHT.

ANTHROPOLOGY, AND ITS PLACE IN DOGMATICS. By Dr. F. E. DAUBANTON (*Theologische Studiën*, 11^{de} jaarg., afl. 1, 1898).—If the weight and importance of a science depends upon its object, then the first place is assured to anthropology among the sciences of created things. The cosmos constitutes a hierarchically ordered system. On all hands each lower form of existence in the economy of the world finds its destination and goal in a higher form. At the head of the whole organization, and uniting it to a higher world, stands man. Man, in fact, exercises upon earth a lordship that no other creature does. He reflects upon the facts that slumber or are active in nature. He wakens them out of their slumber. He discovers the laws to which they are obedient. He takes advantage of both for the attainment of his ends, whether they be near at hand or remote. The creature named man is unique. He is different from, and more excellent than, all the others. It may be asserted that man in the condition in which we now find him, and as represented in ourselves, is a fallen monarch. But it must be confessed that the fallen one is still a monarch. There are atrocities and misdeeds associated with humanity to which the lower animals can never fall; but the tragical working and development of sin confirms the proverb: *Corruptio optimi pessima*.

From whatever point of view the scientific inquirer studies man he invariably finds in him the noblest object that creation reveals. The advocate of the theory of evolution will place the best developed anthropoid below the *homo sapiens*, although he may think that the difference between the two is merely one of degree. Whatever functions the lower animals may, to a certain extent, have in common with man, the philosophy of religion finds nothing to its taste in the animal world. There is no such thing as a religious beast. The religious moral life is the distinguishing

characteristic of man. It defines the boundary line that is drawn between the animal kingdom and humanity. "The world is a temple of God," says Hase, "but the first to recognize and consecrate it as such is its priest—he who worships in the temple—namely, Man."

No wonder, then, that the noblest and deepest of thinkers, struck with the unique place of man in creation, have also recognized the unique importance of anthropology in the domain of science. Upon the *Γρωθὶ σκαυτῶν* inscribed above the entrance of the temple of Helios the history of human thought has impressed its seal. *Γρωθὶ σκαυτῶν* was the motto of Socrates; and the sway of the nature-philosophy of his time saw its days numbered. At the bottom, the *doute méthodique* of Cartesius is nothing else than a modified form of *Γρωθὶ σκαυτῶν*; and *Cogito ergo sum* inaugurated a new period in the history of philosophy. If the name of Kant indicates a turning-point in the further development of philosophy, subjective idealism, showing the importance of the thought categories, returns in the end again to that old, that ever new, *Γρωθὶ σκαυτῶν*.

It is not, however, the heroes of philosophy only who have laid emphasis on the importance of anthropology. In the beginning of Book II. of his *Institutes*, Calvin says, "It was not without reason that the ancient proverb so strongly recommended to man the knowledge of himself. For if it is deemed disgraceful to be ignorant of things pertaining to the business of life, much more disgraceful is self-ignorance, in consequence of which we miserably deceive ourselves in matters of the highest movement, and so walk blindfold."

Now, anthropology, as a chapter of dogmatics, views man as a religious moral being in his relation to God. The calling of the medical physiologist is one, that of the philosophical psychologist is another; and yet another is that of the dogmatist. We have to attend to the highest, the noblest life-functions and relations of man; to those, in fact, that make him man. We have to describe the present condition of man as a religious moral being, and in order to do this thoroughly we have first of all to find out how this condition became what it now is. Thus, all that is adduced to demonstrate the importance of anthropology in general applies *a fortiori* to the science of man as a religious moral being in particular.

We must, however, indicate more precisely the task of the dogmatist when dealing with anthropology. The distinction between his work and that of the philosopher of religion must not be lost sight of. This last goes at once to the object of his study. He has to study the religious moral man directly, just as he now presents himself; and, according to the requirements of the historical method, he has to seek indirectly for an answer to the question: What was man formerly, and how came he to be what he now is? The philosopher of religion gives us his opinion, the result of his observation, of his research, and, more intimately, of his experience. The dogmatist, on the other hand, finds his material historically supplied in the teaching of his Church. It is this that he has to bring out, to estimate critically, to develop, and to work into a system. This distinction between the work of the two must be carefully kept in mind, in order that no confusion may arise. It is not what A or B thinks about man, but what his Church, by the mouth of its official interpreters, confesses, that is the basis of the dogmatist's operations. That is what he has to deal with, in accordance with the demands of science, and in harmony with the intellectual development of his Church during the period now current.

If anthropology, regarded by itself, is, on account of its object, of the highest importance, it is of preponderating importance in dogmatics. Whoever has thoroughly studied and mastered the anthropology of any particular system of

dogmatics is already in possession of the main data upon which to pass judgment on its theology, in its narrower sense, and on its soteriology. An Augustinian soteriology cannot accompany a Pelagian anthropology. A hamartiology, constructed in the spirit of the rationalistic "Aufklärung," can never be brought into harmony with the soteriology, say, of Calvin. Whoever carefully examines the various methods employed in the history of doctrine and of dogmatics will readily recognize the influence of anthropology on all the other branches of the doctrinal system.

As to the place of anthropology in the dogmatic system, the history of dogmatics teaches that writers on the subject have not been unanimous; but the great majority of reformed dogmatists have begun their exposition of doctrine with theology in its narrower sense. Thus, most of the symbolical writings of the Protestant Churches begin with the confession of faith concerning the Divine Being. To this the Heidelberg Catechism is a noteworthy exception, inasmuch as it places anthropology first, although with special reference to hamartiology. From this it appears clear that the whole design of the Catechism has been projected on an anthropological plan. The beginning of Calvin's Catechism is also anthropological. In the first edition of his *Loci*, Melancthon started with man, his free will and his need of redemption. The later editions begin with the chapter *De Deo*. The first book of the *Institutes* of the Genevan reformer treats "Of the knowledge of God the Creator." It is, however, necessary to remark, in order to a right understanding of this fact, that the first chapter of the first book is entitled "The knowledge of God and of ourselves mutually connected.—Nature of the connection." Calvin recognizes that "it is not easy to determine which of the two precedes and gives birth to the other," and he concludes that "every person, on coming to the knowledge of himself, is not only urged to seek God, but is also led as by the hand to find Him."

On the ground of these and suchlike explanations one might too readily expect that the thoughtful Reformer had begun with the exposition of anthropology. This, however, is not so. With an "on the other hand," he introduces considerations that must necessitate the previous treatment of the knowledge of God. "It is evident," he says, "that man never attains to a true self-knowledge until he has previously contemplated the face of God, and come down after such contemplation to look into himself. For (such is our innate pride) we always seem to ourselves just, and upright, and wise, and holy, until we are convinced, by clear evidence, of our injustice, vileness, folly, and impurity." And so Calvin concludes that though the knowledge of God and the knowledge of ourselves are bound together by a mutual tie, due arrangement requires that we treat of the former in the first place, and then descend to the latter.

In order to judge of the lawfulness of Calvin's conclusion, we must first read chapter xv. of the first book of the *Institutes*. This chapter treats of the "State in which man was created. The faculties of the soul, the image of God, free will, original righteousness." The fact that this chapter forms part of the book devoted to the knowledge of God the Creator is noteworthy. Calvin at once explains that, "We cannot clearly and properly know God unless the knowledge of ourselves be added." Whoever examines the matter carefully will admit that Calvin's conclusion—first theology, then anthropology—requires to be supported by weightier arguments.

The Reformed dogmatists, after Calvin, give theology the first place. The majority of the Lutherans do the same. The history of dogmatics show this, and against this testimony there is nothing to be adduced. Dr. Van Oosterzee, the latest of the Reformed divines in Holland who gave to the world a complete system

of dogmatics, adhered to the traditional arrangement. But the reasons given by Van Oosterzee for placing theology before anthropology are just as little convincing as are those of Calvin.

We are of opinion that in the dogmatic system anthropology must be treated first, before theology, for various reasons. This arrangement is the only one that corresponds to the method of science and to our advancement in conscious life. It is clear that, in the first place, we have no conception of what is outside us, but only of our self. And science does not first know causes; but rather the consequences first, and the causes afterwards. From the known effects it ascends to the causes—from the creature to the creator. The objection that by this arrangement God is not honoured as the Alpha and the Omega possesses more of the rhetorical power of carrying away than the scientific weight of conviction. To reach the first principle of all that exists is the end of science, not its first beginning. Another objection to this arrangement is that it is a departure from Reformed theological tradition, and that the Reformed type of doctrine is thereby subverted. To this twofold objection there is the twofold answer—yes and no. It is true that it is a departure from the order cherished by the Reformed dogmatists, as may be seen by a glance at the works of Voetius, Marck, and Brakel. But we deny that it is a subversion of the Reformed type of doctrine, or that it runs counter to its principle and tendency.

To return to Calvin, his masterly work, the *Institutes*, is not arranged according to the later scheme—theology, anthropology, soteriology, &c.—but according to the fourfold division, “Of the knowledge of God the Creator; of God the Redeemer; of the mode of obtaining the grace of Christ; of the external means or helps by which God allures us into fellowship with Christ and keeps us in it.” This is practically the incorporation of the Trinitarian division with a broadly-developed ecclesiology. Where is anthropology to be found here? Why does it not obtain an independent place in the scheme? He who studies the *Institutes* thoughtfully will see that the whole work is in reality a great anthropology. Calvin reasons from the standpoint of the Christian personality. His anthropology was already cut and dry before he committed a line of his theology to paper. It is the basement that carries the whole structure. That the anthropological principle did not receive its due place in the external arrangement of the *Institutes* shows that Calvin, a child of the age in which he lived, very surely succumbed to the influence of tradition in formal matters.

What the Reformed type of doctrine asks to be recognized is that in divinity man is the minor subject. It is a question of quality, and not one of order. Even Romish, Lutheran, Remonstrant, and Socinian systems began with theology in the limited sense. The whole question here discussed narrows itself down in the end to this: Will you present your doctrinal system in an inductive-genetic form, or in a deductive form?

DANCING. By Rev. N. A. DE GAAY FORTMAN (*Tijdschrift voor de Gereformeerde Theologie*, Jan., 1898).—Taken in its simplest and most natural significance, dancing is nothing more than the expression of joyful or sorrowful emotions by means of gestures and rhythmical movements regulated by the laws of æsthetic feeling. As regards its origin, Suicerus explains it very simply when he says that “when men are deeply moved, both in mind and body, whether by things sorrowful or joyful, they execute different movements and gestures by the impulse of nature alone. Then art comes in, and by it the movements and gestures of the body are made regular and harmonious.” This explanation, which is not improbable, also accounts for the fact that dancing from of old has been practised by the people of God as well as by those of the world. The heathen danced to the honour of their deities; they had no

religious solemnities or feasts without dancing. And the Israelites likewise expressed their joy for the great favours of God by dancing. So we read in God's Word of David that he leaped and danced before the ark of the Lord. The daughters of Shiloh also came out to dance at a feast of the Lord, when the Benjamites fell upon them and took them away as wives. Likewise, Miriam the prophetess and all the women went out with timbrels and with dances while they sang a song of triumph to the Lord. Of Jephthah's daughter we also read that she came out with her companions to meet her father with timbrels and with dances. Stranger still is the testimony of Jesus in the parable of the Prodigal Son, whose return was celebrated with music and dancing.

That this dancing was subject to rules, and thus had been learned beforehand, is perfectly clear from its being always accompanied with music, playing, and singing. Alongside these sacred dances there were also, in ancient times, private dances. The heathen had stage, war, and festal dances. These did not exist among the Israelites, although, to be sure, they danced at family and national festivities. Jesus alludes to a marriage custom of the Jews, which the children imitated, when He says, "They are like unto children sitting in the market-place, and calling one to another, and saying, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced." The women also came out singing and dancing to meet Saul and David after the slaughter of Goliath and the Philistines. This last sort of dancing, however, readily degenerated into a species of worldly and voluptuous dancing, of which we have a specimen in the dancing of the daughter of Herodias.

At the present day, dances are of two kinds—society dances or balls, and stage or theatrical dances. These dances are taken part in by men and women together; which was not the case in ancient times, when men and women appear to have danced separately, notwithstanding the different interpretation put by some upon Psalm lxxviii. 25. Be that as it may, a more important question for Christians to decide is whether or not dancing is lawful on the basis of God's Word. Naturally, the so-called sacred dances of David, Miriam, and others were lawful; but as they no longer exist, it is needless to speak of them: we confine ourselves to private dances. That the Christians of the first two centuries, in the midst of persecutions, thought little or nothing about dancing we can easily conceive. With the dawn of quieter times, however, dancing came into fashion; but the Church did not favour the practice, and the Council of Laodicea forbade dancing at marriages. The Council of Agatho, held in 450, also forbade, as a general rule, all Christians to take part in dances accompanied with frivolous songs. And the most famous of the Church-fathers—such as Basil, Ambrose, Gregory of Nazianzen—spoke to the same effect. But when the world again triumphed in the Church, dancing under all sorts of forms was declared to be lawful by many divines. The Reformation condemned dancing wholly and utterly, at least, as far as Calvinism is concerned, for the Lutherans had fewer difficulties in permitting it. There were exceptions, however, among the Calvinists. Peter Martyr and Danaeus taught that dancing, when properly regulated, was permissible and harmless. Marnix van St. Aldegonde went a step further, and, while condemning sinful dancing, held private and society dancing to be perfectly harmless, and joined in it himself as often as he had the opportunity. Other zealous Christian writers are known to have shared his opinions, among whom was the celebrated professor of law at Franeker, Ulricus Huber, who maintained that the merry musical dance was a preventive of drinking and a means of improving the behaviour of young people.

But, after all, the defenders of dancing form but a small circle compared with

the long list of its opponents. Among these there is not one who does not admit that if it were nothing more than the expression of feeling (as it was among the Israelites at the time of their spiritual maturity) or a gymnastic exercise, there would be no complaint to make against it; but this is nowhere the case. Udemans says rightly that dancing means men with women and youths with maidens frivolously leaping and skipping to the enjoyment of the flesh. Joh. Taffinus writes to the same effect, and Amesius also condemns all such dances as lead to merely carnal pleasure. This definition of dancing is neither new nor specially Christian. Among the Romans even there were those who condemned dancing, although, like other nations, they honoured their deities with dances. Lucius Lucinus Murena, consul in the year 62 B.C., was accused by Cato of being a dancer, whereupon his advocate, Cicero, did not seek to defend dancing. On the contrary, he condemned it, and maintained that his client could not be a dancer because dancing is always accompanied by other vices. "For it may be said that no one ever dances when sober, unless he be perchance a madman, nor will any one dance alone, nor in a moderate and sober party, but dancing is the last companion of prolonged feasting, of luxurious situation, and of many refinements." Again, in the oration for King Deiotarus, Cicero asks, "Did any one ever see Deiotarus dancing—did any one ever see him drunk?" And in his *Offices* Cicero indicates that dancing was esteemed but a scandalous practice, and unbecoming a sober and prudent person among the Romans. As Cicero judged, so also did Sallust, who, in his *Conspiracy of Catiline*, remarks of a certain lady named Sempronia that "she could sing, play, and dance with greater elegance than became a woman of virtue," thereby placing dancing among the instruments of luxury. And, to name only another, the historian Justin tells that timbrels and dances were introduced as ministrations to the luxury of Ptolemy Philopater. Why the Romans so strongly condemned dancing is explained to us by the Apostle Paul in the Epistle to the Romans ii. 14, 15: "For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves: which show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another." They have shown that they had the work of the law written on their heart, although very faintly. We, on the contrary, have the Word of God, written by the Holy Ghost, from which it appears clear to us what the Lord has said regarding dancing in His Word. Various considerations lead to the conclusion that dancing is one of the things that have had their origin in the world, and that it is to be avoided both on account of what it leads to and because it is not a good thing in itself. Everything warns us that we must avoid and escape from it, even although there is no passage of Scripture in which it is explicitly forbidden.¹

¹ The type of thought illustrated in this abstract is somewhat prevalent among a considerable section of the Dutch people, and there appears to be a tendency to carry its practical application beyond reasonable limits. Thus some would make it unlawful for Christians to join in any amusement that is calculated to lead to physical or moral injury. During the past winter the propriety of concert-going, and even of skating, has been seriously discussed, the latter being held by a few to be a breach of the sixth commandment on account of the number of fatal accidents to which it leads. Dr. Kuyper, the leader of the ultra-orthodox or Calvinistic party, and editor of *De Heraut van de Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*, has summed up against concert-going, but has pronounced skating to be a legitimate pastime, if due precautions are taken for the safety of those indulging in it. This latter decision has not given satisfaction to some of his followers, but he very properly reminds such, in the words of Paul, that if everything is to be forbidden that is capable of being perverted, "Then must ye needs go out of the world." That the same tendency to unnecessary strictness in the matter of amusements

CURRENT SCANDINAVIAN THOUGHT.

PONTIFEX MAXIMUS. By SIGURD IBSEN (*Nyt Tidsskrift*, new series, No. 1).—The Roman Pontiff knows no equal; he claims to stand over all other monarchs, and yet no one bears a more humble title than the one he pleases to give himself—*Servus Servorum Dei*. His coronation is celebrated with imperial splendour, and yet as he is borne up to the altar of St. Peter's the melancholy words of the Latin psalm are sung—*Sic transit gloria mundi*. From this moment he becomes the spiritual head of two hundred million souls, but at the same time he sacrifices the personal freedom which is enjoyed by the meanest of those who listen to his command.

The Pope calls himself the Vicegerent of Christ, but his official title—*Pontifex Maximus*—he has received from godless emperors, who in their turn have inherited it from the high priests of polytheism. The triple crown that rests upon his head is supposed to be the emblem of his power in the suffering, the militant, and the conquering Church, but in reality this golden tiara had its origin among the Persian kings. Its counterpart was borne by Cyrus and Cambyes long before the Gospel had assembled a congregation. He is the representative of a Lord who has said, "My kingdom is not of this world," and, nevertheless, he sets up as a worldly potentate, with all the attendant pomp and outward show of royalty.

Catholicism is not, like Protestantism, split up into churches or sects confined to localities, and independent of each other. It is one and indivisible; the greatest "international" the world has seen. It may be said to be the dominant confession in Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, and Belgium, in Mexico, in the Central and South American Republics. It is the prevailing doctrine in Austria-Hungary, Poland, and Ireland. It embraces a third of the population of the German Empire. It has numerous followers in Turkey, in Switzerland, in Holland, in the United States, and in Canada. It has missionaries in the most distant regions; in China, in Polynesia, in the heart of Africa. And it is always making new proselytes. While Lutheranism stands still, or rather goes back, the Catholic Church gains ground. No wonder; for it understands how to ensnare souls as no other does. With psychological insight it appeals to men's senses and feelings. Art in all its forms is made use of. It extends its influence into everyday life. The Catholic clergy, much more thoroughly than the evangelical, assume control of their flocks, and imbue them with their thought and action. They do this the more easily as the steadily enforced principle of authority in the Romish Church gives the priesthood unbounded influence over the uncultured laity.

Catholicism is concentrated in the residence of the Pope. From all countries the countless threads of its interests meet in the Vatican. Here, affairs of the most diverse kinds are settled, private and public, political and religious, small and great, from simple affairs of divorce up to questions of concordats and dogmas. By the side of the absolute priest-king stands as a sort of ministerial council the "Sacred College" of Cardinals. In this the foremost place is held by the prelate who, under the title of Secretary of State, takes charge of the Papal diplomacy. For with the loss of its territory, the Papacy has not ceased to be regarded as a personality in

is not unknown in the United States is evident from a recent utterance in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, to the effect "that it seems inherent in systems of general recreation, no matter how wisely planned or carefully conducted, to degenerate."—J. M. A.

international law. And as such it not only receives the ambassadors and envoys of foreign powers, but it in turn has its representatives in foreign countries. Readers of the leading journals cannot fail to notice the important rôle played by the Papal diplomatists. Again and again they will meet with the names of Rampolla, Galimberti, Czacki, Ruffo-Scilla, Agliardi.

In point of fact, the Vatican and its agents interfere in the relations of most European kingdoms. The necessity of keeping the heterogeneous masses of the faithful together under a common law and a common government; the fundamental principal of Catholicism—that of intermeddling with purely secular affairs—and thence its claim to have the school system in its hand—considerations such as these account for the fact that the Romish Church cannot rest contented with the subordinate position which Protestantism is ready to put up with. Wherever it has found entrance it seeks to be recognized as a kind of separate state, as far as possible independent of the civic community. This explains why it is that the Papacy is perpetually embroiled either in disputes or in negotiations with temporal powers.

All this has been conspicuous under Leo XIII. In the fourteen years of his pontificate we have seen how the "Kulturkampf," which embittered the last days of Pius IX., has, bit by bit, resulted in the retreat of the governments of Central Europe. In Switzerland the Federal Council had to condescend to repeal its decree of expulsion against the refractory Mermillod, and to reinstate Lachat in his episcopal authority. In Belgium the interrupted diplomatic relations with the Holy See were resumed, and the Liberal school law of the Frère-Orban's ministry had to give place to a new one that has brought elementary education under priestly control. In Austria the ecclesiastical princes were allowed to behave as if the concordat which had been renounced in 1870 henceforth remained in force. In Prussia the embassy at the Vatican, which had formerly been withdrawn, has again been restored, the vacant bishoprics have, one after another, been filled, the hostile "May Laws" have been modified to the advantage of the Catholic priesthood. In the German Parliament the Ultramontane party has, since the seventies, risen from a membership of 68 to 106, and its influence on the measures of the government has been so often and so forcibly felt that Prince Bismarck, without meeting with specific contradiction, has been able to maintain that the present guiding force in Germany is simply the tow-line of the clerical party.

These are great results, but with these Leo XIII. does not rest content. He aims at the restoration of his temporal dominion, of that church-state of which his predecessor was robbed by Victor Emmanuel. Hence his enmity to the royal house of Savoy, his opposition to the Triple Alliance, of which it is a member, his favour for a union between France and Russia, who, in a coming war, shall crush the confederacy of the three powers, and compel Italy to deliver up its Roman province. In the Liberal organs a new *dominium temporale* is depicted as a dream. But, in the eyes of the faithful, there is nothing impossible for this Papal power that has already returned from Avignon and Fontainebleau, and has survived Attila and Bonaparte.

MATERIALISM AND NATURAL SCIENCE. By Prof. SOPHUS TORUP (*Nyt Tidsskrift* new series, No. 8).—If a historian of civilization in the year A.D. 2500 should endeavour to form for himself an idea of the general cast of thought in this, the last decade of the nineteenth century, and if he should seek to do this by a study of the popular, non-technical, periodical press, he would so often come upon the words "materialism" and "materialistic view of life," that he would undoubtedly reach the conclusion that the universal conception of existence, as well among plain as among cultured people, was materialistic. And he would be particularly

struck with the fact that, in this present year, in public discussions, words should be used and notions propounded, as if every one understood them, which, as he would express it, "we, after the lapse of seven hundred years, are even yet completely ignorant of, and which the science of the last seven centuries, in spite of its great progress, has sought in vain to explain."

As a matter of fact, has so mighty a stream of materialism run through the culture of the last decades as to explain and justify the extensive use of these dangerous words? Certainly not. But, it may be asked, are not the natural sciences—the favoured offspring of the century—vehicles of materialism? Are they not its very incarnation? And the doctrine of evolution and modern physiology, together with the physiology of mind and experimental psychology—are these not just so many fortresses from which materialism digs its trenches and undermines the social and moral ground upon which we live? By no means. But even if it were really so, even if the modern natural sciences and the culture they represent were materialistic, is it the same "materialism" and the same "materialistic view of life" that are now dinned into our ears from every side, and that are bandied about in journalistic skirmishes and in parliamentary pitched battles? Does this every-day significance of the word materialism coincide with that of science? By no means; they are as different as night and day. But that, probably, does not matter; it is not the first time that a thing has been misunderstood. It is merely a repetition of the old story, that before a thing is quite comprehended a name for it crops up, but just as likely as not it is the wrong one. That would not matter much if the unintelligible word did not, as is always the case, by degrees begin to clothe itself with flesh and blood, and to pose as something real, and in that way to do harm.

It is right and proper to endeavour to check this, to try to show that what one begins to understand by "materialistic view of life" by no means coincides with "materialism" in its actual and scientific sense. It is further desirable to show that natural science, and especially the science which this question touches most closely, namely physiology, is not materialistically disposed as materialism is popularly understood. The misunderstanding has already been hurtful to the natural sciences, and goes a long way to account for the fact that natural science as a basis of education and culture has been received with mistrust and aversion.

Since Copernicus set the earth revolving in the heavens, it seems as if to the eyes of science the world had been awakened from an enchanted sleep. To the eyes of Huygens light became a motion—a vibration of ether atoms. Tyndall saw that heat is simply a particular "mode of motion"; and to Clerk Maxwell's ingenious gaze electricity and magnetism revealed themselves in turn as motion—as vibrations of ether atoms. But this development, which, little by little, has shown that behind the old forces of nature there is concealed a world of vibrating, pulsating atoms, does not stop there. It is not merely the forces of nature that show themselves to be forms of motion, but even the general properties of matter are the result of the activities of atoms. Some of these properties have obtained a dynamic explanation. Lord Kelvin has already made ingenious contributions to the understanding of the elasticity of bodies "as possibly a mode of motion." And the well-known Russian chemist, Mendeléeff, has attempted to bring chemical transformations and reactions within range of similar points of view. It is only a question of time when universal attraction and when qualitative differences of the elements will find the same explanation. It is probably spectrum analysis that will show the way. Inorganic nature which for the ancients was lifeless, dead, exhibits itself to us as a world full of life, peopled by working atoms. The old distinction

between living and lifeless must cease, for all alike are living. It is true that the exact demonstration of all this still lies in the future. Perhaps the whole life of the human race upon earth may be too short for a full mastery of it; but there is nothing to prevent it from being done. That being so, has materialism triumphed? Is the modern study of nature in its essence materialistic? By no means, for this is not materialism. Materialism is a manner of regarding the world, and it must, if it is to have a *raison-d'être* at all, stretch forth over everything. It must gather under its observation psychical as well as physical phenomena, and all without exception; and it must render an account of everything as an outcome of matter and its motion.

The old naïve materialism could not, from the nature of the thing, have its eye open to the difficulties that rose round an attempt to force its way in among psychical processes. The natural sciences were too slightly developed; they lacked first and foremost the experimental method. It is that which places a gulf between the natural sciences of classical antiquity and ours. When experimental research at the beginning of this century built as if it were by magic the Aladdin castle of the modern natural sciences, it was to be expected that materialism should feel the time had come in which to erect a tower whence man should overlook the universe. But the efforts of Vogt, Moleschott, and Büchner were vain, and during the last twenty years materialism has lived, like an exiled monarch, in the quiet retreat that is reserved for it in the history of philosophy. It is only now and then called forth to serve as a target for combative philosophers and theologians who seek to win their spurs as knights of the transcendental world by an onslaught upon the poor unfortunate—and the exploit is not a dangerous one.

It is the newer physiology of the senses that has set the question as to natural science and materialism in its true light, and squared up accounts between the two. There are forms of motion for whose apprehension we do not possess in the smallest degree the organ of sense. There are motions which on that account entirely escape our notice, and which we are thus not in a position to gauge. There may also be forces in nature of which we have no conception. There may be activities the amount of which we cannot determine. We know that it is so; the proofs are not far to seek. In our investigations of nature we reach a point beyond which we cannot go for want of the means of further apprehension. The study of nature has found no means of overcoming this. Even the smallest psychical process may be for ever incomprehensible because our organization either lacks the means of apprehending it, or, to put it more plainly, because the necessary organ of sense is wanting.

And if it is true that we, even in our highest development, can only apprehend motions and transpositions of motions; and if it is true that behind certain of these motions—those, namely, that take place in our own organism—there are psychical processes of which we know nothing; then the question arises, Is it not possible that, in like manner, psychical processes lie behind the other molecular movements in the world, which for us differentiate themselves in nothing from those that take place in our own bodies? When the molecules of the magnet revolve in mighty tempests under the influence of an electric current; when the eight hundred million million vibrations of light in a second resolve the bromide of silver into its constituent parts; when the iron is drawn towards the magnet with irresistible force, are not psychical processes lying at the back of this? We have no right to deny the possibility of it. The question cannot be brushed aside with the statement that psychical processes must be associated with a nerve-cell. We know, not only a series of polycelled animals without a nervous system, but also single-celled organisms in which life

manifests itself in a way that is usually regarded as standing in connection with psychical processes. We cannot deny, says Engelmann, who has studied these creatures, "that these circumstances point to psychical processes in the protoplasm." They are in every case movements and processes of the kind which, if they happened in the case of man, we would without hesitation explain as springing from psychical motives. On the other hand, physiologists will recognize the difficulty of a purely mechanical explanation of these conditions.

The modern study of nature is not materialistic: it is much rather inclined to see everywhere in the universe the outcome of life, even in cases where it is overlooked by idealism. It knows that that which is contemptuously called dead nature possesses forces and movements as complex and manifold as life itself. It will not even go the length of denying that there is a possibility that behind these movements there lie psychical phenomena. But it knows that this can never become a subject for observation: it forbids even the assumptions of the human understanding. It is the duty of every naturalist and of every man to form his own opinion as to the relation of the psychical processes to the mechanical phenomena of motion, in accordance with the depth of the knowledge that he owes to the laws of nature.

THE BOOK CRITIC.

THE BOOKS OF EZRA AND NEHEMIAH (CAMBRIDGE BIBLE FOR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES). By H. E. RYLE, B.D. Messrs. Clay & Sons.

THE student of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah could desire no more judicious and adequate guidance than Professor Ryle's commentary, which has the rare merit of being at once concise and clear, compact and comprehensive. There are more ponderous commentaries in English on these two books, but none that we know of so satisfactory from all points of view. It equals the German work of Bertheau-Ryssel, and more could scarcely be said of it. A commentator on Ezra and Nehemiah has to deal with a variety of problems, historical, literary, textual, and grammatical. He has to begin by disintegrating his materials, assigning to the memoirists their part, and to the compiler his. He has to place a section of Jewish history against the broad background of a period of world-history, and to read into the two books many things which they do not explicitly tell. He has frequently to balance probabilities, in the absence of any statement of facts. He has, besides, in numerous passages, to reconstruct a corrupt text, and elucidate an obscure meaning. His work thus gives scope both for the historical instinct and the critical faculty, and in neither does Professor Ryle come short.

Turning, as one naturally does, to some of the *cruces* which the two books present, we notice that Professor Ryle is disposed to maintain the identity of Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel (p. 12), while allowing their full weight to arguments on the other side. Also, that he places the important section, Ezra iv. 7-23, in its true historical sequence (p. 64). Canon Rawlinson is of opinion that "the 'Artaxerxes' of Ezra iv. 7-23 can only be Pseudo-Smerdis" (*Ezra and Nehemiah: Men of the Bible Series*, p. 99). Professor Ryle gives excellent reasons for supposing the contrary. He takes the common-sense view that the names of Persian kings in that section mean there what they mean elsewhere; in which he has on his side the authority of Professor Kuenen, who remarks pithily—in one of his latest works, the *Chronologie van het Perzische Tijdvak der Joodsche Geschiedenis*—that "names serve not to

conceal persons or things, but rather to reveal them." From the Note on Ezra ix. and x. (p. 143) we gather that Professor Ryle is prepared to vindicate, though not without some misgivings, Ezra's policy on the burning question of his day, the question of "mixed marriages"; he admits that Ezra "strained the letter of the law," but holds that he was justified by "the critical position of the Jewish community," and the fact that "the permanence of Judaism depended on the religious separateness of the Jews." He does not believe that Ezra left Jerusalem and returned to Babylon after the failure of his mission (p. 238), or that the dedication of the walls was delayed until twelve years after their completion (p. 298); on both of which points he differs from Canon Rawlinson, and is unquestionably in the right. Very suggestive is his comment (p. 241) on the fact that the high priest's name is not mentioned in connection with the Reading of the Law: "If, as some critics have supposed, Ezra himself had composed the Priestly Laws, and was now promulgating them for the first time, the high priest, whose position owed so much of its dignity in later days to those laws, would surely have been mentioned as countenancing Ezra's action. If, however, as seems more probable, Ezra was for the first time publishing to the people laws which had hitherto been kept in the priests' hands, we have a possible explanation for the absence of the high priest and his party, who would regard his action as subversive of their authority." Even the critics referred to will admit that a point is scored against them here very neatly. As examples of the skilful and thorough treatment which minor points of difficulty, due to corruption or dubiety of the text, receive in this commentary, we may refer to the Notes on Ezra x. 44; Neh. ii. 1, iii. 12 (where, however, we question the statement that "the most simple and literal explanation is probably the best"), iv. 23, vi. 10, viii. 7, 8, xiii. 19, 22. Professor Ryle is to be congratulated on a lightness of touch and a happy directness of phrase which give his work a character of its own; such expressions, for example, as "it was not for him (Nehemiah) to show the white feather," and "payment was 'hung up' for a whole year," are unusual in Biblical commentaries, but by no means unwelcome. The author remarks very justly, in his Introduction, that "the importance of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah among the Scriptures of the Old Testament Canon has often been overlooked. Their pages, indeed, reveal no mighty miracle, no inspiring prophecy, no vision, no heroic feat of arms. Their narrative contains many uninteresting details, and chronicles many disappointments. And yet few books offer such a variety of interest or embrace material of such deep significance." This commentary will be found by all who use it to add largely to the interest, and to bring out clearly the significance, of the two books with which it deals.

P. HAY-HUNTER.

THE THEOLOGICAL STUDENT. A HANDBOOK OF ELEMENTARY THEOLOGY.

By J. ROBINSON GREGORY. C. H. Kelly, London.

WE have read this little book with great satisfaction, and the reading of it has given rise to many reflections. One thought is, how much agreement there is in all sections of the Church of Christ with regard to the great fundamental verities of the faith. Much of what is said by Mr. Gregory might be said by all the sections of the Church. No doubt there are sections which would not command the assent of some Churches. The modern High Church party of the Church of England would seriously object to the Notes on the Apostolical Succession, and on the Historical Episcopate; and other sections might also object to some particular statement. But on the whole, and looking to the exposition of the main doctrines, we have from the pen of Mr. Gregory a treatise for which we may be thankful. The style is clear and incisive;

statements of doctrine are clear and unambiguous ; arguments are clearly and tersely put ; and Mr. Gregory's knowledge and learning are always adequate. The " Preliminary Assumptions " set forth the main apologetic arguments with great brevity and with marvellous lucidity and power. As an example of his power of terse statement, we refer to his description of anti-Theistic theories, in which he depicts with great felicity Atheism, Deism, Polytheism, Pantheism, Positivism, Materialism, and Agnosticism. All through the little book we find similar examples of brief and luminous statement. On the whole, they are such as will likely command assent. Mr. Gregory's attitude is that of a well-informed, thoughtful, and somewhat conservative theologian. It may be illustrated by the following on the Higher Criticism :—

"This name is given to certain Methods of investigating the origin and composition of the various books of the Bible. It is altogether outside the scope of this handbook. Because it has been pursued chiefly, though far from wholly, by rationalists and semi-rationalists, many people imagine that necessarily it destroys faith in the Bible as revelation from God. Critical methods can be employed for defence as well as for attack. Sober criticism may manifest that traditional views as to the mode in which the Bible grew need some modification. We welcome fresh light from any quarter ; but additional knowledge as to Divine methods in no way lessens Divine operation. At present the controversy is too fierce for its issues to be tabulated, scarcely forecast. So far as the Bible is the source of Theology, we may dismiss ' the Higher Criticism ' from our thoughts."

JAMES IVERACH, D.D.

DID MOSES WRITE THE PENTATEUCH AFTER ALL? By F. E. SPENCER, M.A., formerly of Queen's College, Oxford, and Vicar of All Saints, Haggerston, in the Diocese of London. London : Elliot Stock, 1892.

THIS is a most enjoyable book ; the author possesses a fine vein of sarcasm, which he uses with great effect upon those whom he justly calls the orthodox school of critics, specially represented by Dr. Driver. The book will be most pleasant and satisfactory reading to those who agree with the author and are quite determined never to change their views ; even if they do not read the book, the sufficiently authoritative name on the title-page and the profusion of Hebrew words in Hebrew type will reassure them, as showing that another competent scholar is added to the faithful few, who still advocate the almost exploded theory of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. To inquirers with an open mind the book may be still more profitable, though in a direction not contemplated by the author. Inquirers often hear somewhat large and confident statements as to the conclusive proofs of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, which will be adduced when any conservative critic has leisure to undertake the task. It is as well that these proofs should sometimes be set forth ; that the ragged regiment should now and then be marched through Coventry, that men may see there is only an argument and a half in the whole company, and the half argument is two fallacies tacked together. But one could wish that the author's learning and ability, and the leisure time snatched from the work of a poor London parish, had been embarked in a more hopeful enterprise. There is much that is interesting and suggestive in the book, but the most striking points are irrelevant to the main issue. For instance, some pages are devoted to arguing that the title of a MS. is very strong evidence as to the authorship of its contents. It dawns upon the author afterwards that there is no title of the Pentateuch ascribing it to Moses, but nevertheless he lets his argument stand. Mr. Spencer's book, while professing to deal with the Pentateuch question as a whole, does not contain any clear or full statement of the case against the Mosaic authorship. It is chiefly a critique of the Pentateuch section in Dr. Driver's Introduction, and not therefore a satisfactory treatment of the general question. Dr. Driver's book, to which European scholarship,

and English students in particular, are so deeply indebted, does not profess to give the arguments by which the present critical views on the Pentateuch have been arrived at. It is a statement of results, with brief indications of leading arguments. This misapprehension has seriously interfered with the clearness and point of Mr. Spencer's apology. Mr. Spencer habitually and exclusively thinks along the lines of the theory he advocates, and has not considered the modern position with sufficient sympathy, patience, or tolerance to enable him in any way to understand its strength. As for Dr. Driver, whom he has selected as the main object of his attack, he often misunderstands, and consequently misrepresents him; he is utterly misled by the candid way in which Dr. Driver sets forth objections to the modern theory, and by the guarded and exact statements of Dr. Driver's own views; and actually supposes him to be in doubt as to the composite character of J.E., putting into Dr. Driver's own mouth words that are given as those of an imaginary objector.

With great ingenuity, Mr. Spencer puts Dr. Driver's list of words characteristic of the Priestly Code to a use of his own. One argument for the antiquity of the Pentateuch is its use of antiquated words, the words in question are antiquated because they only occur in the Pentateuch. If the comparative age of books is to be determined by the proportion of *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα*, criticism will be simplified, but the results will hardly satisfy even Mr. Spencer. Some "antiquated words" also occur in Chronicles. Ancient thorough-going advocates of a solid Mosaic Pentateuch narrated how God dictated to Moses the account of his death, and he wrote it down with tears. The application of this principle to the history of Chronicles, combined with a careful study of vocabulary, might enable us to establish the Mosaic authorship of Chronicles.

Another inevitable result of the author's exclusively one-sided point of view is, that he frequently assumes the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch in order to prove that very position. It will be seen that the book will scarcely serve as a popular handbook of Mosaic apologetics, nor does it make any appreciable addition to the strength of the position defended by Bissell, Cave, Green, and Ives Curtiss; but it may be read with interest as a collection of specimens of lively guerilla raids in connection with the critical campaign. Its greatest significance is its concessions in fact, after the confident and uncompromising tone of the book, the main conclusion comes as an unqualified surprise. It is on very much the same lines as Dr. Cave's Journal theory, with the best points omitted, but we will give it in the author's own words. "The Pentateuch, as we now possess it, with some relatively insignificant exceptions, was drawn up in all its parts under the immediate superintendence and inspiring guidance of Moses by the aid of unknown collaborators. The poems and discourses ascribed to him are judged to be immediately his, both from evidences of style and from a reasonable trust in the veracity of tradition in so great a case. And these, with the rest of Deuteronomy, were collected and set forth as they now stand by Joshua, and those who helped him. In fine, Moses, to use a modern expression, is responsible for the Pentateuch as a whole, but not responsible unaided. The Pentateuch must also have passed through several editions, of which one can scarcely with probability be refused to the age of Solomon, and of which the last can, with some degree of confidence, be attributed to Ezra and the men of his day." If such a theory satisfies the devoted adherents of traditional criticism, they are thankful for very small mercies. This result shows how strong an impression the anti-Mosaic argument has made, by sheer force, upon a determined and unsympathetic but candid opponent.

W. H. BENNETT, M.A.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY. By JOHN MILEY, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. Vol. I. New York: Hunt & Eaton; Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe, 1892, 8vo, pp. xvi., 583, \$3.

The high quality of the "Biblical and Theological Library," now publishing by the Methodist Publication House, does honor to the great denomination which it represents. Dr. Miley's "Systematic Theology" is the latest issue in the series, and it is highly but not unduly praised when it is recognized as worthy to stand in company with Dr. Bennett's "Christian Archæology" and Dr. Terry's "Biblical Hermeneutics." It is clearly, directly, and strongly written; it is characterized by candor, restraint, and modesty; it is orderly in arrangement and lucid in discussion. It is altogether a good book, which the Arminian should find rarely satisfying, and with which the Calvinist should count it a privilege to join issue.

It is somewhat embarrassing to undertake an estimate of a half-finished book. When a treatise is occupied, as this is, with a well-known system of thought, the end is no doubt seen from the beginning; but something depends on individuality in the modes of statement and defence. In the present instance the embarrassment is increased by the fact that a number of detailed discussions, belonging to matters treated in this volume, have been postponed to an appendix, to be printed at the end of the second volume. We can scarcely fail, however, to catch from Dr. Miley's clear pages the elements of the doctrines which he would commend.

An introduction of some fifty pages is occupied with the nature, sources, scope, and method of systematic theology. We miss here a satisfactory discrimination of the theological disciplines; and this has affected somewhat the contents of the volume. The great subject of "Theism," which Dr. Miley makes the first division of systematic theology, we should include in the preliminary discipline of apologetics. On the other hand, this introduction contains very illuminating discussions of such topics as these: the nature of scientific treatment; the scientific basis of Christianity; the right of systematization and the value of dogma; and the method of systematizing—under which occurs a very sensible criticism of the so-called "Christocentric" method. Dr. Miley despairs of attaining a single "unifying principle" in theology, and holds that systematizing must proceed "in a synthetic mode." He

therefore follows the customary order of topics.

The sources of theology are distributed broadly into nature and revelation; and these sources are fruitfully discriminated on the basis of "modes of knowledge" (p. 9). Knowledge acquired "in the use of human faculties" is natural; that immediately communicated by Divine agency is revealed. In the one case "the mode of acquisition is purely human;" "the discovery of truth is mediated by the use of our own faculties." In the other, "it is immediately given by the supernatural agency of God." "It is important," he adds justly, "thus sharply to discriminate these two modes of truth." For, if we lay the stress on source or agency alone, without taking into account also mode of knowledge, we may find ourselves embarrassed before the current pantheizing conception, which, by postulating immanent deity in all human thought, confounds the categories of reason and revelation, and thus does away with the category of revelation altogether, as readers of Dr. Whiton's recent little book, called "Gloria Patri," have occasion to observe anew. We regret to note Dr. Miley, at a later point (p. 11), apparently deserting this ground. He there seems to posit a reception by heathen men of a Divine revelation, which comes to them through their human faculties, and is not verified to the recipient as from God. Here he seems to step beyond the wall of his own definition, with the effect of throwing himself into the hands of the mystic rationalists. We must hasten to add, however, that when he comes to treat formally of mysticism (p. 16), he rejects the mystical path for attaining religious truth altogether, and deals very stringently with the modern doctrine of the Christian consciousness. We must confess that we know not how the views expressed at p. 11, as to a not uncommon revelation to heathen seekers, can be accorded with the criticism here; unless we are to suppose that God is nearer to heathen than to Christians, and deals more intimately with them than with Christians. We may take note, by the way, of the skill and success with which Dr. Miley treats the whole matter of the relation of reason and feeling.

The topics which fall under the head of theology proper are treated with logical power and self-restraint. The term "attribute" seems unduly limited in sense; but the distinction drawn between the "personal attributes" and all others is sound and fruitful. The Divine intellect is discussed under the caption of omniscience; and the perplexities which emerge from it for Arminian thought are not disguised (p. 189 *sq.*). Dr. Miley refuses, however, to be led by these perplexities

into a denial of the Divine foreknowledge of free actions, which he defends unanswerably against the arguments of Dr. McCabe (p. 181). We cannot think, however, that he has followed out his own arguments to their legitimate conclusions. They not only involve the admission of the certainty (as distinguished from the necessity) of free actions (p. 183), which is all any Calvinist believes; but they distinctly imply the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. For example, he acutely reduces the difficulties which are asserted to stand in the way of God's foreknowledge of the free acts of men to absurdity, by pointing out that the same difficulties would press equally against God's foreknowledge of His own free acts. This is unanswerable. But it will require an immeasurably more acute logic still to distinguish God's foreknowledge of His future choices, from a fore-intention to make those choices; and this is just the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. And as it will be impossible to disentangle the future choices of God from those of His creatures, with which they are interwoven in the actual web of life, it will be exceedingly difficult to deny to these creature choices also a place in the comprehensive plan already foreknown in all its parts in eternity, and therefore pre-intended or predestinated. Again, the objection that it would be inconsistent with the Divine goodness to create souls whose rejection of salvation is certainly foreknown, is justly set aside with the remark that nescience will not obviate the objection; inasmuch as it presses almost equally against the creation of souls with the known possibility of their loss, and quite equally against the continuance of the race after the fact of such numerous losses has emerged in experience. But surely the bottom of the matter is not yet reached; for if God creates souls which He certainly foreknows will be lost, He must create them with the intention, in this sense, of their being lost; and this is the whole content of the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination in this case—of that *decretum horrible* to which men seem so unceasingly to object, but which is as surely a truth of reason as it is of Scripture.

The real difficulty here Dr. Miley finds in the very existence of moral evil under the government of God. He considers that a complete theodicy is unattainable to human knowledge (p. 429 *sq.*); but we cannot consent to stop at the point at which he elects to stay his efforts to discover one. In this matter, as elsewhere, he appears to go upon a principle which is naturally very attractive to minds of the analytical power of his—the principle of *divide et impera*. The danger is that in the analysis the essence of the question may slip out between the joints. This is

what happens here. Dr. Miley shows in turn that (1) the creation of moral beings is permissible; (2) that a probationary economy is permissible; and (3) that therefore the fall, which is necessarily contemplated as a possibility in a probationary economy, is permissible. Most excellent. But the question still remains for one who accepts, with the frankness of Dr. Miley, the doctrine of God's complete foreknowledge, how could it be permissible to create these moral beings and put them in this probationary economy, with the knowledge, not that they *might possibly* fall, but that they *certainly would* fall? The only tenable ground here is the Calvinistic ground that such action on God's part involves the Divine intention, in this sense, of the fall—i.e., its predestination. And the only conceivable direction in which to look for a theodicy is in that of an end great and glorious enough to justify the incidental evil arising from this course. Dr. Miley rejects out of hand all such theodicies, on the ground that "the fall itself," in that case, "must have been completely within the disposition of Divine providence" (p. 439). But certainly we cannot exclude it from God's providence, as a single question will show. What required God to create just those free agents whom He foreknew would fall? Or shall we say that while He foreknew that some angels would stand and others fall, it was impossible for Him to create a *human* free agent whose standing He could foreknow? In that case we must say either that *human* free actions cannot be foreknown (which Dr. Miley denies), or else that all possible *human* free agents would certainly fall, which would make human sin a necessity of nature without developing any theodicy for God's creation of such a nature.

In these remarks on the origin of evil we have, of course, passed out of the domain of theology proper into that of anthropology, leaving much behind of which we should like to speak. It is in the anthropology of the volume, of course, that the Calvinistic reader will find most which will seem to him open to question; and this the more that Dr. Miley occupies in this sphere the extremest Arminian ground. We find much, here too, in the way of care in statement and candor in treatment to admire; and we willingly bear witness to the fairness with which the Augustinian positions are stated. Dr. Miley divides the great question of original sin into three: whether there is such a thing as native depravity; whether it is penal; whether it is guilty. Only the first does he answer affirmatively. He teaches that all men are naturally depraved, and out of that depravity will certainly commit sin; but that this depravity does not come to them in any true sense by way of penalty,

but only through the law of nature that "like begets like;" and that, because they are born with it and do not produce it, they cannot be held responsible for it, and it therefore is (as our New England brethren used to call it) "uncondemnable vitiosity." Of course we shall not commit the folly of attempting to refute this, as it seems to us, very refutable position, in the course of this brief notice. Let us only remark in passing that it passes the comprehension of our Calvinistically warped mind to understand how so close a thinker can, on the one hand, hang the whole weight of depravity on a "law of nature," or, on the other, deny the condemnability of a state of depravity which inevitably produces sin in every action into which it issues. What is a "law of nature"? and who made it a "law of nature"? and on what ground of right? To say that all that was threatened to Adam for sin—physical death and its precedent weaknesses and pains and spiritual death or depravity, with its inevitable issue into actual sinning—has been brought upon mankind simply on the basis of a "law of nature," so that the whole race is brought through the mediation of depravity into actual sin and guilt without possibility of escape, on the sole basis of a "law of nature"—is just no explanation at all: it is the deification of a phrase. And to say that a depravity which originally arose in personal action, and which is apparently the same in us as in Adam, and which is the inevitable spring of sin and the actual source of all sinning, is non-condemnable because it is only "a subjective quality"—is to antagonize the most intimate and ineradicable convictions of the human mind. If God looks upon Adam before the fall, and finds him with a "subjective quality" which is "excellent" and "pleasing to the Divine mind," how should He not be pleased and show His pleasure? And if God looks upon us, after the fall, and finds us with a "subjective quality" which is not excellent, but depraved and displeasing to His holiness, how should He not be displeased and show His displeasure? Such teaching confounds all our ideas of God as a moral agent.

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ELEMENTS OF THEOLOGY, NATURAL AND REVEALED. By JAMES H. FAIRCHILD, Professor of Theology in Oberlin College. Oberlin, O.: Edward J. Goodrich, 1892, 8vo, pp. xv., 858.

The publication of this system of divinity by the Nestor of Oberlin, who has ruled for over a generation in its theological thought, is modestly ascribed, in the Preface, to the importunity of pupils.

It is of value to many others also in indicating the doctrinal position of Oberlin to-day, and its close adherence to the teachings of Finney and the New Haven theology. This relation to Finney is to be found more in the general positions of the system than in the specific teaching on the doctrine of Perfectionism. Indeed, here the author dissents from Finney's doctrine, holding that Finney did not logically carry out the "doctrine of simplicity" in considering Perfection a secondary stage after Conversion. Dr. Fairchild deprecates the search after "Sanctification as a special experience," and indicates that there may be "false and fanatical views in this direction."

Perhaps the fullest and most catholic discussion is on the Person of Christ. The inductive method is used in the collation of passages of Scripture which throw light on the different sides of the character of Christ. The glow of personal faith and loyalty shines through the chapter. With the dogmatic aspects the author is largely indifferent. The doctrine of the Eternal Sonship is not accepted, and the term "person" in the Trinity is considered an unfortunate expression. The statement that Kenosis is essentially Monophysitism is hardly exact: Kenosis is the emptying of the Divine nature; Monophysitism was the absorption of the human nature in the Divine.

The genealogy of the main doctrines may perhaps be defined as follows: Finneyism, in the confounding of Regeneration, Conversion, and Repentance; Taylorism, in the general Governmental view and in adherence to the doctrines of Power to the Contrary, Sin consists in Sinning, and Ability limits Obligation; Emmonsism, in making Justification equal Pardon; Bishop Butler's Analogy, in the discussion of Immortality; the Platform of the Remonstrants, in denying Irresistible Grace; Semi-pelagianism, in making Depravity a sickness, not a sin; and Pelagianism, in making all morality in the free acts of the individual.

The discussion of the Doctrine of God is a brief presentation, on the grounds of Natural Theology alone, of the New Haven Benevolence view of the Divine character. The *a priori* arguments are dismissed as unsatisfactory, the cosmological argument is well stated, and a chapter is given to Pantheistic views. Possibly Hegel would object to the label "defender of Schelling." In his conception of the absolute and method of development he opposed and attacked Schelling.

Of the moral attributes of God, Benevolence "expresses the entirety of His moral character." Holiness, Justice, Mercy are but different aspects of Benevolence. The Decrees of God do not touch man's will.

"Human character, free action, and voluntary choices are not decreed" (p. 99), and yet "the salvation of some men and rejection of others already lies in His [God's] purpose, foreseen and predetermined" (p. 291). Logically following this view of the Divine character come the definitions of Virtue and views of the Atonement. Virtue is love of well being; Sin is "the refusal to be benevolent." "Truth itself has no value; its value is in its relation to well being" (p. 120). Atonement, since Justice is merged in Benevolence, becomes a governmental expedient; Satisfaction and formal substitution are denied.

In the introductory chapter it is asserted that "every theology has its philosophy, either true or false." Our author is sounder here than Ritschl and the later Germans. But it is in this philosophy, "either true or false," underlying "The Elements of Theology," developed most fully in the doctrines of the Will, Sin, and Conversion, that most opposition will no doubt be found to the author's positions.

This philosophy is that the Will, the faculty of choice, no matter what the character is, is absolutely and unqualifiedly free. "We know that we are free, and that is the end of the argument." "Motives do not move the will" (p. 40). "The will determines which motive shall be strongest" (p. 44). "The view that the will is determined by the inclination or disposition or character obliterates freedom" (p. 44). "Linking the will to motive, inclination, character" "makes the man a machine, and annihilates responsibility" (p. 45). Without the use of the words "Power to the Contrary" we have the full-fledged view. There is no recognition of difference between certainty and necessity, no limitation placed on absolute ability to choose. A certain "tendency to self-indulgence," inherited, does not, apparently, reach to the Will. This philosophy, "true or false," is the constructive principle of the system. It is the Declaration of Independence against Divine Sovereignty; but it is fully as one-sided, and it is the lesser side at that. Orthodox opponents might note sardonically that this Pelagian view of absolute self-determination is discussed in a chapter prior to the admission of Holy Scripture as a factor in the arguments.

In turning to the doctrines of Sin, Depravity, and Ability, we seem again to

"Ope the purple testament of bleeding war,"

and renew once more the Connecticut controversies of Taylor against Tyler. Dr. Fairchild certainly accepts the New England "Improvements in Theology." The view of Sin is comprehensible, if not comprehensive. Sin is "refusal to be benevo-

lent" (p. 127); it "pertains only to voluntary actions" (p. 128), and lies in the will, as distinguished from the motive or nature. The view that Sin is a defect of constitution or nature is asserted to be "superficial and shallow" (p. 163). Sin and its opposite, Holiness, is a voluntary attitude, a state of the will: Sin is the attitude in refusing to be benevolent; Holiness is the opposite attitude in the "love of well being of sentient beings." Hence these two attitudes, by the "Doctrine of Simplicity," mutually exclude each other. Every human being, apparently, must have one or the other of these "attitudes," which resemble the condition of the inhabitants of Laputa, whose "heads were all reclined either to the right or to the left."

There is a limitation, however, of the external "Exercise scheme." Though sin is held to be in action only (p. 128), and not in a "set of the will" (p. 125), yet the will is held in its generic form to be "not in the outward sinful act, but in the inward sinful state" (p. 126); and "sinful character exists, even if there be no particular vice or sinful outward act." Expressions like "settled and habitual state of thought," and "drift of thought or feeling," and the "sense in which character lies outside the will," indicate a turning of reason against logic, from the "Exercise" theory to the "Taste" theory.

Mankind inherits "a propenseness to sin, or, rather, a predominance of impulses and passions which induce sin" (p. 154). These are held to be temptations only. Two passages on pages 160 and 161 represent the Scylla and Charybdis of this semi-pelagianism. We trust the reader can steer between. On page 160 we read, "Nor is it clear that we inherit directly from Adam, by reason of the fall, a great accession of physical depravity—that is, aggravated tendencies or propension in the direction of sin." This is Scylla. Facing it on the next page is this: "In addition, we inherit from Adam and other sinful ancestors derangements of constitution, to an unknown extent, *aggravated tendencies to self-indulgence and sin.*" The only way to get past Charybdis is to consider that the "aggravated tendencies" to sin come either from Adam, *not by reason of the fall*, or come from Seth, Noah, and "other sinful ancestors."

The "Elements of Theology" goes back from Taylor to Emmons in maintaining that Justification is simply pardon. Merging, with Finney, Regeneration, Conversion, and Sanctification, Conversion is held to be "ceasing to sin." "The sinner renounces sin wholly." This is not such a difficult thing as might be supposed when we remember that sin is simply "refusal to be benevolent." Regeneration and Conversion are first asserted to be the same

thing, "the work of the sinner" (p. 233). Then Regeneration is stated to be a prior Divine persuasion (p. 235) and subsequent Divine sustenance (p. 240), "which, as distinguished from Conversion, is the work of God" (p. 242). The omissions in the Index remind us of the fact that both etymologically and practically the Index of a Manual is the forefinger of the hand.

HENRY GOODWIN SMITH.

Freehold, N. J.

HENRY BOYNTON SMITH. By LEWIS F. STEARNS, D.D., late Professor in Bangor Theological Seminary. (American Religious Leaders.) Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 388, \$1.25.

One cannot read this book, with its note of sorrow over the untimely death of Professor Smith, without feeling that the pathos of the lament is deepened by the author's own premature death. There must be activities of a high and pressing nature into which such men are gathered out of a world needing them as sorely as ours.

In about one quarter of the volume the author sketches the life of Professor Smith before he entered upon his true life-work as a teacher. The color of his earlier experiences is strongly marked in his later modes of thinking, the experience of young manhood in his intellectual and spiritual struggles admirably fitting him, in the providence of God, for the mediating position which he occupied, both as theologian and ecclesiastical statesman, in the Church of his adoption.

Emerging from Unitarianism, the reaction from mere humanitarianism is strongly marked in the attitude of his mind toward the great evangelical doctrines. Salvation by amiableness had not satisfied his awakened conscience. A deep conviction of sin, of his own inability to change his heart or to quiet conscience, led him easily to rest in the scriptural presentation of an atoning Saviour, the fulness and freedom of whose redemption it was ever afterward his joy to magnify. Despite Professor Stearns's lament that Dr. Smith did not more fully Christologize his system, we incline to believe that at times Dr. Smith accords to Christ a position theologically which the Master did not assume for Himself. His earlier experience with doubts and difficulties, and the consequent ability to put himself sympathetically in the position of an honest objector, which Dr. Stearns so well brings out, leads him at times judiciously to stop short of statements to which a more complete and exhaustive logic might have led. So to state truth as to win, rather than to force an unwilling and resisting conclusion, seems to have been the law of Dr. Smith's teach-

ing. His ministerial experience also tended to give a practical tone to his work. Professor Smith would surely have sympathized with Dr. Stearns's view (p. 79) of the necessity of a previous ministerial training as an antidote to the barren rationalism into which the merely speculative scholar is so apt to fall when he assumes the teacher's chair.

The author dwells with sympathy and interest on Dr. Smith's preparatory work in philosophy and history. These are, perhaps, the most interesting and satisfactory chapters in the book. The historic sense is needed to pin the philosopher down to the facts in the case, which are all there and all true, whether his philosophy can adjust them in harmonious relation or not. The value of history to Dr. Smith was that it revealed the purpose of God and the method by which He brings His purpose to pass, the superior value of church history in this respect being that we get a little closer to the hand that holds the instrument. This is essentially a Calvinistic view, and it is essentially a hopeful view, if one still further holds that "the whole history of the Church might be summed up with saying that it consists in pouring into the human race the treasures of this volume [the Bible], there to germinate until the kingdom revealed in word and promise shall be fully manifested in its reality and power" (p. 162). Hopefulness—a hopefulness springing from simple faith in the sovereignty of a God of infinite wisdom, holiness, and love, with power adequate to the expression of His character in His will—was a marked feature in all the work of Professor Smith, as is abundantly illustrated in the pages of this volume.

Most readers will turn probably with most interest to the chapter on "The Professor of Theology;" and we are inclined to think that Dr. Smith's old students, most in sympathy with the teachings of their venerated instructor, will here experience some consciousness of disappointment. It is naturally the longest chapter in the book; it bears the mark of painstaking; it is by no means void of sympathy; and yet it has the aspect of criticism rather than of review in not a few points where the reader will most wish for something more than criticism. To Dr. Smith's eminent fitness for teaching theology, in his natural acuteness of mind, the severe discipline of independent study, wide reading, and previous training in philosophy and history—two indispensable factors in theology—Professor Stearns heartily testifies, as he does to the loving spirit without which it is impossible to understand or unfold the things of Him whose name is Love. There is, however, a clear trace of the feeling that Dr. Smith

did not fulfil the promise of his purpose in assuming the chair. Part of this, no doubt, on the very face of it, is a disappointment which all must feel; for Dr. Smith, as Professor Stearns says, "left behind him no satisfactory exposition of his system." The fragmentary nature of not a little of his work can readily be appreciated by students who remember how occasionally he would fumble about for the loose slip which he could not find, on which was his latest thought, and then break out into what was usually the best work of the hour, extemporaneous explanation of the point in question. There is at times an uncertainty about some of his statements (e.g., imputation), which leaves us in doubt whether his latest notes could not be found by the editor, or whether the professor was not quite prepared to defend the view most congenial to his system.

Fragmentary, however, as is much of what is left of Dr. Smith's work in the class-room, he has made substantial contributions to his favorite science, especially along apologetic lines, and points in which theology comes into contact with ethics and metaphysics. A part of the difficulty, or rather lack of consistency in Dr. Smith's theological work, comes from the announced aim of what Professor Stearns seems to approve, that the theology suited to our times "should strive to be a mediating system between the conflicting parties of the times" (p. 104). No theology can well be consistent that takes its eye off from God and truth to view the squabbles of contending factions. The theologian has simply to take the facts, wherever God has revealed them, and apply to these, with no omissions, a true philosophy. Dr. Stearns's chief difficulty, however, is in Dr. Smith's failure to "Christologize" all his theology. If Dr. Stearns has left behind him a system, it will be interesting to see how he himself succeeds in "Christologizing" the Decrees, and in putting him that was sent back of Him who sent him, and whose will it was his meat to do. The professor criticises somewhat sharply Dr. Smith's view of the Will, and makes merry over his inability to account for the first sin of holy Adam. If he had himself a theory satisfactorily accounting for it, without eviscerating the facts of their contents, it will be a thousand pities if he has carried his theory out of our world with him.

With Dr. Smith's treatment of "Incarnation in Order to Redemption" our author is in fuller sympathy, until he comes to the application of this redemption, the Calvinism of the Union professor being apparently too stiff for his New England latitude.

The book pays hearty and well-merited tribute to Dr. Smith's editorial labors—he

seems to us to have been at his best as a reviewer—and to his efforts on behalf of the cause of liberty in the State, while he gives to Professor Smith the highest place among the men of his time for his successful efforts to bring together on the basis of the Standards, historically interpreted, the Old and New School Presbyterian churches. He generously refrains from any criticisms on the present relation of the various parties in the Presbyterian Church to the agreement to which Dr. Smith stood sponsor. The work throughout is characterized by a most Christian and catholic spirit. No man of our time lives more lovingly in the hearts of the Presbyterian Church than Professor Henry B. Smith. Dr. Stearns is beyond the reach of the thanks of the many who have enjoyed his tribute to the older theologian, but the reader who enjoys this book, as every intelligent reader must, may at least indulge the melancholy satisfaction of profound regret at the untimely death of Professor Stearns.

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BRIEF REVIEWS AND NOTICES,

BY THE EDITOR.

Bible Studies is the title of a volume of discourses by Henry Ward Beecher, now first published, though originally delivered nearly fifteen years ago. They are designated as "Readings in the Early Books of the Old Testament, with Familiar Comment, given in 1878-79." They are edited by John R. Howard, from stenographic notes. (New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert, 1893, 8vo, pp. 433, \$1.50.) The statement that these sermons will be eagerly welcomed by a large circle of readers is self-evident. And as one reads one is impressed with the thought that the preacher was a man in advance of his time. Some of the questions here treated are even now in hot dispute in some parts of the land. Mr. Beecher did not approach them from the side of the specialist nor of the profound scholar, but from the practical side of the preacher of the truth. Consequently some of these discourses have an added value. They are examples of the fact that there is no such deadening effects to be feared from the theories and discoveries of scholars as is sometimes alleged. To one who has had experience of the truth, the Bible is true and powerful irrespective of critical questions of authorship. The Bible evidences itself to be the Word of God through the witness of the Spirit which informs it, not by the connection therewith of the name of Moses or any other. To Mr. Beecher the Bible was God's truth, and it was powerful for the

objects for which it was given. Any other foundation is weak and shifting, with no promise of permanence. The volume contains twenty-three discourses. Some of the titles are as follows: "The Inspiration of the Bible," "How to Read the Bible," "The Book of Beginnings," "Emancipation," "The Sabbath," "Humanity," "The Household," "Social Observances." The reader will regret that the series ends with "Naomi and Ruth," and that Mr. Beecher was unable to carry out his plan of giving a continuation of the series covering the later books. Meantime our thanks are due to the stenographer and editor, who have preserved and given us this feast of good things.

It is a matter of some surprise to receive a volume on the "Higher Criticism" dated from Australia, but, after all, the wonder need not last long. It is one of the latest additions to Old Testament literature, and also one of considerable importance and note. The author is *W. E. Addis*, M.A., of Balliol College, Oxford, who writes from Melbourne. He has entitled his work *The Documents of the Hexateuch*, translated and arranged in chronological order, with introduction and notes. In the present volume is contained Part I., "The Oldest Book of Hebrew History." (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893, 8vo, pp. xciv., 296, \$3.) It has been his purpose to place in the hands of lay readers of ordinary intelligence a volume which shall set forth the results at which scholars have arrived. He is one who is qualified for his task by wide reading and comprehensive knowledge; and having at his command a power of expression rather above the average, he has succeeded in making a clear and excellent book, giving the views of hexateuchal analysis entertained by the school of Graf, to which he belongs. The task is not a new one in its conception, but it is novel in its extent. Previous writers have restricted their labors to a narrower field, being content with the analysis of Genesis. It is, therefore, a gain to have the work continued through the succeeding books. Whether one agrees with the results or not, one may thank the author for doing what he has, and for making the results of critical scholarship thus accessible. The writer gives a brief account of the course of critical investigation, and then summarizes the arguments upon which reliance is placed for the critical division. The fact that the same lines of cleavage are found in Joshua as in the earlier books is of fundamental importance, since it goes far toward determining the date of composition, and justifies the addition which turns the Pentateuch into the Hexateuch. A point of very considerable moment upon which the author touches, but upon which he does not enlarge, is the method of his-

torical writing in vogue among the Hebrews. Much of the difficulty which is found to-day with the critical theories arises from an importation of modern notions of authorship and of literary morality into ages where these ideas did not exist and where they found no recognition. We fail to place ourselves *en rapport* with the literary feelings and practices of the time, and hence fail to appreciate the facts. Besides, dogmatic considerations are imported likewise into the discussion, and scholars are accused of an impious rationalism which in many cases is not justified by the facts. To such persons the present volume will not be welcome, but the question really at issue is simply: What is the truth? For the determination of this question investigation is needed, and it must be free and unrestricted.

New Commentary on Acts of Apostles. By *J. W. McGarvey*, Professor of Sacred History in the College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky., Vol. 2. (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 298, \$1.50.) The former volume of this work was noticed last September. The author is well qualified for his task by extensive travel in the Holy Land and the East, and he has produced a book which will be found useful to Sunday-school teachers and Bible classes. It is well printed on good paper and well bound.

Men and Morals. By the Rev. *James Stalker*, D.D. (New York and Chicago: Revell, 1892, 12mo, pp. 178, \$1.) When Dr. Stalker was in America a couple of years ago delivering the "Yale Lectures" on preaching, he was called upon to speak before many other audiences. Some of these addresses have already been printed and have found acceptance. He has now allowed the publication of others, eight in all, and the volume thus produced is a valuable contribution to the discussion of a number of themes connected with faith and conduct. "Conscience," "Christ and the Wants of Humanity," "The Religion for To day," "The Evidences of Religion," "Temptation" are the titles of some of the addresses. They are remarkably clear and direct, needing no further interpreter than the seeing eye and the understanding heart.

The Good Wine at the Feast's End is the title of a delightful sermon by the late Rt. Rev. *Phillips Brooks*, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Massachusetts (New York: Dutton, 1893, 16mo, pp. 32, 25 cents), upon the text John ii. 10, in which the important and consoling lesson is set forth that life is increasingly good under the Christian conception of it, and that herein is a motive which appeals to the young, and is a source of encouragement and comfort to those of advancing years.

INDEX OF PERIODICALS, MARCH, 1893.

Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index of Periodicals.

- At. M. E. R. African M. E. Church Review. (Quarterly.)
 A. R. Andover Review. (Bi monthly.)
 B. S. Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quarterly.)
 B. W. The Biblical World.
 B. Q. R. Baptist Quarterly Review.
 Ch. Q. R. Church Quarterly Review.
 C. M. Q. Canadian Methodist Quarterly.
 C. R. Charities Review.
 C. T. Christian Thought.
 Ex. Expositor.
 Ex. T. Expository Times.
 G. W. Good Words.
 H. R. Homiletic Review.
 K. M. Katholische Missionen.
 L. Q. Lutheran Quarterly.
 M. R. Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)
 M. H. Missionary Herald.
 Miss. R. Missionary Review.
 N. C. Q. New Christian Quarterly.
 N. H. M. Newbury House Magazine.
 N. W. The New World.
 O. D. Our Day.
 P. E. R. Protestant Episcopal Review.
 P. M. Preachers' Magazine.
 P. Q. Presbyterian Quarterly.
 P. R. R. Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
 R. Ch. Review of the Churches.
 R. Q. R. Reformed Quarterly Review.
 R. R. R. Religious Review of Reviews.
 S. A. H. Sunday at Home.
 S. M. Sunday Magazine.
 T. Tr. The Treasury.
 Y. R. The Yale Review.
 Aramaic Gospel, The, J. T. Marshall, ExT.
 Atheism, Present-Day Preaching, Edward White, PM.
 Bamberg, Sophia Beale, GW.
 Boarding-Out System, Some Developments of, Homer Folke, CR.
 Briggs Heresy Trial, C. R. Gillert, NW.
 Child Problem, The Legal Aspect of, Francis Wayland, CR.
 Christianity among Cannibals, John C. Paton, OD.
 Christ's Verity, S. H. Kellogg, PM.
 Christ's Authority as a Lawgiver, The Nature of, G. F. Genung, AR.
 Christ, The Spirit of, M. C. Peters, TTr.
 Cosmopolitan Religion, C. A. Bartol, NW.
 Criticism of the Bible, Sidney A. Alexander, GW.
 Dependent Children, The Minnesota System of Caring for, H. W. Lewis, CR.
 Dependent and Delinquent Children under the System of the Roman Catholic Church, The Care of, A. G. Wagner, CR.
 Divorce Reform, Progress of National, S. W. Dike, OD.
 Egyptian Ka and Hebrew Kai, J. D. Steele, TTr.
 Elijah, N. L. Walker, ExT.
 Enigma, The Great, G. Holden, NHM.
 Excellent Way, The More, H. Montagu Butler, SM.
 Folk-Song of Israel, Karl Budde, NW.
 Fourth Gospel in the New Testament, The Place of, Orello Cone, NW.
 France, The Troubling of the Pool in, C. A. L. Richards, PER.
 Galilee, George Adam Smith, Ex.
 General Convention of 1892 The Chicago-Lambeth Declaration in, Hall Harrison, PER.
 Ghosts and Their Photographs, H. R. Hawels, OD.
 Gibeon in the Light of Later Scripture, The Miracle at, R. Balgarnie, HR.
 Gospels, Origin and Relation of the Four, J. J. Halcombe, ExT.
 Gospel of Matthew, The Fundamental Thought and Purpose of, Robert Kübel, BW.
 Gospel, The Fourth, Alfred W. Anthony, BW.
 Higher Criticism and its Application to the Bible, Edward Lewis Curtie, AR.
 Imagination, The Christian Use of, Hugh Price Hughes, PM.
 Incarnation, The Holy, H. W. Jewitt, NHM.
 Indian-Territorium, Die Missionen der Zemedikuner in, KM.
 Inspiration, The Personal Factor in Biblical, Marvin R. Vincent, NW.
 Institution for Children, The Legitimate Use of, Mary E. R. Cobb, CR.
 Israel in Egypt, C. H. Toy, NW.
 Jubilee Remembrances, Newman Hall, SM.
 Judas Iscariot, Bishop of Hipon, GW.
 Kingdom of God, The, E. Haupt, ExT.
 Lord's Threefold Question, The, James Stalker, PM.
 Milton, Local Memories of, David Masson, GW.
 Ministry, The Importance of Personal Character in, A. P. Peabody, HR.
 Missionen, Nachrichten aus den, KM.
 Missions and Civilization, Charles A. Starbuck, AR.
 Morality on a Scientific Basis, James T. Bixby, AR.
 Moses, His Life and its Lessons, Mark Guy Pearse, PM.
 Mysticism at the New Gallery, Christian, Alfred Gurney, NHM.
 One Thing Needful, The, B. Wagh, SM.
 Orphan Asylum, The British, RRR.
 Palestine Possibilities of Excavation in, Charles F. Kent, BW.
 Paul's Conception of Christianity, A. B. Bruce, Ex.
 Phillips Brooks, William Lawrence, AR.
 Phillips Brooks, Archdeacon Farrar, RCh.
 Phillips Brooks, Joseph Cook, OD.
 Poverty, The Problem of, Arthur Finlayson, RRR.
 Prayer, Secret, Henry Wright, PM.
 Presbyterian Laymen, A Call for, George A. Strong, AR.
 Progress of the Churches, Archdeacon Farrar, J. Reid Howard, Dr. Mackennal, Dr. Clifford, P. W. Bunting, RCh.
 Reading and Readers, M. S. R. J., SM.
 Reading, The Art of, Canon Fleming, RRR.
 Religion, The Power of, Archbishop Thomson, RRR.
 Repentance, Three Motives to, James Denney, Ex.
 Reward, The Motive of, George C. Foley, PER.
 Sacraments, The, Principal Reynolds, RCh.
 Satire, English Religious, T. W. Hunt, HR.
 Schoolmistress, The Seventeenth-Century, Alice Pollard, NHM.
 Scripture Texts from Recent Discoveries, Light on, William Hayes Ward, HR.
 Sermon on the Mount, Moral Teaching of, F. H. Woods, ExT.
 Shamanism, J. Sheepbanks, NHM.
 Shepherd, Voice of the Lord, The, Dr. Weiss, TTr.
 Sinai, Eine Reise nach dem, KM.
 Sixth Hour, About the, W. M. Ramsay, Ex.
 Slavery in Africa, H. T. Cousins, SM.
 Socialism of the Prophets, The Alleged, A. W. Bern, NW.
 Spies, The Story of the, Philip A. Nordell, BW.
 Synoptic Problem, Some Points in, V. H. Stanton, Ex.
 Taft, Archbishop, Kinloch Nelson, PER.
 Temperance Legislation, Miss Frances E. Willard, G. Armstrong Bennetts, RCh.
 Tennysonianism, Evelyn Everett Green, SM.
 Tennyson, The Homiletic Value of, F. V. N. Painter, HR.
 Theological Instruction in Switzerland, P. W. Snyder, BW.
 Timely Services, Thoughts of, A. T. Pierson, TTr.
 Trümmern eines untergegangenen Volkes, Unterdan, KM.

Ups and Downs of an Old Nunnery, Augustus Jessup, GW.
 Whately, Archdeacon, RRR.
 Whittier's Spiritual Career, John W. Chadwick, NW.
 Words of Christ, The Difficult, James Stalker, Ex.
 Young Men's Service, G. B. F. Halleck, TTr.

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 The Nature of Christ's Authority as a Lawgiver.
 Missions and Civilization, III.
 Phillips Brooks
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THE BIBLICAL WORLD.

Chicago, March, 1893.

The Story of the Spies, a Study in Biblical Criticism.
 Theological Instruction in Switzerland, II.
 The Fourth Gospel, an Outline for the Study of its Higher Criticism.
 The Fundamental Thought and Purpose of the Gospel of Matthew.
 The American Institute of Sacred Literature.
 Historical Studies in the Scriptural Material of the International Lesson.
 Possibilities of Excavations in Palestine.

THE CHARITIES REVIEW.

New York, March, 1893.

The Legal Aspect of the Child Problem.
 Some Developments of the Boarding-Out System.
 The Minnesota System of Caring for Dependent Children.
 The Legitimate Use of an Institution for Children.
 The Care of Dependent and Delinquent Children under the System of the Roman Catholic Church.
 The New Municipal Lodging-House in Washington.

THE EXPOSITOR.

London, March, 1893.

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 About the Sixth Hour.
 The Difficult Words of Christ.
 Three Motives to Repentance.

THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

London, March, 1893.

The Kingdom of God.
 The Ministry of Elijah.
 The Moral Teaching of the Sermon on the Mount.
 The Aramaic Gospel.
 The Origin and Relation of the Four Gospels.

GOOD WORDS.

London, March, 1893.

Criticism and the Bible.
 Local Memories of Milton, III.
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THE HOMILETIC REVIEW.

Toronto, New York, London, March, 1893.

The Importance of Personal Character in the Ministry.
 The Homiletic Value of Tennyson.
 The Miracle at Gibeon in the Light of Later Scripture.
 English Religious Satire.
 Light on Scriptural Texts from Recent Discoveries.

DIE KATHOLISCHEN MISSIONEN.

Freiburg im Breisgau, March, 1893.

Die Mission der Benediktiner im Indianer-Territorium.
 Unter den Trümmern eines untergegangenen Volkes.
 Eine Reise nach dem Sinai.
 Nachrichten aus den Missionen.

THE NEWBURY HOUSE MAGAZINE.

London, March, 1893.

The Holy Incarnation.
 Shamanism.
 The Great Enigma : A Review.
 Christian Mysticism at the New Gallery.
 The Seventeenth-Century Schoolmistress.

THE NEW WORLD.

Boston, March, 1893.

The Place of the Fourth Gospel in the New Testament Literature.
 The Folk-Song of Israel in the Mouth of the Prophets.
 Cosmopolitan Religion.
 The Alleged Socialism of the Prophets.
 Whittier's Spiritual Career.
 The Personal Factor in Biblical Inspiration.
 Israel in Egypt.
 The Briggs Heresy Trial.

OUR DAY.

Boston and Chicago, March, 1893.

Christianity among Cannibals.
 Progress of National Divorce Reform.
 Ghosts and Their Photographs.
 Boston Monday Lectures : Phillips Brooks.

THE PREACHERS' MAGAZINE.

New York, March, 1893.

Present-Day Preaching : Atheism.
 Moses, the Last Plague.
 Christ's Verity.
 The Christian Use of the Imagination.
 Secret Prayer a Reality.

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL MAGAZINE.

Virginia, March, 1893.

The Troubling of the Pool in France.
 The Chicago-Lambeth Declaration in the General Convention of 1892.
 Archbishop Tait.
 The Motive of Reward.

THE RELIGIOUS REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

London, February, 1893.

The Problem of Poverty, II.
 The Art of Reading, V.
 The Power of Religion
 Philanthropic Institutions: The British Orphan Asylum.
 Archdeacon Whately.

REVIEW OF THE CHURCHES.

London, February, 1893.

The Progress of the Churches.
Phillips Brooks.
Temperance Legislation: Past and Future.
The Sacraments.

THE SUNDAY MAGAZINE.

London, March, 1893.

The More Excellent Way.
Jubilee Remembrances.
Slavery in Africa.
Reading and Readers.
Tennysoniana.
The One Thing Needful.

THE TREASURY.

New York, March, 1893.

The Spirit of Christ: Sermon.
The Shepherd Voice of the Lord: Expository Lecture.
Thoughts of Timely Services.
Young Men's Service: The Glory of Young Men.
The Egyptian Ka and the Hebrew Kai: Critical Comment.

THE APRIL MAGAZINES.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE for April contains: Frontispiece, "The Brooklyn Bridge on a Wintery Day," drawn by Child Hassam; "The City of Brooklyn," by Julian Ralph; "Love and Death," by William H. Hayne; "An April Birthday at Sea," by James Russell Lowell; "Washington Society," by Henry Loomis Nelson; "Retribution," by Howard Pyle; "Kansas—1841-1891," by John James Ingalls; "The Refugees" (a tale of two continents), by A. Conan Doyle; "The Progress of Art in New York," by George Parsons Lathrop; "The Storm-Wind," by Arlo Bates; "Horace Chase," by Constance Fenimore Woolson; "A Violet Speaks," by Louise Chandler Moulton; "In the Barracks of the Czar," by Poultney Bigelow; "A Modern Knight," by Emily Browne Powell; "University Extension in Canterbury," by Rebecca Harding Davis; "The Story of the Buffalo," by Hamlin Russell; "Editor's Study," "Editor's Drawer."

THE APRIL NUMBER OF THE CENTURY contains: "The Chicago Anarchists of 1886: The Crime, the Trial, and the Punishment," Joseph E. Gary; "The Princess Anne," M. O. W. Oliphant; "An Embassy to Provence," III., Thomas A. Janvier; "Letters of Two Brothers," William Tecumseh Sherman, John Sherman; "A Tree Museum," M. C. Robbins; "The Heart of the Tree," H. C. Bunner; "I's niver feared for my Ould Man," Jennie E. T. Dowe; "Margaret Fuller," Josephine Lazarus; "Sweet Bells Out of Tune," Mrs. Burton Harrison; "The Cash Capital of Sunset City," Hayden Carruth, "Idy," Margaret Collier Graham; "Benefits Forgot," Wolcott Balestier; "The Angel of Death Staying the Hand of the Sculptor," Daniel Chester French.

The contents of SCRIBNER'S for April are: "A Century Ago," drawn by A. B. Wenzell; "An Artist in Japan," by Robert Blum; "Epitaph," by Graham R. Tomson; "An Irish Peasant Song," by Louise Imogen Guiney; "Unpublished Letters of Carlyle," "A New England Farm," by Frank French; "The One I Knew the Best of All" (a memory of the mind of a child), by Frances Hodgson Burnett, Chapters XI-XII; "The Restoration House," by Stephen T. Aveling; "Worth While," by Edward S. Martin; "In Rented Rooms," by George I. Putnam; "The Cities that were Forgotten," by Charles F. Lummis; "A Glimpse of an Artist," by Viola Roeborbo; "Anne of Brittany's Châteaux in the Valley of the Loire," by Theodore Andrea Cook; "The Arts Relating to Women and

their Exhibition in Paris," by Octave Uzanne; "Historic Moments: The Crisis of the Shipka Pass," by Archibald Forbes; "The Point of View."

LIPPINCOTT'S for April contains as its complete story "Columbus in Love." It also contains the usual number of short stories and interesting articles on timely topics.

The contents of THE COSMOPOLITAN for April are "The Conqueror," "Sohni" (poem), Sir Edwi Arnold; "Lent among the Mahometans," Fran G. Carpenter; "Purses, Pockets and Personal Receptacles," S. William Beck; "The University of Chicago," Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen; "Dorasia," Gertrude Hall; "Historic Figure-Heads," Robert G. Denig; "Ice" (poem), Titus Munson Coan; "Traveller from Altruria," W. D. Howells; "Evolution" (poem), Henry Tyrrell; "The Great Flood Phosphate Boom," Alfred Allen; "Sound in Silence" (poem), Richard Burton; "Inauguration and Coronations," Frederick S. Daniel; "Berlitzers," Friedrich Spielhagen; "Surrender" (poem), Julia Boynton Green; "Democracy and City Government," Edwin A. Curley; "Omega: The Last Days of the World," Camille Flammarion.

MONTHLY BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS LITERATURE
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Ryle, Herbert E. Ezra and Nehemiah, with introduction and notes. (Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.) New York: Macmillan, 1893. Pp. lxxii., 330, 16mo, cloth, \$1.25.

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Smith, Samuel, M.P. The Credibility of the Christian Religion; or, Thoughts on Modern Rationalism. Boston: Hastings, 1893. Pp. xii., 98, 12mo.

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Thoburn, J. M., Bishop. The Deaconess and Her Vocation. New York : Meth. Bk. Conc., 1893. Pp. vi., 127, 12mo, cloth, 60 cts. [Sermons and Addresses.]

Thomas, Abbé. Le Règne du Christ, l'Église militante et les derniers. Temps. Paris : Blond, 1893. Pp. vi., 334, 8vo.

Torrey, R. A. How to Bring Men to Christ. New York : Revell, 1893. Pp. 121, 12mo, cloth, 15 cts.

Vaughan, C. J. Restful Thoughts in Restless Times. London : Macmillan, 1893. Pp. 323, p. 8vo, 3 s. [Sermons at the Temple Church and at Llandaff Cathedral.]

Vigouroux, F. Dictionnaire de la Bible, contenant tous les noms de personnes, de lieux, de plantes, d'animaux, mentionnés dans les saintes Écritures, etc., publié par—, avec le concours d'un grand nombre de collaborateurs. Fascicule 3: Antiquité-Archéologie. Paris : Letouzey, 1893. Pp. 600-625, 8vo.

Wake, Archbishop. The Genuine Epistles of the Apostolic Fathers. London : Routledge, 1893. Pp. 370, p. 8vo, 3s. 6d. [Sir John Lubbocks Handred Books.]

Wakeford, J. Behold the Man ! Nine addresses wherein is set forth the human nature of our Divine Lord as the instrument of our Salvation. With an introduction by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Chichester. London : Gardner, 1893. Pp. 154, 18mo, 2s.

Warren, Henry White, S.T.D. The Bible in the World's Education. New York : Meth. Bk. Conc., 1893. Pp. ii., 320, 12mo, \$1.00.

Wendt, H. H. Die Norm des Echten Christentums. (Hefte zur "Christlichen Welt," Nr. 5.) Leipzig : Granow, 1893. Pp. 51, 8vo, 50 pf.

White, Wilbert W. Inductive Studies in the Twelve Minor Prophets. Chicago : G. M. E. Pub. Co., 1893. Pp. 114, 16mo, cloth, 50 cts.

Wilde, S. Lakonische Kulte. Leipzig : Teubner, 1893. Pp. x., 417, 8vo, 10 mk.

Wiesinger, Ch. A. S. Ueber die Kindsanfe im Zusammenhange ihrer gegebenen Konsequenzen. London : Neumann, 1893. Pp. 32, 8vo, 40 pf.

Wink, Arthur. The World of the Unseen and its relation to the higher space to things material. London and New York : Macmillan, 1893. Pp. 84, 12mo, \$1.25, 3s. 6d.

Wolbing, Gustav, Dr. Die mittelalterlichen Lebensbeschreibungen des Bonifatius, ihrem Inhalte nach untersucht, verglichen und erläutert. Leipzig : Fock, 1893. Pp. viii., 160, 8vo, 3 mk.

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Wysewa, T. de. Contes Chrétiens. Les Disputes d'Emmaüs, on les Etapes d'une conversion. Paris : Perrin, 1893. Pp. 115, 16mo, 1 fr.

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CHRONICLE.

(Closes on the 30th of each month.)

Feb. 17-March 24. Delivery of the Bishopaddock Lectures by Bishop Cox at the General Theological Seminary, New York City. General subject, "The Repose of the Blessed Dead."

Feb. 21. Second Negro Conference at Tuskegee.

Feb. 24. Sixth Annual Session of the (Methodist Episcopal) Deaconess Conference in Cincinnati.

Feb. 28-March 2. Missionary Conference at Philadelphia, under the auspices of the American Baptist Missionary Union.

March 1-2. Meeting in New York of the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

The Rev. John McKim was chosen Missionary Bishop of Yeddo, Japan, and the Rev. Frederick R. Graves Missionary Bishop of Shanghai. A resolution was adopted remonstrating against the resignation of Bishop William Bell White Howe, of South Carolina.

March 2. Proclamation of an anathema on the Protestant Episcopal Church by Joseph Renatus Villate, Archbishop of the Old Catholic Church in America.

March 5. Installation of the Rev. John R. Davies as successor to Dr. Howard Crosby in the pastorate of the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City.

March 6. Inter-Denominational Ministerial Conference in Toronto, held for the purpose of furthering denominational union.

March 9. Incorporation of the Congregational Church Extension Society of New York City and Brooklyn.

Moravian Christian Endeavor Conference in the Sixth Street Moravian Church, New York.

Election of the Rev. Samuel L. Beller, D.D., Vice-chancellor of the American University at Washington, D.C.

March 20. Tri-Centennial in Minneapolis of the issuance of the Decree of Upsala.

The Rev. William Proctor Swaby, D.D., has been appointed Anglican Bishop of Guiana ; the Rev. W. W. Perrin, Bishop of British Columbia ; and the Rev. W. J. Burn, Bishop of Qu'Appelle.

The Rt. Rev. John Thomas Pelham, D.D., Bishop of Norwich, England, has signified his intention to resign in May.

The Rev. William Irwin, D.D., has resigned as Corresponding Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, and the Rev. J. T. Gibson has resigned the office of Secretary and Treasurer of the Board of Missions for Freedmen, his resignation to take effect June 1st.

The Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church has appointed Miss Elizabeth M. Wishard, of Indianapolis, Secretary.

The Rev. C. M. Southgate, of Worcester, has been elected New England Secretary of the American Missionary Society.

The Rev. W. H. Black, D.D., of the Missouri Valley College has been called to the Chair of Systematic Theology in the Theological School of Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tenn. The Rev. J. M. Hubbard, D.D., has accepted the invitation to become Dean of the same ; and the Rev. Charles Wells Hayes, D.D., has accepted a call to become professor in the De Lancey Divinity School, Geneva, N. Y.

The Rev. John P. Peters, Ph.D., has resigned the professorship of Hebrew in the University of Pennsylvania, Pa.

The Rev. Professor Todd Martin has been nominated for the moderatorship of the next General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.

Nearly \$150,000 has been secured for the endowment of a new Theological Seminary of the Southern Presbyterian Church at Louisville, Ky., assuring the establishment of the same.

The General Council of the Catholic Summer School has decided to accept the large grant of land at *Plattsburg*, N. Y., for the location of the school.

OBITUARY.

Burney, Rev. Stanford Guthrie (Cumberland Presbyterian), D.D., at Lebanon, Tenn., March 1, aged 79. He was graduated from Cumberland College, Princeton, Ky., 1841; ordained to charge of church at Memphis, 1845; became pastor and teacher at Oxford, Miss., 1846; was President of Union Female College, 1852-61; elected Professor of English Literature in the University of Mississippi, 1866; Professor of Biblical Literature in the Theological Department of Cumberland University, 1877; transferred to the Chair of Systematic Theology, 1881, which position he held till his death. He was moderator of the General Assembly in 1880. He has published "Atonement and Law Reviewed," "Soteriology," "Psychology," "Studies in Moral Science," "Baptismal Regeneration," "Election," and very numerous review articles.

Eells, Rev. Cushing (Congregationalist), D.D. (Pacific University), at Tacoma, Feb. 16, aged 88. He was graduated from Williams College, 1884, and from East Windsor Theological Seminary, 1887; he was appointed to the Zulu mission, but was sent instead to what was then known as Oregon, preaching his first sermon to the Indians at Chawelah, in 1888, where in 1892 he dedicated a church; was stationed at Tahimakian, 1889; removed to the Willamette Valley, 1848; taught for several years in Pacific University, Forest Grove, Ore.; removed in 1861 to Walla Walla; was largely influential in founding Whitman College, being its first teacher, and becoming President of its Board of Trustees, 1872; removed to Colfax, 1877, laboring there and in the vicinity, and establishing churches in Colfax, Cheney, Medical Lake, and elsewhere. He was known on the Pacific slope as "Father Eells."

Evans, Elder Frederick W. (Shaker), at Lebanon, N. Y., March 6, aged 85. He was born in England, but emigrated to the United States in 1820; joined the Shakers in 1830; was appointed Elder of the "North Family," 1838; became "First Elder" of three of the families, 1858; edited the *Shaker and Shakeress*, 1873-75. He was instrumental in developing the economics of the Shaker community, and has published "Compendium of the Principles, Rules, Doctrines, and Government of Shakers, with Biographies of Ann Lee and Others," "Autobiography of a Shaker," "Tests of Divine Revelation," "Shaker Communism," and "Second Appearing of Christ," besides contributing to seventy periodicals.

Horden, Rt. Rev. John (Anglican), D.D. (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1872), near Moose Fort, in the Province of Moosonee, Canada, January 22, aged 66. He was a graduate of Oxford, and after completing his studies, taught in Exeter; was accepted for missionary service, and was sent to what has become the diocese of Moosonee, 1851, receiving ordination in 1852; was consecrated first Bishop of Moosonee in 1872. His diocese was 1200 miles long by 800 wide, and it took him eight years to cover his diocese in his visitations, omitting in the performance of this duty, no one of the many Indian tribes. He translated the Bible and Prayer-Book into the Cree language, and had just completed a revision of the former when he died.

McFarland, Rev. D. K. (Southern Presbyterian), D.D., at Mayesville, S. C., February 28, aged 45. He was graduated from the University of Mississippi, 1870, and from the Theological Seminary at Columbia, S. C., 1873; became pastor at Hopewell, S. C., 1873; accepted pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church, Savannah, Ga., 1875; married Miss Annie R. Witherspoon, in January, 1877; accepted, call to Oxford, Miss., 1882; removed to Staunton, 1886, resigning on account of ill health, 1894.

Newton, Rev. William (Reformed Episcopalian), D.D., at West Chester, Pa., February 16, 1883. He was educated for the law, but entered the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church, becoming rector of Holy Trinity Church, West Chester, Pa., 1856; removed to Gambler, O., in connection with the Theological Seminary there, 1863; afterward accepted the rectorate of the Church of the Nativity, Philadelphia, which he resigned in 1877, withdrawing from the Protestant Episcopal Communion, and entering the Reformed Episcopal Church; organized the Church of the Covenant in Philadelphia, 1878, and removed to West Chester to take charge of the Church of the Sure Foundation. He was preparing a "Commentary on the Psalms" and a "Commentary on the Book of Revelation," both of which are well advanced toward completion.

Peabody, Rev. Andrew Preston (Unitarian), D.D. (Harvard, 1852), LL.D. (University of Rochester, 1868), in Boston, March 10, aged 62. He was graduated at Harvard College, 1826; taught for three years; was graduated from Harvard Divinity School in 1833; became pastor at Portsmouth, N. H., 1833; was elected Plummer Professor of Morals and Preacher in Harvard College, 1860; resigned in 1881, being made professor emeritus. He was editor and part proprietor of the *North American Review*, 1853-63, and, in connection with his other duties in the college, acted at various times as Professor of Political Economy, and also of Logic, and had charge of the forensics of the senior class. His published works are numerous, including "Lectures on Christian Doctrine," "Christian consolations," "Conversation, its Faults and Graces," "Christianity the Religion of Nature," "Reminiscences of European Travel," "Manual of Moral Philosophy," "Christianity and Science," "Baccalaureate Sermons," and "Christian Belief and Life," besides numerous translations from the classics.

Vermilyea, Rev. Thomas Edward (Dutch Reformed), D.D. (Rutgers and Union Colleges, 1839), LL.D. (Jefferson College, 1856), in New York City, March 18, aged 90. He was graduated from Yale College in 1821; studied at Princeton Theological Seminary, but did not graduate; was ordained by New York Presbytery, 1825; became pastor of the Vandewater Street Church, 1826; removed to West Springfield, Mass., to take charge of the Congregational Church there, 1830; went to Albany to take pastorate of Dutch Reformed Church, 1836; became one of the pastors of the Collegiate Reformed Church in New York, 1839, and retained his connection with that church till his death.

CALENDAR.

April 24-28. Conference on the "Progress of the Gospel on the Continent," in London. Delegates from the Reformed Churches are expected to be present.

May 4. Inauguration of Rev. Robert Christie, D.D., to the chair of Didactic and Polemic Theology, in the Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pa.

May 10. Annual meeting of the London Mission Society. Dr. A. T. Pierson will preach the sermon.

May 12. Annual meeting of the Woman's Board of Missions of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church at Nashville, Tenn.

May 15. Mid-year meeting of the Board of Managers of the Woman's Centenary Association of the Universalist Church, in Chicago.

May 18. Jubilee Anniversary of the Scotch Disruption, in Edinburgh.

General Assembly of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church at Little Rock, Ark.; of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., in Washington, D. C.; and of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., at Macon, Ga.

May 24-26. Anglican Church Congress for Northern and Central Europe at Geneva, under the presidency of Bishop Wilkinsson.

Twenty-fourth Convention of the General Council of the Lutheran Church at Fort Wayne, Ind.

THE THINKER:

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No. 5.

THE SURVEY OF THOUGHT.

PRIZE COMPETITION.

In response to our offer of £21 in prizes for the five best papers on Biblical, Critical, Expository, Theological, or Scientific subjects, about ninety papers were sent in. The following is the list of those to which prizes have been assigned :—

1. "The Higher Criticism." By Rev. Wm. Frank Scott, Logie Buchan Manse, N.B.
2. "The Word 'Mystery' in the New Testament." By Rev. H. J. Foster, Clifton.
3. "Christ and the Problem of Suffering." By Rev. R. B. McGlashan, M.A., Gatehouse, N.B.
4. "The Rights of Criticism." By Rev. T. Scott Newlands, B.D., Craigend Manse, N.B.
5. "What is the Church?" By Rev. Walter Riddall, D.D., Belfast.

As one of the conditions of the competition was that the papers were to be of a kind adapted for publication in THE THINKER, some of those sent in, which were poetical in form, were necessarily excluded. In one case printed matter, which had already been used in some other magazine, was offered, but was, of course, returned to the author. Fully one-third of the papers fell below even a very moderate standard of merit. The fact that seven of the ninety papers were manifestly superior to the others made the task of adjudging the prizes comparatively easy. The subjects dealt with in the papers were, as might have been expected, of a very varied character, and gave evidence of the extent to which the public mind is being moved by certain great questions. The relations between science and religion, the higher criticism, the efficacy of prayer, the nature of the Church, and the attitude of Christianity towards Socialism, are the subjects that find most favour with the writers. It is to be regretted that very few papers dealing with special points in Biblical criticism were sent in. We hope to announce another competition shortly; and the results of the one just held enable us to give a few hints to would-be competitors. The subject chosen should be one which could be adequately treated in the limits of space prescribed to himself by the writer. Otherwise the paper is likely to be of a sketchy and superficial character. A concise, pithy contribution on some subject of which the writer has made a special study is infinitely better than general, and

almost necessarily commonplace, remarks upon some very wide field of thought. Mere sermons should not be utilized as contributions. And finally, greater attention should be paid to style than some of the present writers seem to have thought necessary. Slipshod English, exaggerated forms of expression, and other faults that offend good taste, have not only the effect of marring what might have been a good paper, but put a very considerable strain upon the patience and good temper of the examiner. Some, too, cast a doubt upon the erudition they claim, by errors in spelling somewhat familiar English words. "Let us not speak of them; but look, and pass." We hope, in due course, to publish two papers that have not gained prizes. As this number of *THE THINKER* is devoted almost entirely to the Prize papers, we are compelled to postpone the articles by our regular and well-known contributors. We may as well say that the examiner was in no way influenced in his judgment concerning the prize papers by the opinions they expressed; ability, not orthodoxy, was the sole test. This magazine holds no brief either for traditional dogmas or for the higher criticism: it welcomes impartially every endeavour after Truth. Some of our readers seem to imagine that we are more favourable to "advanced thought" than to traditional opinions; but we can assure them that this is not so; the Editor is only anxious by fair discussion to promote the interests of Biblical study.

THE OLD TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA.—One of our competitors ("Gav.") gives an elaborate and intelligent history of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, and remarks that it is strange that these books have been neglected to such a great extent by English and American scholars. "As ancient literary productions," he says, "originating with one of the most remarkable peoples of antiquity, although in many respects no doubt inferior to similar works of the Greeks and Romans, which are so sedulously studied in our schools, they still deserve particular attention and examination. As histories, they supply important links in the scanty annals of a most interesting period. So, too, from a philosophical point of view, they can by no means be set aside as worthless. Some of them witness in a marked degree the influence of Greek philosophy in the countries in which they were written, and exhibit the peculiar product resulting from the contact of such philosophy with the sacred learning of the Jews. But their chief value is unquestionably theological. They show how the Old Testament was interpreted and applied by the Jews themselves during the period stretching nearly from the close of the canon to the coming of Christ; what progress was made in the apprehension and development of important truths, especially those relating to the unseen world and future state, and serve as well by their exaggerations and mistakes, as by their statement or reflection of facts, to prepare the way for Him who 'spoke with authority and not as the scribes.'" The attitude of the Apocrypha with respect to the Scriptures is well worthy of notice. "Being as they are" says the writer, "the oldest extant remains of the

extensive Hebrew literature that sprang up subsequent to the close of the canon, the apocryphal books are of no little importance as witnesses for it, and as showing the estimation in which the Holy Scriptures were held at that period. In the prologue to Ecclesiasticus, for example, we find the first allusion to the canonical Scriptures as a whole, under the general title of 'the law, the prophets, and the other books.' There is in the passage, moreover, every evidence that the son of Sirach did not regard his own works as on a level with those alluded to, but rather the contrary. Indeed, in many places in the Apocrypha a peculiar authority is imputed to the canonical writings. They are held to be distinct from other books, and to have been given by God for human guidance through prophets inspired for the purpose. They are called 'holy books,' and the writers of them are represented to have been under the influence of the Spirit of God." There can be no doubt that a great amount of extremely valuable matter of various kinds yet remains to be gathered from these books, and that a careful and intelligent study of them would enable us to form some idea of the profound changes that passed upon the Jewish people between the time of Nehemiah and the time of John the Baptist.

THE ELEMENT OF HUMOUR IN THE BIBLE.—The question as to the extent to which the element of humour is found in the Bible is one that has not received the attention it deserves. It is broached, however, by one of the writers in our competition, "Cantianus," and we wish that he had treated it more fully than he has done. He points out that what seem to some readers grotesque circumstances in the histories of Balaam and Jonah cannot fairly be reckoned to be of a humorous character. "We have tested," he says, "in several instances the effect produced upon the young and the uneducated in hearing these narratives for the first time; and, whereas in a very few cases the risible faculty has been excited, the general rule has been the expression of wonder at the remarkable events that have been described." While the story of Samson's revenge upon his foes by means of the foxes and firebrands has, in his experience, invariably produced laughter when submitted to the same test. No one, we suppose, will deny the existence of a humorous element in the parable of Jotham, in parts of the history of Samson, in Elijah's mockery of the priests of Baal, in the contempt poured out upon the folly of idol-worship (Ps. cxv.; Isa. xlv.), and in many passages of the Proverbs of Solomon. And in general we may say that there is a humorous side to the irony and satire so often employed by the prophets and sacred writers. So far as the New Testament is concerned, our author can only think of two possible instances of humour—the one being a play upon the meaning of the name Onesimus (Philem. ii.), and the other a similar treatment of the name Nazarene (Matt. ii. 23). It may be doubted, however, whether the latter is a case to the point. But we think that an element of humour is discernible in some of the parables, as, for example, in that of the Selfish Neighbour, only to be roused out of his

comfortable bed by persistent knocking at the door, and in that of the Unjust Judge. The description, too, of the discontented children playing in the market-place (Matt. xi. 16-17) might be added to the list, and also the many satirical allusions to the hypocrisy and casuistical practices of scribes and Pharisees. The writings of St. Paul, if carefully examined, might be found to furnish many other examples of the same kind, since he makes ample use of irony and sarcasm in confuting opponents. A full and adequate treatment of the whole subject is a desideratum in theological literature.

THE ECLIPSE OF FAITH: IS IT FINAL?—One of the competitors, in treating of the religious difficulties felt by many in the present day, has chosen to give his paper a dramatic form, with the above title. He introduces to us three persons whose respective standpoints are indicated by the names Philochristus, Evangelical, and Agnostic, and represents them as endeavouring to elaborate a creed upon which they can all unite. It is a somewhat significant fact that while Philochristus and Agnostic do manage in the end to come to a common understanding in the matter, after discarding the miraculous element in Christianity, Evangelical is still as antagonistic to them at the end as at the beginning. He makes no concessions, and treats what they decide upon as a more spiritual form of Christianity as but little different from mere "infidelity." This life-like touch gives the dialogue an air of reality, which is often wanting in such compositions. Usually in such cases "where the personages *do agree*, their unanimity is wonderful," and is to be accounted for rather by the will of the writer than by the convincing character of the arguments that have been employed. Both Philochristus and Agnostic agree that the elaborate creed of the Churches is intolerable, and that hope lies only in a development or re-adaptation of the moral and spiritual truth that is hidden beneath the worn-out forms; and that this "simpler and more rational" Christian faith will rest in the last resort, not on historical facts, but on the moral consciousness. "It is not the Christian creed," exclaims Philochristus, "that is the bond of union, but the Christian spirit. Christ's religion is a religion of conduct and spirit. 'If ye love me, keep my commandments': and of every soul that humbly tries to do that, Christ Himself says, 'Behold my sister and my brother.'" It cannot be denied, we admit, that in the case of some, the religious life and spirit survive, even when the historical facts on which ordinary Christian faith is based have been discarded; but we doubt whether that life and spirit could ever have come into existence apart from those facts. Is it possible for Christianity to be transmitted from one generation to another, or imparted to the heathen, in this more ethereal form? We get little aid in solving this question from those who hold this "simpler and more rational faith"; for we generally find that their religious life is emphatically non-aggressive in character. Philochristus lays stress upon the fact that persons were recognized by Christ as genuine disciples, "who knew nothing of His Divinity, or even, for a time after His

death, of His resurrection." The inference is that belief in the Divinity and resurrection of Christ are not essential to the Christian faith. But surely there is a distinction between the darkness of twilight and the darkness that may be created at mid-day by closing the window-shutters of a room—between a rudimentary and a mutilated form of life. The attitude of Philochristus towards the worship and rites of the Church is that expressed in the words of the late Professor Green: "The Christian ordinances are at hand for our refreshment, and we do wrong to ourselves to allow any intellectual vexation at the mode in which the outward symbols may be presented to us, to prevent us from their due use. We shall not value such expression the less, because to us it is only an expression." It is to be feared, however, that many who hold the intellectual opinions in question do themselves the wrong of neglecting Christian ordinances.

THE TELL AMARNA TABLETS.—The new translation of the published texts of the tablets found at Tell Amarna by Major Conder, published under the auspices of the Palestine Exploration Society, differs so widely from the renderings by Professor Sayce in the *Records of the Past* as to seriously puzzle all but Assyriologists, and those who are intimate with the history of Assyriological research. Professor Sayce, who accepts the usual opinion that the Pharaoh of the Exodus was Menephtah, the son of Rameses II., dates the tablets about two and a half centuries before the arrival of the Israelites in Palestine. Major Conder, on the other hand, who rejects the current view as an "incredible fable," regards the tablets as partially contemporaneous with the Israelitish invasion. One of the main supports of this startling belief is the identification which had been previously propounded, but had met with little favour, of the "Khabiri" (or "Abiri") of the tablets with the Hebrews. This being assumed, it is easy to connect the statements made in some of the letters with the movements of Joshua and his people. Major Conder even thinks that he can detect an allusion to the fall of Jericho. The governor of Jerusalem, whose name is read by Professor Sayce as Abd Tabba, or Ebed Tob, is identified (although with some hesitation) with Adoni-zedek, one of the five kings put to death at Makkedah. The passages in the letters of this ruler of Jerusalem which have been supposed to illustrate the position of Melchisedek, admit of no such application for those who accept the translation of Major Conder. Even the language of the bulk of these letters is differently described. It is generally called Assyrian or Babylonian; but Major Conder affirms that it is "Aramaic resembling Assyrian . . . very like the Aramaic of the Talmud, and like Arabic in many particulars rather than like Hebrew. It is the same language in an archaic condition which is now spoken by the peasantry of Palestine." The decision between these divergent opinions must, of course, be left to Assyriologists. Meanwhile, Biblical and historical students must use the tablets with the greatest caution. Nevertheless, much of their significance

has been ascertained beyond dispute. Whatever may be uncertain, there can be no reasonable doubt that these curious "state papers" attest the political dependence of many places in Palestine or Egypt fifteen centuries before Christ; that they prove that the art of writing was not merely known to the governing classes among the ancient Canaanites, but was extensively practised by them, for as many as 176 letters in the collection come from different parts of the land of Canaan, and fifty were written by one man; and that Babylonian civilization exerted a strong influence even then at a great distance from its seat, the character employed being uniformly the cuneiform, and the language in any case closely allied to that chiefly spoken in Babylonia. It is also certain that the names "Canaan," "Amorite," and "Jerusalem" were in use in Palestine before the Israelites entered it, and that the last name means "city of peace." The phraseology, too, is strikingly Biblical. Whatever obscurity may still envelop many details, it is evident that the ancient Canaanites spoke and thought and in some measure acted in the same way as their Israelitish neighbours and successors. Like them, they used the number seven to express completeness; they bowed down to the feet of their superiors, describing themselves as "the dust of their feet," and "the footstool of their feet"; the word "dog" was constantly used of human beings, sometimes in bitter contempt; a plural name of God, answering to the Hebrew Elohim, was employed in a singular sense; they used to say that "their heart rejoiced," that "their head was exalted," and that "their eyes were enlightened." A considerable amount of extremely valuable and surprising information has already been extracted from these tablets within six years of their discovery, and much more may be reasonably expected from the more developed Assyriology of the future.

DR. BERNHARD WEISS ON THE FOURTH GOSPEL.—Although Dr. Weiss has already issued (in 1880 and 1886 respectively) two editions of Meyer's *Commentary on John*, and has dealt with the subject also in his *Introduction to the New Testament*, as well as to some extent in his *Life of Christ*, his third edition of Meyer (the 8th, if the editions published during Meyer's lifetime are included), which is described as "worked up afresh," will be welcomed by students throughout the world as a work of great interest and importance. The *Einleitung*, in which the authorship and date of the Gospel, and the Evangelist's way of using his materials, are concisely but carefully discussed, is especially attractive, as giving the mature opinion of one of the most accomplished of living scholars on some of the most fascinating and hotly-debated questions of New Testament criticism. English readers who have the articles of Professor Schürer and Professor Sanday fresh in their memory will be glad to know the present position of the distinguished Berlin professor to the problems under discussion. It is satisfactory to find that Dr. Weiss has not materially altered his attitude. He is still a pronounced though cautious advocate of the traditional view. The fourth Gospel, he still believes, was written by John, the disciple whom

Jesus loved, in Asia, towards the close of the first century. The external evidence for the Gospel is stated and examined with remarkable clearness and cogency. Even the most hostile critic must admit that Dr. Weiss has made out a strong case. We cannot forbear quoting the impressive summary with which the chapter closes: "As Irenæus had been in his youth a disciple of Polycarp, it is quite inconceivable that he should have inadvertently accepted as apostolic a Gospel about which he had never heard anything from Polycarp, the scholar of John, and which did not harmonize with what he had heard from him concerning the words and deeds of Jesus. So with Irenæus closes the chain of witnesses which begins with the probable use of the Gospel by Barnabas, Hermas, and Basilides, is continued indirectly by the use of the first epistle in Polycarp and Papias, and directly by Justin's reference to readings from it in church, and is completed by the recognition of four as the number of the Gospels from the time of Tatian, that is, from the last third of the second century; and Origen is right when he reckons our Gospel amongst those which alone are accepted without contradiction in the whole church under heaven." One important witness, not included in this summary, but mentioned in the course of the discussion, is the *Didache*, which was, in any case, in our author's judgment, earlier than Justin. The eucharistic prayers in this ancient tract are said to abound in echoes of John's Gospel. The exact time of the composition of the Gospel is, of course, pronounced uncertain. It must, however, have been subsequent to the fall of Jerusalem, as John cannot have settled in Asia until after the outbreak of the Jewish war, and had evidently been living there many years when he wrote the Gospel, as there are plain indications of long-continued absence from Palestine. The non-occurrence of direct references to the catastrophe in the year 70 A.D., which must have profoundly affected the Apostle, indicates that the interval was considerable, and the repose and completeness so characteristic of the Gospel point at advanced age, without, however, showing any trace of senile weakness. The year 80 A.D., which was suggested by Meyer as a probable date, may be too early if, as trustworthy tradition asserts, the Evangelist lingered until the time of Trajan. The Synoptic Gospels were known, but not used as authorities. "Even when he deals with subjects dealt with in the other Gospels, the latter can never be thought of as his sources, although his narrative may have been unconsciously influenced by them in details." The purpose of the Gospel was not directly either complementary or polemic, although it cannot be denied that the Evangelist may have had current heresies in his mind, and may have consciously added to the incomplete narratives of the other Gospels. As to the Evangelist's way of working up his matter, Dr. Weiss seems to adhere to the view propounded in his earlier writings. The substance rests on a solid basis of fact, but the form, especially in the teaching, has been moulded in a considerable degree by the Evangelist's individuality. "Verbal reproduction was an utter impossibility after the

lapse of so many decades, and the resemblance (of the didactic portions of the Gospel) to the style and thought of the first epistle, as well as the resemblance between the words ascribed to Jesus and those ascribed to the Baptist, shows that these sayings have been freely reproduced as they had been developed in the memory of the Apostle, which unconsciously blended the original matter with the deeper understanding of it given under the guidance of the Spirit." The intercessory prayer, for example, owes its substance to Jesus, its form to John. Even the historical portions may have been in some measure influenced by the same and similar causes. The statement, for instance, in the account of the first miracle about the capacity of the vessels out of which the servants drew the wine, may express only the Evangelist's notion concerning the extent of the miracle; and the account of the second miracle which is identified by Weiss with the healing of the centurion's servant, recorded in the Synoptic Gospels, is said to indicate partial failure of memory and, perhaps, confusion with another occurrence. It will be evident from this outline that modern criticism, as represented by Dr. Weiss, has little sympathy with some theories which have made, or are still making, considerable stir in theological circles. The Tübingen theory is hopelessly discredited, and the "partition" theories of Weiszäcker and Wendt meet with no favour. If this latest commentary can be regarded as indicating the trend of thought on this subject in the German universities, it is unmistakably in the direction of a return to the belief cherished by the Church during so many centuries.

BIBLICAL THOUGHT.

THE HIGHER CRITICISM.

REASONS FOR CAUTION IN ACCEPTING ITS CONCLUSIONS.

BY REV. W. FRANK SCOTT.

(*This Paper was awarded the First Prize.*)

Voi non andate giù per un sentiero
Filosofando; tanto vi trasporta
L'amor dell' apparenza, e'l suo pensiero
Ed ancor questo quassù si comporta
Con men disdegno, che quando è posposta
La divina Scrittura, o quando è torta

Non vi si pensa quanto sangue costa
Seminarla nel mondo, e quanto piace
Chi umilmente con essa s'accosta.
Per apparer ciascun s'ingegna, e face
Sue invenzioni; e quelle son trascorse
Da' predicanti, e 'l Vangelio si tace.

— *Dante, Paradiso, xxix. 85-96.*

Freely Englished.

Thus here below ye walk not in one way
In your philosophies: so much the love
Of shining, in appearance, leads astray.
Yet even this less wrath provokes above
Than when the sense of Holy Writ is tost
Here, there, to serve men's ends—their
quirks to prove.

They reckon not how much of blood it cost
To spread it among men; and what he
gains
Of favour who in it his will hath lost.
But to appear most learned, each takes pains
To make inventions, in preaching which
they shine,
Whilst the Evangel, silent, forgot, remains.

THESE words of the great Italian poet in some measure express the feeling of

many to-day in the Christian Church in view of the widespread revolutionary ideas in the Biblical learning of the time. And many of those to whom these words appeal, in part at least, are not of the "straitest sects" of the Church. They may not be bound by any merely *mechanical* theory of inspiration, or by the slavery of "the letter which killeth." Like Dante himself, they may view the progress of thought impartially and broadly. But they also recognize the possibility of men being led away by the tendencies of the age without carefully inquiring the wherefore and whither. Not a few are influenced, almost insensibly sometimes, by certain prevailing theories advocated and upheld by learned and ingenious scholars. Such great scholars will always command a considerable following, and although many in the ranks of such a following will be men of real learning and ability, some lesser minds also, with lesser learning, will be dazzled and captivated. There will, too, be the usual complement of followers "for appearance sake."

Now, all this may be affirmed with reference to the modern "Higher Criticism." The leaders in the movement are men of distinguished ability, although in reference to the numerous divergent opinions it might be said: "Voi non andate giù per un sentiero Filosofando." Amongst their followers able scholars are found, but there are also those who follow for "L'amor dell' apparenza." Has not the Higher Criticism, indeed, reached the dangerous stage of being *fashionable*? A number of thinking men (a majority) in the Church, however, who are not destitute of special knowledge of this modern criticism, and who have examined the basis on which rest the conclusions reached by the modern school of Old Testament critics, cannot accept these conclusions. Perhaps a plain statement of several of the chief reasons why this large class take up this position might not be without interest or out of place in these pages.

The history of the rise and progress of "advanced" Old Testament criticism shows that in its inception and results it is (for good or evil—good in the long run no doubt) mainly rationalistic. This is not put forward to prejudice the discipline, but simply to state the fact; and the word *rationalistic* is used "historically." Rationalism includes, of course, extremes of thought. Many who are under the influence of the tendency keep close to the Biblical view of God and His working in the world, whilst others rush to the extreme of materialism and pantheism. There have been admirable men in this school of thought, *e.g.*, Schleiermacher, Ewald, De Wette, &c. But the practical denial by logical rationalism of the special and immediate working of God in the world, and the progress of events, with the consequent explaining away of the supernatural in Scripture, cannot be accepted by believers in the possibility and the fact of a Divine revelation. Hobbes and Spinoza, in the seventeenth century, had advanced opinions regarding the composition and dates of the books of the Old Testament not far removed from the conclusions reached by the extreme Higher Criticism of to-day. These opinions gradually spread among

thinkers, whose intellectual bias led them to sympathize with the rationalistic tendency. But it was actually an attempt to vindicate the authenticity of the Pentateuch against the *pretendus Esprit-forts* which led to the founding of the modern analytic school of Old Testament criticism. Jean Astruc, a French physician, published in 1753 his *Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux don't il paroît que Moïse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse*.¹ There the documentary theory of the Pentateuch took its rise. This new departure did not at first lead to any doubt of the authenticity of Genesis. The supposition was by no means an unreasonable one. Eichhorn, who introduced the theory into Germany, still held by the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. But in course of time the theory became, in the hands of rationalistic critics, an instrument admirably suited to their purpose. Toward the close of last century in Germany rationalism in theology gained ground. It received a great impulse from the literary influence of Lessing, Herder, and others. In his *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* Lessing describes the Old Testament as simply a religious primer for mankind, with its "abstract truths clothed in allegories and instructive instances which are related as having actually occurred," and he further says that the New Testament Scriptures form simply a higher elementary book, leading men forward to the age of a *New Eternal Gospel*.² Such opinions could not fail to lead those who accepted them to view the Scriptures as merely human compositions, like the sacred books of other religions. When this view was accepted, the next step was to prove them to be so in answer to opponents. This was most fully attempted in regard to the New Testament writings by Ferd. Christian Baur, and his famous pupil, D. F. Strauss; and in their case the rationalistic tendency was strengthened and directed by the influence of Hegel's philosophy—especially his law of *historical development by antagonism*.

For a series of years the fiercest conflict raged round the question of the origin of Christianity, and of the New Testament writings, until gradually the successors of Baur receded from their master's extreme position, and the negative Tübingen school was broken up. But this manner of treating the New Testament writings, and of investigating the origin of Christianity, could not fail to be applied by the same school of critics to the Old Testament. And no sooner had the conflict round the New Testament begun to die away, than it rose again around the old Hebrew Scriptures. A succession of writers, after the impetus given to the study of Hebrew by Gesenius chiefly, had risen, who applied the rationalistic methods to the Old Testament, buttressing and extending them by means of the analytic criticism which took its rise in Astruc's *Conjectures*. As leaders in this movement, J. S. Vater, Hartmann, Ewald, and De Wette may be named here.

During the last thirty or forty years, however, the modern theory of *Evolution* has given the greatest impulse to those rationalistic methods.

¹ Anon. at Brussels.

² §§ 48-51, 64-77, 85-88.

According to this hypothesis, religious ideas must be a *natural* growth of the human mind, no supernatural element being contained in them. Rising in Fetichism and Animism, religion develops through various stages to higher forms. And thus, runs the argument, must it have been with the religion of Israel. Therefore the history as represented in Scripture cannot be trustworthy. It shows, *e.g.*, a religion in the patriarchal age higher spiritually than it was at subsequent stages of Israel's history. The history as we have it must therefore be a projection from a later age into the past—in short, an imaginary history, for the most part mythical and unhistorical, but interspersed with facts occasionally, although these are difficult to determine. This, briefly and imperfectly stated, is the way by which the modern Higher Criticism has reached its present position.

Of course it is not asserted that all adherents of the school go so far as its latest leaders, or that all who hold the latest form of the theory have abandoned a certain degree of belief in inspiration. Those whose nature is essentially conservative will shrink from following out the theory to its logical conclusions; but the presence of the dominant rationalistic tendency in the whole movement cannot be gainsaid.

The Biblical theory has not wanted able defenders. Archæology, Egyptology, and Assyriology have strengthened their hands. Pushed hard by these defenders, and impelled by the difficulties which each new hypothesis left unsolved, the negative critics have had again and again to shift their ground, and to invent new hypotheses to explain awkward facts. The original *documentary* hypothesis was succeeded by the *fragmentary* theory, evolved by J. S. Vater, who resolved the books of the Pentateuch into a mass of fragments, which seemed never to have had any original unity. Genesis alone, according to him, contained thirty-nine such "pieces"; and the Pentateuch in its present form dates from the period of the Exile. But even rationalism could not stomach this "desert chaos of atomic fragments"; and Ewald¹ dealt the fragment-hypothesis its death-blow, proving that Genesis at least was an uniform and regular composition. The next theory was the supplemental hypothesis supported by Von Bohlen and De Wette. An original Elohistic document was supposed to have been laid hold of by an "Israelitic Diaskeuast and woven into his own production." But even this hypothesis did not clear up all difficulties. It was abandoned and the *new documentary hypothesis* came into existence. This need not be described. "It is ever with us," with its crowd of capital letters, sometimes with annexed figures like mathematical formulæ, supposed to represent unknown individuals, who, in the course of centuries, have so altered and patched the historical books of the Old Testament, that even the keenest-eyed followers of the Higher Criticism cannot always agree as to the lines that divide the supposed original documents from each other, and from additions by later redactors! This latest hypothesis was introduced by an analysis most rigidly

¹ 1823, *Die Komposition der Genesis kritisch untersucht*. His earliest work, for which he afterward "apologized."

applied. Knobel especially sought verse by verse, and even word by word, to delimit the supposed documents and fragments composing this assumed historical mosaic. And this rigid analysis has become a marked feature of later criticism. Indeed, it has been overdone; and more reasonable upholders of the theory reject the imputation that they would seem to wish "to hear every little blade of grass growing."¹

Such, then, has been the historical course, and such is the latest development of the Higher Criticism as applied to the historical writings of the Old Testament, and of course it has not rested with them. And those critical opinions (though not always willingly by those who advanced them perhaps) have been used to uphold the theory of the merely natural origin and progress of the religion of Israel, and to divest the Hebrew Scriptures of the character of a Divine revelation. It must occur to every candid mind after a review of the history and methods of this essentially rationalistic criticism to ask, What would be the effect of applying those methods to any other literature or section of a literature? Critics of a coming age working on those methods might evolve half-a-dozen shadowy Carlyles and Jeremy Benthamas, with a few redactors to boot, from the writings of those giants. No spontaneity or versatility is to be allowed to the Old Testament writers; if they diverge but a hairbreadth from the style and manner permitted by the critic, a redactor is instantly introduced to explain the divergency. The cleverness of some of those critics in detecting the growth "of every little blade of grass"—of every word and letter in Old Testament Scripture—is not surpassed, even if it be equalled, by the ingenuity of the author of *The Great Cryptogram*.

And even supposing the fragmentary nature of those historical books of the Old Testament be admitted, what then? Who shall undertake to affirm what the original form of those documents and fragments might have been, and by whom they were given, ere they assumed their present form? Who shall say what further changes were made by the various supposed revisers and redactors, besides those now ascribed to them? If some parts were altered and touched up by them, how much more may not have been altered? In view of all this complexity it may be well said that "the analysis is frequently uncertain, and will, perhaps, always continue so."² For who are those various redactors and emendators? They seem to many to be merely unreal, conjectural figures, summoned up to clear difficulties and stumbling-blocks out of the path of the triumphant hypothesis. This modern criticism has, in fact, no real foundation in history, and very little that is indubitable in analysis; and it is hardly philosophical in its adherents almost to ignore what has been advanced on the so-called "traditional" side. A mere passing allusion in a note to the use of the Divine names³ in the Pentateuch, in face of such a conscientious piece of work as that of Hengstenberg, *e.g.*, on the subject, and the failure to note

¹ Kautzsch and Socin. *Die Genesis übersetzt*, &c., p. v.

² Driver, *Introduction*, p. xiii.

³ Driver, *Introduction*, p. 11.

the reasoning by which good scholars reconcile apparent discrepancies, renders the whole treatment one sided.¹

If the most recent hypothesis of the Higher Criticism be accepted, the whole question is involved in difficulty, and worse. If it be assumed, then it follows that the best and almost the whole literature of the Hebrew race was a product of the period of the nation's decadence; and that the greatest periods of their history were barren of any lasting literary effort. Moses, on this hypothesis, one of the most famous leaders of men, trained in the foremost literary nation of antiquity, left only some scanty and doubtful fragments of legislation. From the times of David and Solomon, when the people of Israel were in contact with Egypt and Phœnicia, when their maritime expeditions brought them tidings and produce of other lands, no authentic composition has come, no record of religious opinions or customs; except, perhaps, the fragment of a psalm or at most, one or two of those sacred songs. But in an age of national decay, when the people had admittedly fallen away into idolatry and revelled in it, they permitted themselves to be coerced into reformation by a *fictional history*, invented for their benefit, but which neither they nor their fathers had known; and no honest man, nor any devotee of idolatry, denounced the "pious fraud." And when, after a long period of exile in a foreign land, a remnant of the people, humbled and impoverished, returned to Palestine, they calmly received more of this *fictional history* as truth; and submitted to having imposed upon them a complete and minute system of ordinances, rites, and ceremonies, which was presented as having been divinely revealed to Moses long ages before, but which in that special form had hitherto been unknown.

This hypothesis of the origin of the Pentateuch (to refer only to that now) seems, to one looking at the question with open mind, to be at variance with the course of history. And in this connection it might be asked, How much of Hebrew history, as given in those writings, is admitted to be actual by the higher critics? Sometimes it is appealed to—when it suits their purpose; again it is evidently regarded as mythical.² But even the earliest writing prophets, whose date is admitted, presuppose a history very like what we have in the books as they now stand.³ "The Song of Deborah," which is allowed to belong to an age before the establishment of the kingdom, rests on history, and in vivid language seems to picture the land as occupied after the days of Joshua, the wandering, and Sinai—notes of those "righteous acts of Jehovah and His rule in Israel," which the people rehearsed to each other. Why, a much lesser assumption is made than that of the post-Exilic date of the Pentateuch, when a Hexateuch is assumed as the background of this spontaneous and beautiful ode. Furthermore, is it to be credited that the ground which produced this "song" was barren before and perhaps for centuries after? Is an ode such as this, like a

¹ P. 77, on Deut. xv. 12-18, *e.g.*; and p. 79. Conf. for Biblical view Keil's *Genesis*, Intro., and Hengstenberg's *Beiträge*, &c.

² A recent instructive example is given in THE THINKER for February, 1893, pp. 99, 100.

³ Shown conclusively by Prof. Robertson, of Glasgow, in his *Early Religion of Israel*.

palm-tree in a barren desert, with no oasis near, a miracle of growth? Does it not imply antecedent culture, as it assuredly implies known, antecedent history?

In truth, the nation's history as expanded in the books as they stand is much more rational than the form it assumes on the theory of the Higher Criticism; and the literature as we have it seems in accordance with the successive steps of the history. It appears reasonable to think that the leader of the emancipated Israelites should, after the exodus, set before the people the history of God's dealings with their fathers as an inspiration for their national life, and the foundation of a hope for them during their desert march. Perhaps this history was, in part, written before the exodus; for it cannot be supposed that a man like Moses would be incurious as to the past of his people. It may be even reasonably admitted that, under Divine guidance, this history was, in part at least, of the nature of a compilation.¹ Memoirs of some sort from the patriarchal age no doubt existed. Abram came from a country where "letters" were cultivated; and we now know that Babylonian learning, at all events, was common in Canaan in his day. Nor is it to be thought that during the whole period of their sojourn in Egypt the Israelites were an uneducated nation of "despised slaves," as Lessing terms them. It was only toward the end of their stay that they were "hardly entreated" by the rulers of a new dynasty; and during that period they could not have degenerated so far. Surely there were more men of culture among them than Moses and his brother?

Then, during their wilderness sojourn was it not, even on merely human grounds, natural that their leaders should formulate laws of some description for their social and religious life as a nation? This the history tells us Moses did under Divine guidance, although it is not implied that he wrote *with his own hand* all those laws, ordinances, &c., recorded in those books. Although it is specially mentioned that he wrote certain parts, it is not implied that he himself wrote out what he and Aaron were commanded *to speak*² *unto all the congregation of Israel*. May not the expressly Levitical ordinances, e.g., have been recorded by Aaron and the priesthood under the direction of Moses? And may not such a passage as the account of the work on the Tabernacle³ have been made by those who did the work? Surely this is as rational a supposition as that which throws such an elaborate and circumstantial statement into a late time when the Tabernacle no longer existed. And does not Deuteronomy present the features of a *popular* exposition of the law—a *people's book* for constant use and edification; not containing the more technical, Levitical legislation, as it might be called, the duty of explaining and enforcing which would rest with the Levitical class? These conjectures are not advanced even as probable, although they are just as probable as many of those of the Higher Criticism. But they indicate that various

¹ St. Luke compiled his Gospel from the testimony of eye-witnesses, and it would seem in part from documents.

² Exod. vii. 2, &c.

³ Exod. xxxv.-xxxix.

explanations of differences of style in the Pentateuch might be given at least quite as good and trustworthy as those of the critics. If a host of *editors, emendators, and redactors* are assumed for a later age, it is quite as reasonable to begin at the beginning and assume *collaborators and amanuenses*.

It is evident from the history why the days of the Judges were barren of literature. Neglecting the Divine command, the Israelites did not drive out before them all the inhabitants of Canaan. These became "thorns in their sides."¹ The tribes had to be perpetually on the watch to keep their boundaries intact. Each, too, in great measure, "fought for its own hand." This prevented them consolidating, as they should have done, into a united people; prevented them, *as a nation*, from keeping the yearly feasts with regularity; and thrust into the background, no doubt, the systematic teaching of the law. People perpetually engaged in border forays are apt to be moulded by the rude age; literature will languish and religion sink to a low ebb. Witness the history of our own English and Scottish border warfare. Are not the warlike narratives of the Book of Judges just what we might have expected from such an age? But with the last of the Judges, who succeeded in carrying out the long-deferred consolidation of the various tribes into a nation, and with the rise of the monarchy, Hebrew literature began again to bloom and bring forth fruit, and continued to flourish, with occasional fluctuations, till beyond the period of the Exile. Such, considered from an historical point of view merely, seems to have been the course of events. And certainly there appears to be between the history and the literature an historical concord, to say the least.

When a firm historic basis is sought for in the conclusions of the Higher Criticism none is found. Indeed, the historic facts that are coming slowly to light point all the other way. The proof of the theory seems to be almost altogether *subjective*; it depends, for the most part, often on the critic's point of view; for it is admitted that the philological and phraseological grounds on which these critical opinions are based are often slight. The method also is not always, or even generally, *inductive*. The theory is read into the books, and the slightest variation in language or style is pounced upon, and made to furnish a proof of the presence of some fragment alien to the passage in which it is embedded. According to the Higher Criticism, the original Biblical historical writers must have written in a style so fettered that composition to them must have been a burden. And not only is there much diversity of opinion among the critics as to the delimitation of the supposed documents and fragments, but the dates fixed for their supposed composition are arbitrary and not universally agreed upon. In short, no *indisputable* arguments have been drawn from the books themselves, or from historical side-lights, on the period of Israel's history to establish the critical position.

And this view, it seems to many, is immeasurably strengthened by a consideration of the attitude of our Lord and His Apostles toward the Old Testament. It is quite true there are spiritual men among the advocates of this hypothesis who affirm that the changes effected by these critical

¹ Num. xxiii. 55; Josh. xxiii. 13; Judges ii. 2.

methods "do not touch either the authority or the inspiration of the Scriptures of the Old Testament," that they do not "affect the *fact* of revelation, but only its form."¹ It may be so; and no doubt some may for the time occupy this position. But it is a position of instability, from which they will either have to advance (in the critical sense) or retreat. It is to be feared that if the hypothesis were generally received commonsense people would be apt to say that it would be as true to speak of the inspiration of the *Brahmanas* or *Upanishads*. And its acceptance would certainly tend to alter men's way of looking at the New Testament also.

Our Lord admittedly accepted the Old Testament *as it stands*. He gave no hint, apparently, in His teaching to the people, or even to the inner circle of His followers, that these writings were not authentic and to be accepted as what they claimed to be. He blamed, indeed, the sceptics of His day—the Sadducees—for their attitude towards Scripture. And in so far as the scribes were accredited teachers of the law of Moses (apart from their "traditions"), He exhorted the people to "do and observe" what they said.² And when, at the beginning of His ministry, He declared that He had come, *not to destroy, but to fulfil* the law and the prophets, that one jot or tittle should "in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled," did He mean a system formed in the manner suggested by the Higher Criticism? Did He leave His followers under the delusion that *mythical* was *actual* history? Either Christ did *not* know (on the supposition that this theory is truth), which would be passing strange; or He *did* know, and permitted His Apostles, without a hint as to the fact, to go forth and teach this mythical history as truth, stamped with the impress of His authority. Is this what men would have expected from Him, on considering His life and character?

Again, the great Florentine's words will seem to many to furnish the true answer here:—

"Non disse Cristo al suo primo convento :
Andate e predicate al mondo ciance; Ma diede lor verace fondamento."

—*Par.* xxix. 109-11.

Englished:

Christ did not to His first disciples say:

"Go forth and preach ye fables unto men."

But gave them baséd truth whereon to stay.

It would certainly also conflict with what might be called truly rational ideas of what a Divine revelation should be, to conceive of it as given in such a form that fact in it can hardly be distinguished from fable. And it would be yet more strange to think that through Christ men were not enlightened as to the true nature of the elder revelation, but that the discovery of this was left, after the lapse of centuries, to men who either altogether rejected the idea of revelation, or who sought to explain away the supernatural in Scripture, i.e., to deny really that it is a *special* revelation at all.

¹ Driver, *Intro.*

² Our Lord's attitude towards the Old Testament in such passages as St. Matt. xii. 23-46, St. John v. 32-47, St. John vi., &c., should be carefully studied.

Attempts to explain away our Lord's evident acceptance of the Old Testament Scriptures as authentic are not convincing; and those who believe in Him as *The Truth* will be more influenced by His authority than by the subjective theorizings of "higher critics," however eminent.

The theory of the composition of the Old Testament Scriptures, and the dates assigned for the putting forth of the various writings, maintained by the Higher Criticism cannot be accepted without much more convincing evidence than has yet been adduced. The theory of the development of religion on which the later hypotheses rest is itself an unproved hypothesis; it is conjectural, not resting on any firm historical foundation, and is, in fact, at variance with history.

There is one historic feature of the religion of revelation, also, which should be noted as distinguishing it from all the "world religions." These latter have always contained in them the elements of dissolution. No attempted reform could save them from inevitable decay. But the religion of revelation, from the moment it appears, both before and since the establishment of Christianity, even though once and again corrupted by human weakness, has shown itself capable of throwing off such corruptions and emerging in its original purity. Why, if it is not because it enshrines Eternal Truth?

Those who still hold by the Biblical theory of the origin of the Old Testament writings do not fear investigation. "Criticize," they say, "by all means. Let every word, every letter, of the sacred text be examined. But do not let this be done in the interest of a theory, for that is sure to lead to confusion and disaster." Modern critical writers—several of the "advanced" school at least—do not shine in their methods in comparison with their predecessors. Even when not agreeing with De Wette,¹ e.g., it is possible to admire his calm, judicious manner. Compare his treatment of the question of dates, &c., of the composition of the Psalms with the arbitrary conjectures of some later critics in the wake of the school of Wellhausen. If of a writer's work it may be affirmed that "the textual criticism is not infrequently venturesome, the confidence with which verses or sections are ascribed to editors or interpolators is almost amusing, and there are occasional glimpses of what, in an adherent of the traditional view, would be called prejudice and dogmatism,"² what solid authority can such writings have?

It would be more scientific, also, if in Old Testament Introduction both sides of the question were given. One would almost imagine, in reading some modern German Introductions, that scarcely any opinions but those of the higher critics ever existed, or could exist. It would be well surely to exhibit contrary (and contradictory) opinions side by side, and more in the interests of truth.

It may be asked also, why this perpetual "see-saw" of conjecture? this building on the unstable foundation of "probability," "supposition," "suggestion," "appearance," and so forth? Would it not be better to adopt

¹ *Commentar über die Psalmen.—Einleitung.*

² *THINKER*, Feb., p. 99.

the more scientific plan of seeking *facts* in place of building up hypotheses? Why not labour and wait for the accumulation of historical, archæological, &c., facts, on which far more certain conclusions may be built *inductively*? The learning of the time is hampered by hypotheses. In the field of Old Testament criticism facts have already overthrown conjectures. Take, for instance, the establishment of the proof that the art of writing was of high antiquity. This led to changes in the hypotheses of critics in the first half of the century, and arguments in the works of Von Bohlen, Vatke, and others founded on the supposition of the comparatively late introduction of the art of writing among the Hebrews had to be abandoned.

The present state of the Old Testament text is not satisfactory; but the conjectural emendations made by Wellhausen and his school are less so. A thorough and authoritative revision of it, as far as the materials for this exist, should be made. No doubt if ancient texts were available slight differences would be found between various MSS., as in the case of the New Testament. But such minutiae, of course, do not make Scripture less valid any more than typographical errors or differences of translation in our printed versions do. Then also it is admitted that the Old Testament Scriptures may have been more than once reverently revised, and explanatory glosses added (or parentheses), the purpose and meaning of which would be evident. But it would be difficult to believe that the people of Israel would permit writings which they must have considered sacred¹ (as their prophetic books show they did) to be mutilated, and parts of each arbitrarily joined together, with here an insertion and there a patch, and then accept them as authentic! Would, say, the Chinese have ventured to treat the Ch'ün Ch'it in such fashion?

Those who uphold the Biblical account of the origin of the Old Testament Scriptures look forward with confidence to the result of this battle of the critics. From the conflict with the Tübingen school emerged a clearer view of the primitive Church, and proofs of the early dates of the Gospels have been established. So from the keen analytic criticism applied to the Old Testament the history of the race of Israel will in the end become more luminous. Already a great impulse has been given to the exploration of sacred localities, and thus to historical and archæological research. The ancient world is telling its story in ever more articulate language to the race of to-day, and many of the facts thus coming to light bear on the history of Israel. Here is a mine which the critics might more thoroughly explore now that the "hypothetic" vein shows signs of being "worked out"; and the revision of the Old Testament text, with the aid of the versions, might occupy their attention for more than one generation, and would be a work of permanent value; always, of course, on the understanding that it is carried out *inductively*, and not in the interests of any theory.

A glance at the past history of the Higher Criticism and its cruder predecessors insensibly calls up to the mind the concluding parabolic picture

¹ Even on the supposition that the so-called Elohist and Jahvist documents date from the time of the divided kingdoms this will be true.

in the Sermon on the Mount. From the days of Deism, and the Aufklärung in Germany, the storm of criticism has raged around Scripture. The rain descended, the flood of opinion swept along, and the winds (the wordy war!) blew and beat sometimes most tempestuously. Many a hypothesis founded on conjecture has tottered and fallen. But from the conflict the New Testament system of revealed truth has issued scathless, and amidst the present turmoil, to the great Christian consciousness, the law and prophets remain still unmoved as authentic, and still valid as part of Divine revelation.

THE RIGHTS OF CRITICISM.

BY REV. T. SCOTT NEWLANDS, B.D.

(This Paper was awarded the Fourth Prize.)

ONE great objection often urged against the "critical" view of Scripture is that it involves presuppositions. And this, in the judgment of many, is not only a great, but a decisive and fatal objection. Men, it is held, have no business to go to the study of the Bible with their minds already made up as to the principle on which it has been constructed. The Bible is not like any other book. It occupies a place apart. It refuses to be classed along with the world's literature. And none but those whose spiritual senses are at fault can fail to recognize this by an immediate intuition. Devout minds instinctively acknowledge that the Bible arrests and searches them; it imposes a silence on their questionings, and speaks to them as from some awful height. They know that it is no human production, but God's very word.

This is the anti-critical standpoint, which flatters itself that, unlike the critical, it is without presuppositions. It fails to observe that the very simplicity of faith with which it regards the Bible is itself a presupposition. The instinctive impression of superhuman authority, which it honestly conceives to be an effect of the Book itself, is really a pious tradition, an inherited reverence, a feeling acquired in infancy at the mother's knee. Such a traditionary feeling may, indeed, prove to be quite consistent with a resolute facing of the facts as revealed by critical inquiry. Some of the most convinced upholders of the anti-critical view of Scripture are men who have acquainted themselves diligently with the methods and findings of critical science. Still, the fact remains that if the critical view of the Bible rests largely upon certain presuppositions, so also does the non-critical view. The presupposition on the non-critical side is, that the Bible is an absolutely unique production, a miracle, a prodigy; not an aggregation of literary relics, but a homogeneous whole; not an ancient document, but a living word; not a monument of the past, to be curiously scrutinized with the eye of science, but a testimony of God, and from God, to be perused with child-like docility and holy fear.

The great and fatal objection to the critical view of Scripture, viz., that it sets out from certain presuppositions, is therefore one which critics them-

selves are not careful to repel. They are content to rest under a charge which can, with at least equal cogency, be urged against the traditionalists. But they maintain that, whereas the critical presuppositions are legitimate and scientific, those of the traditionalists are arbitrary and fanciful. They are without adequate foundation in fact or logic. They are mere dogmatic assumptions.

What are the main presuppositions of the critical view of Scripture? They are simply the presuppositions of science in general, and may be summed up in two words: first, that all things, the Scriptures not excepted, are a fit subject for the fullest and most untrammelled investigation; and second, that miraculous explanations are excluded.

It is, of course, the second presupposition which is specially objected to by the traditionalists. They sometimes describe it, and not unjustly perhaps, as a settled repudiation of the supernatural. From this they are apt to proceed to epithets which imply still deeper censure, and speak of the undisguised materialism of Wellhausen and Kuenen. Wellhausen and Kuenen are, however, not materialists. They simply deem it more probable that events were misapprehended than that miracles really happened.

Here, then, is the great line of cleavage between the two classes of Bible students. The one class, the great mass of earnest Christians, believe frankly in a miracle-working God. They are therefore prepared to be surprised at nothing. The Bible, from first page to last, is to them a book of facts. The story of Adam and Eve they hold to be literal history. The ages of the antediluvians suggest no sceptical questionings. The familiar intercourses of the Infinite Being with the patriarchs they accept as a matter of course. The Exodus, with its prelude of ten mighty plagues, happened precisely as it is set down. The passage of the Red Sea and the wilderness wanderings (with the pillars of cloud and of fire, the quails, the manna, the water from the rock, and the fearful theophanies at Sinai) were all real occurrences. And the rest of the Bible narrative (with the falling down of the walls of Jericho at the sevenfold blast of trumpets, Baalam's ass, Elijah's ascent to heaven, Elisha's multiplication of the widow's oil, raising her dead son to life, and causing the axe head to swim, Jonah's whale, and Daniel's deliverance from the lions) is perused in the same spirit of undoubting receptivity. The Bible, it is held, is God's book, and therefore cannot lie. To imagine that it can is to blaspheme the very character of God. Therefore Christians do well to be angry with critics. They do well to refuse to acquaint themselves with their arguments. A man does not need to touch pitch in order to know that its touch defiles. Persons who set themselves up as critics of the Word of God it is best to have no dealings with at all. A wise man will leave them sternly alone.

And the critics are for the most part content that they should be left to pursue their task in peace. The scientific temperament has an enthusiasm and a warmth of its own. It has a religious fervour of its own. But it is, as a rule, only sparingly in sympathy with the aims and ideals of what is

known as "aggressive religion." It wants to "get at facts" rather than to convert sinners. Its goal is truth rather than edification. Hence the great and wide difference of standpoints. To the scientific thinker the Bible is a problem to be solved, a continent to be explored. The religion of the Bible is interesting as a contribution to the science of the world's religious history. It throws light upon the past, and, by so doing, makes the present more intelligible. It helps the wise to understand. There is a certain ruthlessness about the scientific conscience. "It cares for nothing, all shall go," except the eternal inquiry after facts. Science refuses to be trammelled in its operations. The whole duty of the scientific investigator, as such, is to get at the facts of things. The whole duty of the Biblical critic is to get at the facts about the Bible. What effect this process and its results may have upon the influence and use of the Bible as a book of spiritual edification is, no doubt, a very important question. But it is a question with which the critical student, in his critical capacity, has absolutely no occasion to trouble himself. Nay, it is his scientific duty to scrupulously exclude it from his consideration. His function is purely judicial. He has a case to try, a verdict to pronounce. The one virtue in a judge is impartial thoroughness. So it is required in a Biblical critic that a man be found faithful—that is, in his case, inexorable, stone deaf to all appeals from the side of sentiment, tradition, or religious expediency. The critic must do his duty.

This distinction between the standpoint of Biblical science and that of practical religion needs to be firmly apprehended and frankly recognized. The two standpoints are radically different, but not, perhaps—this, however, is a point which admits of discussion—necessarily hostile. Science aims at the discovery and assertion of facts; religion at the production of goodness. This sounds like a clear-cut definition, which, if duly respected, might seem fitted to promote a mutual understanding, and avert confusion and wrath. But complications arise. Among the facts which science claims a right to investigate and get to the bottom of is religion itself. It claims a right to turn over the most sacred and cherished beliefs and sift them as wheat; it regards them simply as data or phenomena of the science of human nature. Thus, the ancient religion of Israel, with its sacred documents, together with its later developments in the widespreading Christian and Islamic faiths, each with its inspired and infallible Bible, all this is only so much grist for the scientific mill. But to the man who contemplates any great religious system from within—not as a critic, but as a believer—such free dealing with things that to him are sacred is vexatious, and seems even sinful; for, if science claims a right to inquire into the nature and grounds of religion, religion, for its part, asserts rights of sovereignty over all men and every department of their life. Now, critics are but men; and criticism and science are but a province of human industry. Therefore, religion claims rights of sovereignty in it, and cannot submit to be "sat upon," and analysed, and cross-examined, and kept waiting, until its rights and titles have been finally pronounced upon. Religion is an imperious

thing: perhaps this is what St. Paul means when he says, "He that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man." The critics take it upon themselves to sit in judgment upon religion, whereas the case ought to be reversed—it is religion which must sit in judgment upon the critics. Hence collision and deadlock.

But are there not believing critics? Are there not scholars who are satisfied in their souls that the Bible is God's word, and the religion of the Bible His truth? No doubt there are scholarly men, splendidly equipped students, who have been of this mind (the late Franz Delitzsch was one). But are such men entitled, in strictness, to be called pure critics? Was their point of view scrupulously scientific? Were they absolutely impartial and uncommitted? Had they a single eye in their studies to the discovery of facts? Or was their standpoint not really rather something like this?—The Bible approves itself to my religious consciousness as the word of a miracle-working God; it is thus a supernatural source of inspiration and guidance. Being a supernatural guide, therefore, it must possess certain characteristics. Thus, it must be an absolutely honest book; hence, forgery, personation, garbling, and such like, are all excluded. If, then, Wellhausen, or any other expert, should conclude, say, that Moses had nothing personally to do with the composition of Deuteronomy, Wellhausen must be wrong; for it has been already settled that the Bible is honest, and it would not be honest to describe a book, or part of a book, as the work of Moses if it was not actually his work. Further, the Bible, being a Divine book, must be correct in its statements of fact. Hence, seeming discrepancies must all admit of a satisfactory explanation: there can be no real error in the Bible.

The question is, whether such an attitude of mind is compatible with the function of scientific criticism. The writer of this paper ventures humbly to express the opinion that it is not. For it rests upon pre-suppositions which, even if true, are fatal to a scientific treatment of Biblical problems. Of course it might be said, "So much the worse, then, for the scientific treatment of Biblical problems." Perhaps, in the end, this will prove the right and wise conclusion. It may be that the Bible really is a unique book, begotten, not made, a miracle and a sign, turning the science of documentary analysis and historical criticism into foolishness. This is quite conceivable. It is what millions believe. Still, no man can know, however sure he may be. The critics are, perhaps, right—not, indeed, in all their assertions and inferences, but in their methods and main conclusions. Possibly the books of the Bible did originate very much as other great and epoch-making literature has originated; that is to say, not miraculously, but by the natural operation of the Spirit in man. It may yet turn out, as critics would persuade us, that the Bible is of comparatively modern composition, not earlier, even in its oldest parts, than the eighth or ninth century B.C. And the successive revisions and re-editings may all have actually taken place. "It is impossible to doubt," says Dr. Driver, in

the preface to his recent important work, "that the main conclusions of critics with reference to the authorship of the books of the Old Testament rest upon reasonings, the cogency of which cannot be denied without denying the ordinary principles by which history is judged and evidence estimated" (*Int. Lit. O. T.*, 1892, Pref. p. xv.). This, however, is precisely the point in dispute. "The ordinary principles by which history is judged and evidence estimated" are principles which, on the hypothesis that the Bible is not a phenomenon to be accounted for, but an oracle to be sacredly revered, are utterly inapplicable and presumptuously out of place. The believing view may, after all, be the true view. The old-fashioned way of reading the Bible may yet be the right way to read it, the way in which God intended and intends that it should be read.

This is the *ultima ratio* of indomitable faith; when it falls back frankly upon its fundamental presuppositions, and says, I believe in a miracle-working God, and therefore I accept the Bible, substantially, as it stands.

But criticism also has its *ultima ratio*, its fundamental presuppositions, of which it is not ashamed. And critics would not blush, nor call upon the rocks to cover them, even although it should one day appear that the Bible is true from the beginning. They would still maintain that, though their conclusions were at fault, their methods were absolutely right, and that it was their duty to take nothing for granted. They would still maintain that they did well to disbelieve in the supernatural, for that the evidence for it was inadequate, being purely inferential, and, to their minds, immeasurably outweighed by the opposing testimony of nature and history.

The gift and calling of the critic, then, is it from heaven or of men? In other words, Is it lawful to subject the Bible to a purely scientific analysis? Or, to put the question in another shape, Is it lawful for a man, or a class of men, to divest themselves of all personal interest in the Bible and in the religion of the Bible except a scientific interest, a determination to get at the facts of its origin and history? Does the principle of the Division of Labour legitimize such wilful self-detachment from a great spiritual influence?

The writer of this paper feels himself shut up to the view that such self-detachment in the interests of a rigorous scientific study of Biblical problems is, on the part of persons whose aptitudes and acquirements constitute a serious call to it, profoundly necessary and right. And therefore he would say, Let men like Kuenen and Wellhausen, and even Renan, be honoured in the Church. They have done a work that needed to be done. Even although the strictest orthodox view of the Bible be the nearest to the truth, still the mind of man has its inalienable rights. It has a right to prove all things. It has a right to contemplate all things from a scientific or critical standpoint. All men are not required to exercise this right. It is enough if, in every age, some make as it were martyrs of themselves in order that they may exercise it and report faithfully to their contemporaries as to the results of their investigations. Of course it is for the critics to

see to it that they do no violence to their own conscience. They are happy and to be commended only if they condemn not themselves in that which they allow.

EXPOSITORY THOUGHT.

THE WORD "MYSTERY" IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

By REV. H. J. FOSTER.

(This Paper was awarded the Second Prize.)

I. By a wide consent it is allowed that the writers of the New Testament, when calling any truth a "mystery," do not by their word mean that it is in itself mysterious, in our modern sense. Yet it appears to be a difficulty for readers, and even for commentators, to emancipate the word entirely from the spell of the idea of mysteriousness which in our customary thought and language attaches to the word. It is worth while making the attempt rigorously to carry the narrower but exact meaning which alone is warranted by New Testament usage, right through the exposition of the "mystery" verses of the Book. The mystery may really be a mysterious truth; but the word says nothing upon the point one way or another. For example, the phrase "the mystery of Godliness," has no bearing upon the character of the doctrine involved. In the New Testament the mystery lies not in the *obscurity* of the matter, but in its *secrecy*. The "mystery" is not *in* the thing, it has been wrapped *around* it; the thing is *involved* in mystery. We approximate to this usage when in colloquial English we say, "He is making a great mystery of it," where the matter is, perhaps, in itself a thing perfectly simple.¹ The classical mysteries were ceremonies and teaching, "kept dark," and reserved to the knowledge of an inner circle of initiated votaries. These initiated ones were under pledge to close (*μύειν*) their lips to the world outside. Undue weight should not be given to the derivational meaning in Phil. iv. 12, *μεμύημαι καὶ χορηγέσθαι καὶ πεινᾶν*; such niceties of origin and allusion are not adverted to in our current use of words. Yet the Revised Version is accurate and suggestive in replacing the bald "I am instructed" of the Authorised Version by "I have learned the secret," as though Paul were one of an inner set of initiated worshippers to whom it had "been given to know" this "mystery of the kingdom of God" and its regenerate life. Everything spiritual is, in our modern sense, a mystery utterly hidden from, and unknowable by, the "natural" man (1 Cor. i. 18—ii. 16, *pass.*). But, given the faculty for spiritual things, *e.g.*, the "eyes of the heart" (Eph. i. 18, Revised Version

¹ It is scarcely needful to say that "mystery" in "mystery-play" is only connected with the word under discussion by an unwarranted assimilation of spelling. It belongs to the old French *mestier* (modern *métier*)=Lat. *ministerium*.

and all critical edd.), "being enlightened,"—they may be known. "God hath revealed them unto us" (1 Cor. ii. 10); in the particular case of which he is speaking, the secrecy is done away, and the way is clear for inquiry and for knowledge. So, still earlier, Christ had said to the representative group of disciples, "To you it is given to know the mysteries" (Mark iv. 11; cf. Matt. xiii. 11, Luke xviii. 10).

Bishop Ellicott says (Eph. v. 2), "Not cognizable by, or not fully apprehensible by, unassisted human reason," and more briefly, several times (e.g., in 1 Cor. ii. 7), "Not comprehensible by unassisted human reason." But this would seem to be reading into the *word* more than is really there. Some Gospel "mysteries" are really such as he describes, but this is accidental. They may remain obscure when the secrecy is gone. But not even in 1 Cor. xiv. 2 is anything necessarily involved but the concealment. "In the spirit (not Spirit¹) he speaketh mysteries"; i.e., the speaker was specially accredited and endowed to reveal truth hitherto unknown; though, strangely enough, the general profitableness of the disclosure was conditioned by the presence of some one who could interpret the "tongue" in which the revealer spoke. Evidently no more is true of the special mystery of 1 Cor. xv. 51, "Behold I TELL you a mystery," viz., the fact that some believers will never die, but that, like the newly-risen dead, they shall be "changed at the last trumpet." To even unassisted human reason there is no difficulty in apprehending that as a fact of the history of the future. Paul is not expounding a difficult matter, but disclosing a concealed one. Unaided human reason never even suspected the fact of a resurrection; the method and manner of it, and of the "change," even now are beyond its grasp; the whole disclosure to, and then by, Paul himself was part of his special Apostolic grace. But, once more, the mystery *in* the matter lies in this instance outside of his thought altogether. So again, the coming of the Gentiles into the Church, on equal terms with the Jew, is another of the facts of history, apprehensible enough now that it is disclosed and realized, though it had been "a mystery hidden, from ages and generations" (Col. i. 26.). The mystery lay in the accident of its long concealment, as part of the purpose of God towards our redeemed world. No doubt there lie great and unfathomably deep doctrinal facts (so to speak) behind and beneath the historical one. But they also are outside of Paul's thought when he calls the advent of the Gentiles a long-hidden "mystery." In short, it will be found that the concealment, and not any native inscrutableness, is all which is in any instance necessarily connoted by the New Testament use of the word "mystery." And it is often a great gain to the intelligent reading of Paul to clear away all added significance.

Paul regards it as perfectly conceivable that a man should so richly partake of the *χαρίσματα* of the Spirit as to be able to say, "I understand ALL mysteries" (1 Cor. xiii. 2).²

¹ Though, as usual, not apart from the Spirit.

² It is noticeable how this seems to be distinguished from "understanding all knowledge"

Yet such a man is to remember that himself and his similarly-endowed fellows are only "STEWARDS of the mysteries" (1 Cor. vi. 1). There is nothing of priesthood; only a stewardship. They are "God's stewards" (Titus i. 7), a phrase which is admirably expounded by Peter (1 Ep. iv. 1), "according as each hath received a gift, ministering it among yourselves,¹ as good stewards of the manifold grace of God." They are not proprietors; their possession of the mysteries is only that they may be administrators or distributors. And so neither is the disclosure merely intended to add to the sum of our knowledge, nor to be the occasion of speculations, whose endless refinements should give employment to the leisure of subtle intellects. They are food, these mysteries—food for the household over which each steward has been set, that he may give to each his meat in due season. It is of the disclosure of one of these mysteries to himself that Paul writes: "If so be that ye have heard of the 'stewardship' (R.V. margin) of the grace of God, which was given to me to you-ward" (Eph. iii. 2). The design of the disclosure is the practical usefulness of the newly-revealed truth to the life of the individual Christian. Therefore the depository of such precious revelations is to "hold the Mystery of the Faith in a pure conscience." The supplied capital letters are no doubt an exposition, but what else does Paul mean than that the whole Faith, the *corpus* of Christian doctrine, the *fides quæ creditur*, is itself one grand Mystery, from first to last a Revealed Secret, so far as it is known at all?² Whilst, then, the teacher holds it, he must make a conscience of the reverent and faithful "holding," as well as of the frequent and faithful exposition and impartation of it. A "good thing has been committed to him" (2 Tim. i. 14); he must keep his deposit unimpaired, that in due course he "may commit the same to faithful men, who shall teach others also" (2 Tim. ii. 2).

II. If this restricted meaning of "mystery" really proves upon experiment to be one which, as easily as rigorously, can be carried through very many, or most, of the passages in which it occurs, it will acquire, of course, a high probability in the case of the rest, and even the right to fix the meaning of some, otherwise of uncertain signification. For example, it has been assumed that in 1 Tim. iii. 9 "the Mystery" is practically equivalent to "the Faith." Very similar, and both giving and receiving expository light and assurance, is Eph. vi. 19: "that utterance may be given unto me in opening my mouth, to make known with boldness the mystery of the Gospel, for which I am an ambassador in a chain." For centuries the books and ritual and history of the Old Testament had been big with the burden of a great secret. And now it was out at last. "The (*ib.*), though, when we remember Paul's tendency to cumulative and amplificative phraseology, whenever he wishes to speak with very complete inclusiveness, it seems hard to take this as "a distinct category," (Dr. Beet, *in loco*).

¹ Which again approximates in thought to Paul's own expression: *καταγγέλλων ὑμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ*, if that very interesting and influentially supported reading be accepted. (1 Cor. ii. 1; WH, Rev. V.)

² Cf. Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 155.

mystery had been kept in silence through times eternal, but now was manifested, and made known to all the nations unto obedience of faith" (Rom. xvi. 25, 26). The Gospel which Paul and his fellow-Apostles preached proclaimed the secret. Indeed, the Gospel was itself almost exactly the Secret now revealed. Typographically, again, the meaning might be made thus to appeal to the eye: "To make known with boldness The Mystery of the Gospel." So, in 1 Cor. ii. 7, "We speak God's wisdom in a mystery," we must connect, not "we speak in a mystery," but "God's wisdom in a mystery." The "Wisdom of God" had been one of these long-kept secrets of His Divine counsels; the time for disclosing it had at last arrived. What the "Wisdom of God" and the "Mystery," which is equivalent to the "Faith" or the "Gospel," are, will next claim attention.

Every reader of the Pauline epistles is aware how fully and beyond all others those to Ephesus and Colossæ deal with the topic of "The Mystery." Their Christology is special, and of special value; they are also pre-eminently the epistles of the doctrine of The Church. And the connection between the two great disclosures of the Apostolic age, The Christ and The Church, is very profoundly traced. Not many sentences of the former letter have been dictated to the amanuensis before Paul is engaged with the great theme. God "has abounded" to Paul and to His people in His grace, in that He "has made known to them the mystery of His will" (Eph. i. 9). A close examination of the whole passage following will not only furnish his own exposition of the mystery he is thinking of, but will also confirm some of the expositions already advanced. What is this "will"? The reply is a vision of a Creaturely Universe, far wider than the world of Earth, all "gathered together in one in Christ." It is a magnificent conception, a magnificent revelation. The R.V. gives a yet better equivalent for Paul's word—"to sum up all things in Christ." For a version which is to be practically useful, this is probably as near as may be got to the graphic original, ἀνακεφαλαιῶσθαι. But this is very graphic. In the Son were all things created (Col. i. 16); He is Head over all things (Eph. i. 22); the *πρωτότοκος* of all Created Being. Things are what they are, in all their manifold variety of form and nature and purpose, because they embody some part of God's Idea, which is only fully expressed in Him; "broken lights of Him," the central Sun from Whom they all radiate. Sin—whether of devils and men only, who can say?—has marred this fair original order of Creation. Through all the ages of Redemption, the will of God has been working towards a restitution of the broken or obscured order. When His will is done, then once more all the lines of creaturely existence shall be found convergent upon and centering in Christ. He shall head up every category. He shall stand,

¹ For obviously it makes small practical difference whether we regard ver. 10 as exegetical of "will" or of "good pleasure." Certainly, these are not identical. The "will" is the outcome of the "good pleasure" put in motion. The "good pleasure" is the basis, the substratum of the "will" (θέλημα, the thing willed).

the Middle Term, the Mediating Condition, between Creator and Creation, not one line, not one order of which shall not lead up to Him, and up to God through Him. This prospect of the future, the reconstitution (*ἀποκατάστασις*, Acts iii. 21) of all things, is left vague in its magnificent vastness. But in nearer view and clearer detail is a subsection of the great Issue, viz., the reconstitution of the Human Race in Christ; the formation of a new Humanity, Jew and Gentile, in a Church; in the Day when believers come into their "inheritance," and God Himself comes into the full enjoyment of "His purchased possession" (vers. 11-14). Further on, he returns to the matter, and (iii. 2, *sqq.*) goes fully into what he had "written" above "in few words." This fulfilment of the will of God was, at that point in the religious history of the world, and in the personal religious life of his Gentile readers, taking this very practical shape, that they were coming into the new Israel as fellow-heirs, as fellow-members of the Body, as fellow-partakers with Jewish believers of the promise in Christ Jesus by the Gospel. To be a Jew no longer gave any precedence; there was no longer disadvantage in being a Gentile. Manhood, fallen in all, redeemed in Christ, was now the one qualification. The Apostles and prophets of the Church (*e.g.*, Acts xv., *passim*) frankly accepted the "mystery," startling fact as it was, and then, and for long after, almost past belief to many an Israelite Christian. But it was, once more, part of Paul's "stewardship" to declare this mystery—a mystery no longer—and to "make all men see" it (iii. 2, 9) (*cf.*, again, "I would not have you ignorant of this mystery," Rom. xi. 25).

In the Divine and human (Gal. ii. 7-9) apportionment of the field for Apostolic labour, it was his special province to "preach among the Gentiles—THE GENTILES!—the unsearchable riches of Christ." What a wonder to him, as an Israelite! And what a comfort to them as Gentiles, who were "without hope." "Christ in them!" Why, that is in itself "a hope of glory." What a joy to him to be commissioned to "make known the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles"! (Col. i. 27.) And then again the larger horizon comes into view in a profound saying (iii. 10). Only a single phrase, but it is one of those little openings through which we can look out into a very large world. Israel had had its devout students of the unfolding history, and of the growing *corpus* of prophetic utterances, as well as of the significant (or otherwise cumbersome and often childish) ritual and types. No more reverent and diligent students had there been than the prophets themselves (1 Peter i. 10-12). But none of them had ever dreamed of such a consummation as this. And there had been all the while a larger world of reverent, wondering students. Paul was working along with God's purpose for the sake of "the principalities and the powers in the heavenly places."

The words suggest to us a very enlarged reading of "the hand of God in history." The story of our race, in its ruin by Sin and its Redemption by an Incarnate Son, is a factor in the moral education of principalities and powers—whatever these may be—and possibly of unknown and unnamed orders of intelligent creatures in God's larger universe. This earth has been, so to

speak, the great Operating Table planted in the midst of the great Lecture Theatre of the Universe, and upon it God has been for ages, and is still, conducting a Grand Experiment, and giving a Great Demonstration for the instruction of the gathered student spectators, angelic and other. This fallen Race is the Great Teacher's "subject." He has availed Himself—speaking humanly—of the melancholy fact of a sinful race, to give to all others of His creatures who are free to serve or sin, a great Object Lesson on the evil of sin, the curse which a creature prepares for itself when it refuses to submit its life to the Law of its Maker. And then a parallel lesson is being given. In the process of Redemption He is demonstrating His "manifold wisdom" before their astonished gaze. At one point in the process of recovery they saw an Incarnation wrought, and have since beheld upon the throne of God a Christ, a God-man. When by-and-by the Great Demonstrator, the Great Operator, has finished His work, they will see, proposed for their perpetual study, a recovered Humanity, a reconstituted Human Race, a Church, every member of which will stand forth a *replica* of Him Whose glorified humanity is the pattern, whilst from every one of them all trace of the fell work of Sin will have disappeared.

Thus, then, the completely unveiled "Mystery" will be dual in its unity, a Christ and a Church. Even in its present stages, the unfolding of the Mystery, the creation of a Church out of such materials—Jews and Gentiles, and both sinners—is "to the praise of His glory," and, more precisely, "to the praise of the glory of His grace" (i. 12, 6). When the result is complete, we may venture to conceive of the wondering universe of varied orders of intelligences, after watching and studying the embodiment and the exhibition of it in the Redemption of Mankind, exclaiming, as human students will often have done before, "O the depth of the riches of the wisdom of God!" (Rom. xi. 33). The vast Lecture Theatre is full of the applause!

It might be ground too precarious to go upon to lay much stress of illustrative force upon the phraseology of the visions of the Revelation. But it is allowable to hear the beginnings of this wondering adoration in Rev. xi. 15 *sqq.*, where the "great voices in heaven" cry, "The Kingdom of this world is become the Kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ." Indeed, this seems only exegetic of an earlier passage, where we meet with our word "Mystery" (Rev. x. 7). "In the days of the voice of the seventh angel . . . then is finished the Mystery of God, according to the good tidings which he declared to His servants the prophets." The age-long Experiment is complete at last. Its glorious Issue stands on eternally permanent record. It is itself an eternally permanent Fact. And the last clause of John's word is to be noted, as confirming the correctness of the exposition, in that the Mystery is identified with the contents of the Gospel, and the purpose of Redemption,—ὡς εὐγγέλιον. For the moment John writes almost in the dialect of Paul.

The first clause of Rom. x. 25 has been referred to already, but the whole passage adds a significant detail to our knowledge of the historical

process by which God is completing that Church, which for so long had been His Secret and Mystery. The "coming in of the Gentiles" is one episode of the complete story. A grand episode, for it has already occupied nearly twenty centuries; but the whole history will fill eternity. And there is another episodic history; another and complementary subsection of the whole; running its course parallel with the former; a Hardening of Israel. The whole earthly cycle of the historical presentation of the fulfilled Mystery will be this: A Hardening in part happening unto Israel, dating from the day of Calvary; the Coming in of the Gentiles, until at last their fulness be come in; then the Salvation of all Israel. This last lies so much beneath the veil as yet, as to be almost itself a mystery within The Mystery. Yet a very blessed unveiling has been accomplished. The Mystery is the burden of the Gospel which Paul preaches. Its disclosure—such good news to fallen man!—is the burden, too, of his grandest doxology, the unconsciously magnificent peroration of his greatest epistle (Rom. xvi. 25, 27).

One extremely important passage belonging to this group remains for examination (Col. ii. 2), as interesting critically, as it is dogmatically weighty. We have seen that the historical realization of God's eternal Idea has two factors: the historical and eternally permanent Church, and the historical and eternally incarnate Christ. These are in closest interconnection. There are passages wherein Paul seems to merge the Body in its Great Head. For some purposes the head is, even to us, the man. Or, to use another of his illustrations of the matter, the wife is so one with her husband that she loses her own name. Adam with Eve is the "first Adam." So, once and again with Paul, Christ and His Church together are "Christ" (1 Cor. xii. 12; Gal. iii. 16). The Church is nothing apart from Him. His people are no Church except in Him. Reverently speaking, the Son is no Christ apart from His people. It is an old question, and a deep one, whether, Sin apart, the Son would by incarnation have become the Head of Humanity. But now, at all events, Incarnation and Redemption have made Him "Head over all things to His Church"; and its Head, the second Adam, to a new race. Hence, by an easy transition, we pass over to Eph. iii. 4, "Ye can perceive my understanding in the mystery of Christ," where (as, e.g., Ellicott) the genitive is not *g. objecti* but *g. materiae*; the Mystery and the Christ are in apposition of equivalence. And we thus are brought by a still easier stage to Col. ii. 2, "The Mystery of God (even) Christ." After long discussion, it is not too much to say that the verdict of critical opinion is steadily settling down to this reading of this interesting and important place of the Greek text. If the current of exposition in this paper has really run in a true channel, and has also in its unconstrained course brought us to require this reading, by that much does the exposition justify the critical verdict. As in Phil. i. 21 one word, one Name, gathers up and expresses all the Apostle's life, its activities, its motives, its sources of power, its origin, its end, "To me to live is—'CHRIST'"; so here, one word, one Name, one Person, sums up and embodies all God's marvellous Redemption,

its great Condition of possibility, its great End, its earthly History, its eternal Process and Fulfilment; all are there—"CHRIST." (The form of this statement may be compared with that of 1 Tim. iii. 16, where τὸ τῆς ἀνοθείας μυστήριον ὅς ἐφαν. κ. τ. λ.) It may be remarked in passing, in agreement with what has been said above, how an ἐπίγνωσις of this μυστήριον is contemplated as a possibility for the Colossian and Laodicean Christians, and indeed as the very purpose for which is given to the Church of Christ "the full assurance of understanding." In the great Fact, no doubt, there will always remain unexplored reaches of marvellous wisdom and grace. The accumulated results of the search and study of ages will only put the "principalities and powers," not to say redeemed men themselves, in possession of the first knowledge of an everlasting pupilage. The knowledge can never be complete, but a real and growing knowledge is contemplated. The Mystery is revealable and knowable. It is a question of the degree of disclosure on God's part, and of the progress of exploration and inquiry on man's part. There may be, there are, inscrutable elements in its full round and completeness, but this obscurity, which cannot entirely be removed, does not lie in the word "mystery" itself.¹

In the same Colossian epistle we again come across the phrase (iv. 3), "the mystery of Christ," where, as a matter of grammar, the meaning may be doubtful. There is certainly not the clear apposition which we found in Eph. iii. 4, but, as it fell upon the ear of the Church, at the first public reading of the letter after it came from Rome, it could hardly fail to recall the profound passage (ii. 2, 8) which has just been discussed. Moreover, he is "in bonds" for this mystery of Christ. "For the hope of Israel I am bound with this chain," he had said (Acts xxviii. 20). It was one detail of the fulfilled whole, on which he might truthfully lay the stress as he dealt with his fellow-Israelites. When dealing with Gentiles he would naturally put forward the aspect of God's great scheme which more nearly concerned themselves, how that by the Gospel of God's Son "the door of faith had been opened to the Gentiles." In either case the passage is satisfied if we understand "the mystery of Christ" to be here also equivalent to "the word of God," as it is in i. 26; the practical working shape in which he was accustomed to put so much of the larger truth about The Mystery as was needful for his preaching, whether to Jew or Gentile. The "Gospel" which Christian teachers proclaim is the practical working shape of "the Mystery of Christ."

III. There are two important "mystery" passages which it is very natural to bring together, "The mystery of iniquity" (2 Thess. ii. 7), and "The mystery of Godliness" (1 Tim. iii. 16). It is interesting to note how these expressions occur in the earliest and latest pages of Paul's correspondence respectively; if, that is, the Pastoral Epistles be his. And the

¹ In Phil. iii. 10, another of the epistles of the days of imprisonment, is a by no means easy expression, which gives and gets light in comparison with this ἐπίγνωσις of the μυστήριον which is Christ: "That I may know Him."

coincidence of expression has more than a little critical value as bearing upon the question of the authorship of both letters. At any rate, it contributes to the conviction that the author of the one may well be the author of the other. We expect to find in the correspondence, as in the speech or any literary work, of a capable man, covering any long tract of years, the essential ideas the same, even when the phraseology is different in which they are clothed. On the other hand, in this instance, the phraseology is the same, exactly where we should expect to find it unchanged; not in the passing and trivial vocabulary, caught up from, and getting an incessantly changing colour from, the talk of the daily surroundings with its endless variation of temporary fashions of phrase, but in the expression of those fundamental ideas and beliefs, often reverted to and re-examined, often and deeply pondered over, and growing clearer, and more valued and "vital" as the years go by. The word "mystery" and the doctrine of "The Mystery" very early became part and parcel of the writer's life-long and habitual language and thought. It was made known to him in the first instance "by revelation."

The connection of contrast which is suggested is not on all hands admitted as legitimate.¹ But a strong defence will be made out if it should prove that an exposition of the phrases upon parallel lines justifies itself. The pairing (so to speak) of the expressions under notice falls in with perfect naturalness with the parallelism of development and phenomena found to run very closely between the facts of the Kingdom of Light and the Kingdom of Darkness. Every fact in the history or administration of the Kingdom of God has its devilish duplicate and counterpart. The evil imitation only succeeds in being a poor copy; in some cases it is perhaps intentionally a parody or a caricature. The culminating instance is the counterpart Christ, the *Anti-Christ*. "Cette personnalité sera dans l'ordre du mal ce qu'est la personne de Christ dans l'ordre du bien. Si Dieu est venu dans le monde en la personne de Messie, l'antichrist y apparaîtra comme la négation radicale et absolue, non seulement du Christ, mais de Dieu même" (Sabatier, *L'Apôtre Paul*, II., i. 99). "The god of this world" (2 Cor. iv. 4) is the great Anti-God. He has his types, his prophets and their prophecies, his miracles ("lying wonders").² Over against "the deep things of God" (βαθύ, 1 Cor. ii, 10) are set "the depths of Satan" (βαθεία [Rec. βάθυ,], Rev. ii. 24). The Mark of the Beast is an evident imitation of the Seal set upon the forehead of the elect of God. And so, too, the Man of Sin looks, with a fearful probability, like an attempt at an Incarnation and a Parousia (and a Personal Reign) combined. If the connection hold, then, between our two

¹ Admitted by (e.g.) Bishop Andrewes against (e.g.) Bp. Eliott.

² A remarkable group of sacred words is applied to the use of the evil order in 2 Thes. ii. 8, 9. We have δυνάμεις and σημεῖα and τέρας in complete enumeration, and even ἀποκαλύπτειν and ραπορία. From 1 John iv. 3, we might almost call the Antichrist ὁ ἐρχόμενος. It would repay study to compare the phenomena of demoniacal possession with the indwelling of the Spirit in "the temple" of our body, and, in its intenser forms, with the phenomena of Inspiration.

"mystery" passages, some help is given towards the interpretation of the rather vague word "Godliness" (τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον). It will satisfy the exposition of the two passages and the parallelism of the two orders, the good and evil, if "The Mystery of Iniquity" be that Devil's Gospel, whose contents, and whose natural and inevitable tendency, are "iniquity"; whose whole characteristic is "lawlessness," the refusal of all respect for the will of God or man, the very embodiment, in intellect and will and heart, of Self and Self-pleasing; whilst "The Mystery of Godliness" will be that Gospel of God, which is not only good news to men without hope and without God, but which is also a great revealed scheme of doctrine and history, the burden and contents and aim of which are a loving but reverently careful regard for the will of God and things Divine. The unveiling of this mystery began before the Incarnation. In Old Testament days it might have been said, "The Mystery of Godliness doth already work." Since the coming of Christ and the completion of the Revelation in the Written Word, the secret is open, so far as it can be until the Consummation of all things dissipates the last obscurity, and turns all prophecy into history, and all hope into fact. We are therefore as yet in the Old Testament days of the disclosure of "the mystery of iniquity." The Man of Sin, who is in himself the embodiment and living representative of his system, as the Christ "who was manifest in the flesh," &c., was of the Gospel and its system, is as yet as obscure to us as was Christ to the saints of Old Testament days. But that evil secret is to be out, some day. The twin "mysteries" shall some day both be mysteries no longer.

Rev. xvii. 5, will now be clear: "Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots," &c. There is as much, and as little, precision in the language as such evidently symbolic treatment of the matter in hand admits of. The vision is of the Great Devil-Church, the Harlot-Church, over against "The Bride, the Lamb's Wife." She bears branded upon her forehead the inscription which identifies her life and her works with those of that system which is "The Mystery of Iniquity." The Anti-Christ and the Anti-Church alike have their revelation. The expression which follows close upon this in ver. 7, "the mystery of the woman," will present no difficulty. A vision of which this Woman was the central figure reveals what would have remained a secret—a "mystery"—but was now thus disclosed and exhibited.

IV. Finally, there are three quasi-isolated "mysteries":—

1. Rev. i. 20, "the mystery of the seven stars." Here again, when the explanation is given, there is nothing in itself inscrutable about the fact symbolized by the seven candlesticks, or stars, which John saw. Christian preachers and expositors have been using its now open secret for the edification of God's people ever since it became the common property of the Church. It was a thing which needed disclosing; it was unknown until the Great Revealer disclosed it.

2. 1 Cor. xv. 51, has partially come under review already. That there

shall be some who shall not die; that these shall undergo a "change" which will put them, in their bodies which they have never quitted, into exactly the same condition as the risen dead who then receive "spiritual" bodies; this is the disclosed secret of the future. The very fact of resurrection, as has been said, never occurred to unaided reason, and, when revealed, puts a greater strain upon reason and faith both, than do most Divine facts. The authority for Paul's announcement may be rejected as insufficient, and the fact may be disbelieved. But as a fact asserted, the thing is apprehensible enough. Any "mystery" lies only in the concealment of it from ordinary human knowledge.

3. Last of all is Eph. v. 32: "This is a great mystery; I speak of Christ and His Church." The full significance of the marriage tie was not disclosed or discoverable until Christ and His Church in their eternal oneness stood forth at last revealed. The deep-lying basis of monogamy is there, and its one secure sanction. The reason for a marriage bond of life-long permanence and of exclusive obligation, is found in the Great Revealed Union. The approximate equality of the sexes in numbers points towards monogamy. Social and civil experience turns the scale in favour of it, and against temporary unions and easy divorce. There are abundant physical vindications of marriage, as against every variety and degree of merely animal indulgence. Yet none of these is sufficient against the revolt of sensual ages, and the recrudescence of that heathen naturalism which lies deep in fallen humanity, even in nominally Christian communities. Let the positive command of God be removed, and there is really no secure or necessary halting place in a swift descent to the unregulated intercourse of the sexes. No "natural," or prudential, or sentimental reason is found to be unchallengeable, whether in speculation or practice. And the truth underlying God's enactment and the constituted order of marriage is this now revealed secret, this "mystery" now disclosed. (Perhaps, indeed, there was, apart from this, no intrinsic or necessary reason for God's command. Is it not conceivable that He could have traced the foundation-order of family and social life on quite other lines? Does not this consideration make it less difficult to understand how polygamy could have had so long and so wide sufferance from Him, even amongst His own people? It is not conceivable that (say) idolatry or falsehood should have had from Him even a single day's toleration or sufferance.) We reach firm ground here. The union between Christ and His Church was coming. On that model God had ordained married life. In fact, we are upon one of those great trunk lines of developing idea of which the Order of Creation is full, and all of which converge upon Christ. In Him God's thoughts are all perfectly outspoken. The physical unions of the lower and lowliest creatures are the first faint adumbration of what is coming. The inviolable union of man and wife, "one flesh," is a fuller approach. When this is clenched by a union of heart, and of congruity in temper, and tastes, and interest, and station; and above all, when this is cemented still more firmly by their "joint heirship of

the grace of life " ; (1 Peter iii. 7) then the whole truth is almost told there. But not quite, even then; the great foundation fact remains a "mystery" still. Paul here is commissioned to disclose it at last.

This Union is not like Marriage; Marriage is like It. In the order of the Creator's thought, if we may so boldly speak, this is the Pattern; marriage is modelled upon the lines of this. This last "mystery" text is, after all, therefore, not an isolated case of the use of the word. The mystery of Marriage is after all The Great Mystery which we have above investigated, "Christ and His Church." Marriage, like all things else, was created "in Christ."

THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

CHRIST AND THE PROBLEM OF SUFFERING.

By REV. B. B. MCGLASHAN, M.A.

(This Paper was awarded the Third Prize).

ONE of the sources of Old Testament perplexity is the fact that righteousness seems to be neglected by God—passed over without recognition. The good man is oftentimes the man of sorrows. He is oftentimes shut out from the green pastures of life. And on the other hand his neighbour, the unrighteous man, not unseldom enjoys the fatness of the land in smiling peace. In short, there does not appear to be any clear evidence in the outward lives of men and women that God loveth righteousness and hateth evil. The evidence bearing on this matter, that supplied by things that happen to good and bad, is confused—contradictory; a good case on behalf of the wisdom of the godly man cannot be made out from it. The Old Testament saint feels this deeply. This is evident from the strong way in which he keeps on asserting that God does indeed love righteousness. His oft-repeated assertions on this point, not to speak of the tone of defiance which occasionally is heard in them, show us clearly that He perceives and is disquieted by those things in life which seem to go contrary to his faith in God's favour towards righteousness. Indeed, not unseldom he expresses openly his recognition that facts appear to contradict his faith, and attempts to bring them into harmony with it. And he comforts himself with the thought that although what is, appears to be against him, and cannot be shown to be for him—what shall be, shall vindicate his choice of life. The false appearances of the present shall sooner or later be exposed and the truth manifested to the utter discomfiture of the wicked.

Now, what is *our* position compared with *his*? Of course, the worldly successes of those who do not "seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness" have not the same power to disconcert us as they had to disconcert him. We perceive clearly that "a man's life consisteth not in

the abundance of the things which he possesseth," and so are able to view the prosperity of the godless without being shaken in our faith in God. We are persuaded that a man's joy in life is in proportion, not to what he has, but to what he is. And so we take quietly such inequalities as do not favour the good man; are unmoved, as a general rule, in our adherence to a life of self-denying obedience to the Divine Will, by the contrast between the apparently rich life of the worldling and the apparently mean life of the servant of God. Nay, remembering certain words concerning the danger of those who are wealthy—words clearly and forcibly corroborated by observation of the world—many persons go so far as to think that the poor, those who need to work for their living, are to be congratulated rather than commiserated on account of their lot. We take a more spiritual view of the rewards of righteousness than was common in Old Testament times; and yet, notwithstanding this difference, is not our position very much the same as that of the Old Testament saint? He could not reconcile the facts of the actual world of men and women with his conception of the Divine nature and the views of life to which that conception gave rise. Are we any better off in this respect? Can we reconcile the things that are going on under our eyes with *our* conception of the Divine nature and the views of life to which it gives rise.

Does observation of life tend to confirm us in the faith that God is the loving Father of man? Are we not conscious that we cannot reconcile many of the things that are happening every day with our faith in the ever-active and omnipresent love of an all-powerful and all-wise Father? We, too, have to walk by faith, and not by sight. The gracious purposes of God are not always evident—not even to the eye of strongest faith. "Now we see in a mirror darkly" (in a riddle). Our experiences do not always convey the comfortable assurance that we are being cared for by Infinite Love. The tides that carry away from us the objects of our desire, do they seem to be controlled in our interest? Is there any purpose of love apparent in the unbroken silence which succeeds the passionate cry of some desolated heart for a whisper of hope? Does the Fatherliness of the Eternal Father reveal itself in the turmoil and travail and tragedy of the world, even to those eyes which are watching and waiting for its manifestation eagerly and hopefully? Yes; I am stating only one side of the case. Something might be said on the other side? Certainly. There is in life much that is fitted to confirm man in the belief that the world is governed by love. And if this "much" were not surrounded by that which seems to indicate that the world is not governed by love, then faith in the Fatherhood of God would be marvellously simplified. But the things that we cannot reconcile with omnipotent and omniscient love destroy the effect of whatever in life inclines us towards faith in the supremacy of love in the world. We know how easy it is to destroy one man's confidence in another man. Ninety-nine times one may have proved himself to be a trustworthy friend—ninety-nine times—but it is not necessary that he should act, or appear to act, treacherously or negligently

ninety-nine times in order to lose the character that he has gained; the hundredth act may undo the work of the ninety-nine creditable actions—undermine, it may be completely destroy, his neighbour's confidence in the integrity of his friendship. And, in like manner, that in life which appears to deny the reign of love in the world is fitted, be it only a comparatively small quantity, to make us doubtful and distrustful of the reality of God's love for us. The world is as much against us as it was against Old Testament people; more perhaps. For many terribly stern and painful things, which are not inconsistent with faith in the existence of a righteous King over all, appear to be irreconcilably opposed to faith in the presence with us of a Father, whose love and wisdom and power are infinite. But be that as it may, this, at any rate, is clear, that the world is ever threatening to take from us what it did not and could not give us—faith in the Fatherhood of God. And so our need is patent. We need to have the nature of God revealed to us in such wise as that we shall not be moved by those things which appear to impugn His love and wisdom and power.

Now, when we turn to Christ we are disappointed at first. He does not explain those things which cause us to doubt the Fatherhood of God. He leaves us with our difficulties. Why this is permitted, why that is allowed, He does not tell us. He does not enable us to say, "We see that all things work together for good to them that love God." We fail to see that, even after learning of Him for a lifetime. And yet assuredly He reveals the nature of God in such a way as to enable all who accept His revelation to view whatsoever seems to be harsh or unjust or malignant in the economy of the world as not inconsistent with the possession by God of such attributes as are fitted to awaken man's love and reverence and trust. For He enlightens us to declare, "*we know* that all things work together for good to them that love God"; know without seeing how they do so, without seeing that they are doing so, without seeing how it is possible that some of them can do so. He brings us to God in such a way as to create within us a humble, trustful spirit, which, even in presence of the cruel and disastrous effects of the play of what appear to be heartless forces, acknowledges the "unspeakable love" of Him who is over all. How does He bring us to God the Father? By His own life. Not by His teaching only; not by His beneficent actions only; but by His life as a whole. "No one cometh unto the Father but by (through) Me." Whosoever apprehends and is apprehended by that life is brought to look up to God with childlike confidence, even in the midst of circumstances which seem to mock his faith. We become children of God if we let the Spirit of His life pass into us; God becomes Father to us. Let us consider the leading feature of this life, the features which every man perceives, no matter what his creed may be, with a view to understanding how it forms the way for us into the presence of our Father in heaven.

First we remark Christ's pre-eminent goodness. Purposely I do not say His sinlessness: partly for the reason that I do not think that it is

necessary in view of my present aim to maintain His sinlessness, but chiefly for the reason that men and women uninstructed in theology acknowledge His superlative goodness without conscious effort—so soon indeed as they read the Gospels, and without the intervention of any teacher—whereas they face the question of His sinlessness only at a later stage, and, as I think, generally under the pressure of theology as embodied in popular opinion. Jesus is the good Lord to many people who have never even seriously discussed His sinlessness. Did those persons who were drawn to Him in the days of His sojourn in the world recognize His sinlessness? Did they think of Him at all as a sinless one? Peter's well-known words, "Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord," were uttered, it must be remembered, in circumstances which showed the power of Christ rather than His righteousness; His power directly, His righteousness indirectly. Christ had shown that He possessed God-like power, and God-likeness in power and holiness were closely associated in the Jewish mind; therefore these words. But whatever view we may take of this ejaculation, it is apparent that those who were drawn to Him, while recognizing His love and purity at once, did not—nay, could not—recognize His sinlessness. Their first impression was an impression of great goodness. And it is to those in the same state of mind regarding Christ—a very much wider class than that which is composed of those whose view of Him is of a sinless Person—that I speak now. To every one who recognizes the strength and sweetness, the nobility and lowliness, the meekness and unswerving integrity, the love and the truth of Christ's life, what I have to say appeals.

The second thing to be noticed is the suffering of Christ's life. Here, again, I am desirous of understating, rather than risk losing the sympathy of any one by seeming to overstate, the truth. Is Christ "the Man of sorrows" among men? At any rate, He was a sufferer; nay, I may venture further without fear of contradiction—He was a great sufferer, in the first rank of sufferers. When it is stated that never man was afflicted as He, there are at least some persons to whom that statement does not commend itself—those, not a few, unfortunately, who take a more or less carnal view of the joys and sorrows of life. Must we take *them* into consideration? Take *them* into consideration?—the question is absurd. Christ came to enlighten such people; and what they do not find in His life until some one skilled in theology has pointed it out to them is not, we may be sure, necessary, at least, to their conversion. Christ was the "Man of sorrows," the Sufferer among sufferers, let us admit that. But we cannot admit that all men recognize His pre-eminence in suffering. All men, however, recognize that He was a sufferer; all men rise from the reading of the wonderful story with a sense of the sadness of His life. He is to them an afflicted one—there is not any need to reason with them to persuade them of this. The record of His life does its work in this respect without intervention of interpreter. Unconsciously, the reader of that record is led to think of Jesus as of sad countenance. He may be wrong in doing so, for the sad

face is not attractive to such people as Jesus attracted; but the mistake is easily explained. If ever man had reason to be depressed, Jesus had. People did their utmost to make His life bitter—intentionally and unintentionally. And it is, indeed, hard to imagine His face irradiated with joy. Certainly, in thinking of Him as showing weariness and sorrowfulness, people are only drawing an inference which their knowledge of the effects of such a life as this on ordinary men warrants. They err, not in ascribing too much suffering, but in under-estimating His resources compared with those of their neighbours. But whether justified in their conception of Christ's appearance or no, people perceive and feel that He of whom the Evangelists write was persecuted and baffled in His attempts to do good; was unappreciated by those who knew him best, and ultimately unjustly condemned and cruelly put to death—a death of shame; a sad life with a sad end. He was on a cross before He was hanged on the cross of Calvary.

Now I have called attention to two features of Christ's life, and before going on to mention a third feature—the significance of which depends on these—would ask you to consider for a moment what effects the goodness of Jesus and His sufferings taken alone are fitted to produce upon us. The good one is also the sufferer. Goodness is afflicted in His person. It is despised and rejected of men. Nay, it appears to be despised and rejected of God too. For God does not intervene on His behalf. The machinations of the wicked are permitted to prevail against Him. Cruel hands seize Him even at the altar of the truth, and lead Him to the death of a malefactor. And with impunity too! with impunity! Had it not been for one thing, what an argument would have been here for those who deny that love reigns in the world! "See," they would have said, "see what happened to Jesus, and answer whether faith in a Father in heaven is possible. Consider what He was, and how He was used, and declare whether any reasonable man can hold that the gracious will of a loving Father guides and protects and cherishes the sons of men." They would have pointed to His short life, so full of bitter trial and ending so miserably—as they point to painful things in the world to-day, with the object of ridiculing the idea that man has a Father omniscient and omnipotent. But they cannot do this. One thing prevents them. It is an insuperable difficulty in the way of using Christ's life to prove the fatherlessness of man. The Sufferer bears testimony to the existence of God the Father. This is the third feature to which I referred above. Let us glance at it.

Christ teaches us that we have a Father, and that He cares for us greatly—far more than we can imagine; and He supports this truth with cogent illustrations. Yet it is not to this teaching, so attractive in form and substance, that I direct attention now. What I wish you to notice is this feature of His own life, that even in His darkest hours He turned to the great Father trustfully. Consider the scene in the Garden of Gethsemane—the terrible hours on the cross. Does He doubt the Fatherliness of God in these dark passages in His life? Were it not that the narrative of Christ's

troubles is so familiar to us, and that we have got into the way of thinking of Him as man only in some shadowy sense, this unchangeable confidence on His part in the love of God for Him—a confidence which survived the experience of some of the bitterest trials through which a sensitive nature can pass—would have more practical significance for us than it has. He, so harshly treated by the world, although worthy of the best that the world had to give—rewarded with success so meagre after His patience and self-sacrifice—whose whole life, indeed, was a series of trials—He fails not once to call God by that tender name, name suggestive of watchfulness, guardianship, undying love. In the hour when His soul was exceeding sorrowful, even unto death, it was still “Father”; and on the cross it was still “Father.” He died with the loved name on His lips. So deeply wronged by man—who cannot do anything without God’s consent—Christ nevertheless acknowledged that the world’s sceptre is a sceptre of love.

Now, what does this mean for us? What bearing has it on our own life? I have said that if we are to have faith in the Fatherhood of God, our faith must be of a kind that cannot be undermined by those things which we cannot reconcile with the gracious disposition of a Father, with the gracious purposes which flow from the Fatherly heart. That faith, I think, we may find here. We recognize Christ’s pre-eminent goodness; and we know that in proportion as one is good, is one able to speak with authority on what relates to the spiritual world. The clear eye for the things of the moral world is found in the clear life. In this respect, then, Christ’s testimony to the relation in which God stands to men is beyond our questioning. We do not venture to set ourselves near to Him in respect to the character of our lives. But that is not all. What leads us to doubt the Fatherhood of God? Is it not the injustice, the cruelty, the triumph of violence, the suffering of the innocent in the world, the indifference to the happiness of man, the way in which he is tossed about—like a log on the sea, whatever in short seems to us, who know what Fatherhood means, to declare the helplessness of man, his insecurity, his unprotected condition. We see what goes on in the world and say, What evidence have we of a Father’s love? What evidence? This: Jesus’ testimony. He experienced those things which destroy our faith, and nevertheless bore witness that God careth for His children—the inhabitants of the earth. The injustice, the cruelty, the oppression, the madness of the world, was felt by Him. Men made Him pass through the fires which sin kindles. Not only so. He moved forward knowing that the worst was yet to come, that the future had more pain in it than past or present contained. The clear eye was a source of comfort to Him, but it was also a source of pain. It enabled Him to perceive whither He was going. He recognized that He was being led towards Calvary, when as yet the fatal hill was far distant. Yet neither His present sufferings, nor those to which He was advancing, affected His faith in the love of His Father. “In all points tempted like as we are,” He nevertheless testifies continually to the existence of an Unseen One whose children we are, and to whom we are exceedingly

precious. And here we find a way unto the Father—our Father. Here we have a refuge and hiding place from those doubts which threaten to rob us of the inestimable privilege of the assurance of an all wise and all powerful Father's love. Here we have a rock upon which to set our feet; an unassailable fact upon which to stand. Is it hard for me to rise to the thought that I am cared for every moment of my poor life? Jesus lifts me up to that thought, draws my being up to God the Father, without effort on my part; I have only to let that life lay hold of me and it brings me into the Heart of the Eternal. Do circumstances conspire to shake my growing faith in my Father? I look to Jesus, and am once more assured. I trust His insight, I know that His own life would have appeared to me to deny the existence of a loving Father, had He not taught me that it is a manifestation of love. And I am persuaded that even those things in life which seem to be opposed to the faith that love holds the reins of the universe, those events which lay hold of us with cruel hands and draw us to themselves, and tighten their grip upon us until we have not any strength left, but lie limply in their power, utterly broken, crushed inwardly as the soft body of man is often crushed in accidents; that even the agony and bloody sweat of the world are not irreconcilable with the existence of a loving Father. No, I cannot reconcile them. But has He not reconciled *His own* agony and bloody sweat with the love of God? Has He not reconciled the fierce triumph of the violent over *Himself* with the love of His Father for Him? The enigma of the world is presented and expounded in His life. He has shown us that our Father's love works mysteriously. And looking back to Him we are made conscious that our faith, "so little warranted by a superficial view of circumstances, would be amply vindicated by a deeper insight." Through Christ we find the Father. In Christ we abide with the Father. Only through Christ, and in Christ, can we discover and rest in our Father's love.

WHAT IS THE CHURCH?

BY REV. WALTER RIDDALL, D.D.

(This Paper was awarded the Fifth Prize.)

THE late Pope Pius IX. declared that "the hinge upon which the whole controversy between Catholics and Dissenters turns" is in the conception of the Church. A similar statement was made by the late Rev. F. W. Robertson, of Brighton. "The question, What is the Church?" he said, "lies below all the theological differences of the day."

At a time when the problem of the re-union of Christendom is occupying the serious attention of thoughtful men on all sides, as witness the Lambeth and the Grindelwald Conferences, it must be deemed a matter of the highest moment to have reduced our differences to one great single issue. Yet this

question, which according to the high and competent authorities just quoted, is the root, or at all events lies at the root, of all "our unhappy divisions," is, for one reason or another, very widely evaded or avoided. Let us endeavour to face the issue.

There are two theories or conceptions of the Church, which practically hold the field between them, and are in broad and irreconcilable opposition.

According to the one, the Church is a society founded by Christ and His Apostles, and so organized as to be "the visible presentment and organ of the kingdom of God in the world." All the means of grace and salvation are strictly limited to this Divine corporation, whose visible continuity and identity are dependent upon, and guaranteed by, its external form.

This is essentially the Latin, or so called Catholic theory; although it is remarkable that the Roman Church, its chief exponent, has nowhere framed a formal definition of it. It is also claimed, indeed, outside the Latin Communion, both by the Greek Church and by others. But on this clear conception the Latin system appears logically to rest.

And it must be admitted that in this theory of the Church there is a certain grandeur of simplicity and completeness. It is true to the genius of a people, who were gifted with a strong instinct for organization and constructive legislation. It is the imperial conception of an imperial race. And it is doubtless this quality of intellectual grandeur and simplicity, of logical consistency and completeness, which has commended it to trained and powerful minds in all ages, and which has drawn so many finer spirits of our own age, as by a potent spell, to seek repose under the vast and venerable canopy of Rome.

According to the other theory, Christ and His Apostles founded a society, bound together by the profession of a common faith, by common acts and rites of worship, and by the invisible bond of brotherly love; furnished also indeed with certain slight rudiments of organization for the maintenance of decency and order; but not so organized as to preclude variety of development, according to time and place and circumstance, nor so as to render a universal uniformity compulsory and essential, or fix the limits of any visible society as exactly coincident and conterminous with the membership of the essential family of God.

To this theory it is vital to observe and insist upon the twofold use of the term "Church" in the New Testament. Our Lord's own use of the term on two different occasions supplies typical examples of two different meanings. In Matt. xvi. 18 ("I will build my Church") the Church must be that ideal spiritual temple which is constructed of living stones, and which is destined to rise up through the ages, and to stand for ever. In Matt. xviii. 17 ("tell it unto the Church") the word denotes clearly and only a local company of professing Christians, such, *e.g.*, as that which met in the house of Aquila at Ephesus, or that in which Diotrephes was so fatally pre-eminent. And this twofold use of the term runs throughout the

New Testament. In the higher and absolute sense the Church is spoken of from the Divine and universal point of view ; in the lower and relative it is seen from a purely local and human standpoint. In the one case the term denotes an aggregate which, as such, as well as in its proper limits, is necessarily invisible. In the other it denotes a visible society which, however organized, is coincident with the former only in its faithful members. And it is obvious that any failure to observe this distinction must be prolific of error and confusion. How should it be otherwise if the attributes of that pure and infallible constituency, the spotless bride of Christ, the spiritual temple, invisibly constructed, cemented, and adorned, are transferred absolutely to any conceivable sodality on earth, with its potential failures, hypocrisies, and heresies, its heterogeneous conglomerate of " wood, hay, and stubble," albeit mixed with precious stones? How shall the membership of any visible human community be made identical with the roll of the Book of Life?

The necessity of this vital distinction will be best illustrated by a crucial instance. In St. John's third epistle we find the local Church, of which Diotrephes was leader, in conflict with the venerable Apostle. A certain commendatory letter of his, he informs us, has been ignored, his messengers rejected, and his local supporters actually excommunicated. " I wrote," he says, " unto the Church, but Diotrephes, who loveth to have the pre-eminence, receiveth us not . . . and not content therewith, neither doth he himself receive the brethren, and forbiddeth them that would, and casteth them out of the Church." In what sense, let us ask, is the term " Church " employed in this inspired passage of apostolic history? Was the Church of Diotrephes an integral part of the sole " visible presentment and organ of the kingdom of God in the world "? Were the means of grace and salvation in that place (wherever it was) confined to its communion? Was its fellowship identical, so far, with that of the Church " whose names are written in heaven "? If so, the friends of the Apostle were assuredly in evil case, and St. John himself occupied for a time at least a very equivocal position. But the conclusion is obvious ; and it may be confidently affirmed that this single passage establishes the twofold use of the term " Church " in Holy Scripture, and is fatal to any theory which denies it ; inasmuch as it exhibits a visible society which was recognized by an Apostle as a Church, and was freely designated by that appellation, yet which was so far from coinciding in its measure with that pure high Church which is God's temple, that the true Christians in that place were to be found at one time outside, and not inside its pale. The distinction thus established, so intelligible, so natural, so necessary, is equally fatal, it will be perceived, to the semi-Novatianist but essentially Catholic theory of the Plymouth Brethren. And let it never be forgotten that this distinction must be completely ignored and set aside if the Catholic theory is to stand, and that it is consequently upon the basis of a grand confusion that all the magnificence of the imposing Latin structure rests.

But now, for a moment, let us place the two theories side by side, and mark how slight apparently is the difference between them at the parting of the ways. It is reducible to a single word—the word *organized*. The one says merely “Christ founded a society”; the other, “Christ founded a society and organized it.” Yet how wide asunder in history and in logical consequence are the issues of the divergence! Accept the word “organized,” and at once a particular external form becomes of the essence of a Church, and you are landed logically in the Latin theory, and historically in all the heresies and superstitions of the Latin Church. Reject the word, and the external form becomes a matter of expediency, and you will be constrained, sooner or later, to acknowledge with Bishop Pearson (and *pace* Cyprian), that wherever two or three are met together in Christ’s name there He is in the midst of them, “and thereby they become a Church;” or, as Irenæus tersely put it, “ubi Christus, ibi ecclesia.”¹

As regards the actual position of the Church of England on the question, it is a curious and disastrous anomaly that the bulk of her living teachers and exponents seem to hold substantially the Latin theory, while she herself is clearly identified in her Prayer Book and Articles, and the writings of her Reformers, with the opposite theory—the theory which distinguishes the things that differ. The one Holy Catholic Church which she confesses in her Creeds is explained in her Communion Office as “the mystical body

¹ But in rejecting the Latin theory, let it be carefully noted that it is necessary before all things to be logical, boldly and severely logical. From our point of view the term Church is ambiguous, and our theory has the consequent disadvantage of complexity. And in arguing the question, or in formulating a statement of our position, unless we be careful to rid ourselves of all mental vestiges of the traditional Latin theory, we shall find ourselves entangled as in a net. But our position itself is not ambiguous. On the contrary, we cannot recede from it without falling into a very pit of confusion. There is, however, one special corollary of our case which needs to be clearly seen and firmly grasped. It follows absolutely from our theory that the Church of Christ on earth *cannot be defined as to its form*. Therefore no particular society is entitled on the ground of form to be regarded exclusively as *the Church*. Such an appellation therefore as “the visible Church of Christ” belongs exclusively to no corporate body, local or extended, upon earth. We may properly speak of “a visible Church,” because every local society will be visibly what it is. But we may not speak of “the visible Church of Christ” except in a loose, approximate, and conventional way; because the aggregate of visible Churches (which might be supposed to constitute one great visible Church) are not visibly organized as one, and because no particular organization is exclusively entitled to that exclusive name. We may, indeed, speak of the whole Church on earth, or of the Church of God in such a place, meaning simply the aggregate of believers or professors in the world, or in such a place; but such language has no reference to organization. It must, indeed, have been generally the case at first that all the faithful in each place were visibly united in one society; though not necessarily in all places after the same manner. And in the future it seems certain, according to the prayer of Christ, that a visible unity will be attained; though it is not certain after what pattern that unity will be organized. But till then we must speak of things as they are, and according to the Scriptures. And therefore until the Church becomes visible as one, it is vain and misleading and uncharitable to apply absolutely to any particular body of Christians, however extended, the appellation of “the visible Church.” Hence the definition in the English version of Art. XIX. of the Church of England needs to be amended. The Latin is clear enough. But it should have been translated strictly and simply “A visible Church,” and not “the visible Church.”

of Christ, which is the blessed company of all faithful people." And her Art. XIX. defines a visible Church, without reference to either episcopal or any other form of constitution, simply as "a congregation of faithful men in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same." While the writings of the English Reformers endorse and illustrate at large the theory embodied in the Articles and Prayer Book, a single sentence of Bishop Ridley will suffice to show the position which they all held in common:—"That Church which is His body, and of which Christ is the Head, standeth only of living stones and true Christians, not only outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth." And therefore, while lawfully retaining the Episcopal constitution, the English Reformers consistently declined to represent Episcopacy as essential to the existence of a Church. The teaching body of the English Church of to-day are, therefore, largely in conflict with their own standards. And the anomaly of their attitude is further heightened by the fact that they are equally in conflict with the highest contemporary scholarship of their own Church. For the wisdom of the English Reformers upon this question has been verified to the full by the historic search-light of this most critical age. And the finding of the foremost scholars, after unlimited controversy and exhaustive investigation, may be summed up in the guarded and negative statement of the lamented Bishop Lightfoot, that "the facts do not allow us to unchurch other Christian communions differently organized."

But, in reply to all this, it will be said, "What reason is there on this principle to complain of 'our unhappy divisions'? Does not this theory seem to justify all manner of schisms, and endorse all the divisions of Christendom? Does it not reduce organization to a matter of no consequence? Nay, does it not actually ignore the solemn prayer of Christ, and the loving aspiration of every Christian heart, 'that they all may be one'?" No, we answer; emphatically no! It does none of these things. To deny a false principle of unity is not to justify all manner of schisms; to make the external form something less than divine is not to reduce it to a matter of no consequence; to decline to excommunicate practically a vast multitude of professing Christians is rather like remembering than forgetting the solemn prayer of Christ. The prayer of Christ undoubtedly demands a visible as well as a spiritual unity: and it will be answered in due time. But that unity will proceed from the inward and spiritual to the visible and formal, and not in the inverse order; the external union will be the spontaneous manifestation of the indwelling and informing life. This is ever the divine order; if it were otherwise, if the true basis and principle of unity had been a common form, Christ might have secured it by a word. But He did not speak that word. Instead thereof He gave another formative word: He commanded His people *to love one another*. The true principle of unity is love; and this command was the true

condition and counterpart of Christ's prayer : obedience to the command will issue in the fulfilment of the prayer. The divisions which have arisen in the meantime (and does not the prayer of Christ imply that there would be divisions? Yea, and that in spite of their divisions the people were His) have arisen from want of love, and have been propagated and perpetuated by loss of truth as well ; for love and truth go hand-in-hand. Loss of love begets false views and theories, and these perpetuate strife and erect barriers against reunion ; and the most formidable and effective barrier which has ever been thus erected is the false Catholic theory of the Church with which we have been dealing.

But it will take love as well as truth to heal our schisms. And if my voice could reach any of my brethren of the Anglican Communion who, in spite of everything, still cling to the notion of the divine origin of Episcopacy, and so virtually to the Latin theory, I would earnestly plead with them to reconsider their position. For, in the eyes of all sober-minded Christian men, and in the name of the highest Christian scholarship, they chiefly must be held responsible for the perpetuation of many of the schisms which separate Nonconformists from the old Mother Church of England. Their claim for Episcopacy, being not only opposed to the traditions and prejudices of Nonconformists, but also repudiated by the verdict of their own foremost scholars, becomes doubly offensive and intolerable. Even if the claim were true, it might be supposed that the inherent merits of a divine institution would be enough to recommend it, without constant reference to its origin. Good wine, according to the proverb, needs no bush ; the true gentleman does not need to be for ever declaring that he is a gentleman. And even upon their own ground, the supporters of the divine right would be wiser to allow the divine institution to recommend itself.

And, in truth, the Episcopal system has enough to recommend it, in its superlative expediency and its primitive antiquity, without resorting to any supernatural claim. The only weak link, in fact, in the defence of Episcopacy is the assumption of its divine origin ; and, as a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, the Episcopal system is hereby in danger of being brought into contempt. If, on the contrary, this single false position were frankly and definitively abandoned, the corporate reunion of Christendom would soon become a practical question. But on no other terms will there be any real approximation of the divided parties. The first article of any real Eirenicon must deal conclusively with the question, *What is the Church ?*—and must also unequivocally renounce the claim of any and every particular ecclesiastical constitution to a Divine title.

CURRENT AMERICAN THOUGHT.

PAGAN VIRTUE. By Very Rev. JOHN HOGAN, D.D., S.S. (*The American Catholic Quarterly Review*).—The periods of history most devoid of religious belief have been invariably the most busy with moral theories. The greatest teachers of antiquity—Cicero, Seneca, Epictetus, Plutarch—flourished at a time when all faith in the gods had well nigh vanished from cultivated minds. Many centuries later, in England and in France, the decline of Christianity was the signal for a fresh efflorescence of ethical speculations, and in our own times, not only does the decay of supernatural religion coincide visibly with a growing concern to determine the true laws of life, but the same men seem impelled to labour to bring about both objects. None of our modern writers assume a loftier moral tone than Harrison, Arnold, or Huxley, whilst such men as Stuart Mill, Spencer, Greg, &c., who have done so much to destroy all Christian faith, have devoted much time and thought to the reconstruction of a system of ethics on other foundations.

This very remarkable fact requires explanation, and it is not difficult to find. In all men there is a vague feeling, and in the more thoughtful a distinct conviction, that "conduct makes up the four-fifths of life;" it is of greater importance than all the rest put together; the first thing for each man to know is his duty. But religion, so long as it is believed in, supplies that knowledge, and there is no need for seeking it elsewhere. In the ages of faith, moral philosophy, as a science, was not spoken of. The Gospel was the acknowledged law of life. When faith is lost, the problem "how to live" comes back again, and men are forced to construct moral schemes. The results are eminently unsatisfactory. The widespread doctrines of materialism, of determinism, and of evolution, as commonly understood, are simply subversive of all morality. Agnosticism leads to no better results. As to the Utilitarianism to which in one shape or another they all ultimately lead, it may be good enough as a practical rule for determining most of the duties of man; but it is only a rule; and a rule without a principle to rest upon, or a sanction to sustain it, is of no practical value. Failures to construct satisfactory moral schemes explain the lapse into the despondency of pessimism, and the attractions of esoteric Buddhism and Theosophy.

There is another ideal of human conduct—the classic ideal, made familiar to us all by the Greeks and the Romans. These great peoples have been among the greatest teachers of the moral life, and their lessons and examples have exercised a deep influence even on Christian minds in the course of the ages. Dr. Hogan proposes to consider what measure of providential guidance was, as a fact, vouchsafed to men outside the Jewish and Christian dispensations, what ideals they formed to themselves of the higher life, how far they succeeded in fashioning their own lives by them, and what even Christians may learn from those who lived and moved in the faint and flickering light of uncertain traditions and of a half-awakened conscience.

1. The moral doctrines of Paganism offer such a strange mixture of good and evil that it is impossible to extol or to censure them without manifold distinctions and qualifications. Consequently there is great difference in the tone in which the fathers refer to them. To the more generous views the world has been recently brought back by that interesting science, the Comparative Study of Religions. It is not too much to say that it has led the most thoughtful and most devout minds to a

far broader view than commonly prevails of God's dealings with the mass of mankind placed outside the pale of Jewish or Christian revelation.

2. Look at that period of antiquity in which the natural man seems to have reached the highest degree of development—the palmy days of Greece. Nor are we disappointed in expecting that from minds fertile in every other form of thought beautiful moral teachings should come forth. Thus Plato teaches that the highest good is neither pleasure nor knowledge alone, but the greatest possible likeness to God; that virtue is found not in enjoyment, but in self-restraint, in the complete empire of the soul over the lower appetites; that virtue itself should be desired, not from motives of reward and punishment, but because it is in itself the health and beauty of the soul. "To Plato we are indebted for the first clear enunciation of that beautiful synthesis of the four cardinal virtues, which, embodied in the Greek philosophy and carried on to Alexandria, was canonized there by its admission into the inspired book of Wisdom, and later on became equally familiar to the philosophers of Rome and to the fathers of the Church." Aristotle was a still greater master of the moral life, and yet we cannot find in Greece the noblest examples of the moral life. Hers was the mission to train the minds and the tastes of mankind. The moral side of man had no predominance in her thoughts. Her ideal was not goodness, but beauty—that beauty which comes of the highest possible cultivation of the individual, the most finished perfection of all the natural faculties.

8. To find Pagan virtue at its best we must turn to the Romans. For centuries they practised the noblest domestic and social virtues without any aids beyond the traditions of their race, and the dictates of their moral nature. Moral theories came to them at last only with Greek philosophy, and the rest of the Greek culture. Stoicism proved to be the most congenial to their national temperament. Lecky says, "Long before the Romans had begun to reason about philosophy, they had exhibited it in action, and in their speculative days it was to Stoicism that the noblest minds naturally tended." Cicero's beautiful code of moral duties, *De Officiis*, drawn up for his son, is well known. To find the Stoical inspiration at its highest we have to come down to the writings of Seneca, to the reported discourses and sayings of the slave Epictetus, to the meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, and in a less elevated but perhaps more persuasive form, to the *Lives of Great Men* and the *Moral Essays* of Plutarch. Of Seneca, Farrar writes, "It is certain that, as a philosopher and as a moralist, he furnishes us with the grandest and most eloquent series of truths to which, unaided by Christianity, the thoughts of men have ever attained." The teachings and examples of Epictetus are among the noblest that have come down to us from antiquity. The great lesson of Marcus Aurelius to future generations was, to have united for years the possession of unlimited power with a pure, unselfish, and devoted life. The study of these works explains the enthusiasm awakened by these remarkable works at the period of the Renaissance; how in that transient resuscitation of Pagan tastes and Pagan thought men were more moved by the lessons of ancient philosophers than by those of the Gospel; and how, down to the present day, the Pagan ideal of virtue continues to exercise a veritable fascination over minds on which faith has lost her hold, or whose temperament responds more easily to the stern mandates of Stoicism than to the gentle and persuasive accents of the Christian law. And yet these great teachers were mostly speculative, tentative, conjectural; they lacked assurance. They neglected whole aspects of human life, and misunderstood and misinterpreted others. And what is most valuable in their precepts has to be collected from much that is commonplace and worthless, or weak and artificial, or positively wrong. But what Stoicism most failed in was *motives*.

4. How near did Pagan life in its best representatives come to the high order of virtue which constituted the Pagan ideal? This is a question of fact, entirely dependent on historical evidence; yet that evidence can only be of an imperfect kind, for what is best in human nature is comparatively unnoticed; and this is especially true of that part of humanity which had never been reached by more than a few rays of revealed truth. It must be admitted that single traits of character of the noblest and most beautiful kind abound in Greek and Roman history. There is not a virtue known to the ancients which has remained an idle speculation among them. And not in isolated cases only, but also in the general tone and tenor of lives the elevation of moral teachings can be recognized. And yet we cannot be blind to the incompleteness of such characters. We cannot help missing the fulness of beauty which the Gospel alone has imparted to human life. "The typical Roman might have been upright, self-controlled, capable of high efforts of self-sacrifice, and ready to relinquish life rather than forsake his duty; but pity, forgiveness, chastity, reverence for the inalienable rights of manhood, to say nothing of the higher Christian virtues, were strangely wanting in him. Above all, we habitually miss the inner principle which is the touchstone of all true virtue."

5. Besides classical antiquity, the sacred books of the East show us what conceptions of moral duty have guided countless generations of men in Egypt, in Assyria, and in the far East. The religion of the Hindoos, however corrupt now, exhibits in its earliest phases the noblest and purest conceptions of God and of the moral life. Buddhism has developed forms of asceticism which bear so striking a resemblance to those of the Catholic Church that many think they have been copied. Self-conquest and universal charity constitute its fundamental maxims. And a similar asceticism is found in the Sufites of Mahometanism. It has its religious orders in great number and variety, with their distinctive doctrines and practices.

6. What conclusions are suggested by these facts and considerations? (1) The nations of the earth have not been so forsaken of God in the course of ages as is generally supposed. (2) The lessons of Pagan virtue lead us directly to religion. The secular spirit of our day would fain discard religion altogether, or merge it in morality. To the adepts of Positivism and Agnosticism religion is only an idle and curious speculation; conduct alone is important, and to deduce its laws from the facts and experiences of life should be our only concern. But what if the experience of life claims something beyond? "The answer comes back from the ancient world and from all races of men, in lowest whispers and lowliest tones, in prayers, in sacrifices, in deeds of atonement, and in mystic contemplation, as in so many divers tongues, all expressing the same need of something more than virtue—holiness—intercourse and union with God. The religious, or, as some choose to call it, the mystical, element is neither local nor accidental; it is one of the fundamental, constitutive elements of human nature, ever varying in expression, form, and measure, yet ever pointing in the same direction and leading to the same end." But the purely human doctrines of the past prove utterly inadequate to satisfy the essential needs of the soul. Simply to tell men what is virtue, and to extol its beauty, is insufficient. In Christianity alone, in the Gospel, do we find the highest moral doctrines brought down to the level of the humblest minds.

"Pagan virtue, when genuine, is but human virtue unenlightened by the Gospel, and it is on the fundamental rectitude of the natural man only that the work of grace can stand. What would Christianity be in a soul from which justice, truthfulness, self-command, and self-restraint were absent? What supernatural virtues

could make themselves at home in a selfish heart? What fruits of the human life could ripen in a soil devoid of the warmth of human kindness? Energy, courage, devotion to duty, patience under trial, contempt for petty objects, a readiness to merge all personal interests in a noble cause, what are all these but the old Roman pagan virtues, and what life is anything but contemptible without them?"

ETHICS AS A POLITICAL SCIENCE. By ARTHUR T. HADLEY, Yale University (*The Yale Review*).—In a meeting between two armies, both strong, brave, and well equipped, the issue of the contest is usually decided by superiority of discipline. But though discipline decides almost everything, there is something else behind it. Between armies otherwise equal the decision will rest in favour of the one where individual thought and individual responsibility supplement the collective thought and the machine-like precision with which the orders are obeyed. To-day, more than ever before, victory depends not upon intelligent generalship and implicit obedience alone, but upon the independent activity of the company officers, and the independent bravery of the men; and to-day the superiority in morals rests with the nation that depends not on its authority alone, and not on its generals alone, but upon the individual responsibility of the subordinate leaders, and upon the power of the men in the ranks to preserve their direction. In morals, as in war, we must have authority and discipline supplemented by individual responsibility, individual judgment, and individual sense. Discipline and self-devotion are underlying principles of all ethics.

Is it possible to have a thorough exercise of judgment and sense without a loss of discipline and self-devotion? Is not a man selfish as soon as he begins to reason out the consequences of his action? Can we have both the heroism and the calculation, the collective end and the individual judgment? We must not overlook the fact, that in the passage from centralized authority to individual liberty there is danger that the underlying discipline absolutely essential to all should pass away. It is the hardest problem that a nation has to face, to decentralize its moral authority without at the same time losing it altogether. Yet by nations as well as armies this problem must be faced and solved. The old system of tribal responsibility for moral conduct secured discipline at the expense of independence. It secured effective authority over conduct, but it prevented such conduct from being rational, at least in any unforeseen emergencies. The substitution of individual responsibility for collective responsibility, the development of the conception of sin and of merit, and above all, the recognition of intention in our judgment of conduct, made a radical change. People were taught to assume the existence of a choice between good and bad conduct, and to use their reason in directing their conduct to more or less rational ends. The attempt to substitute moral responsibility for moral compulsion was like the attempt to substitute free labour for slave labour. If the free men would work, their work was better than that of slaves; but there was always a danger that they would use their freedom as a pretext for doing no work at all. In actual history fatalism has gone hand in hand with slavery, rationalism with property.

When it was believed that the gods punished the tribe for the sins of its members, this belief was not only effective in practice, but substantially true in theory. But when the priests attempted to modify this belief to suit the development of individual responsibility, and taught that the gods punished the individuals for their own sins, the formula lost so much of its truth as to lose nearly all of its effectiveness. On the races of antiquity the general effect of reasoning about conduct was distinctly

demoralizing. The Athenian public was substantially right in its estimate of the work of Socrates as affecting social order at Athens. Plato, and nearly all his contemporaries and successors, were careful to restrict the study of ethics to the favoured few who would get the most benefit from the development of the state, and who could therefore take collective development as an end. *Justitia*, the study of justice, was to be the prerogative of a few philosophers who were to be maintained by the rest of the community. *Fortitudo*, courage, was to be the property of the soldiers who were to carry out the decrees of the philosophers. As for the rest, *Temperantia*, mind your own business; that was the sum and substance of ancient philosophy. But the 'many' would not be thus repressed. The Romans did somewhat better with their rationalism; because the Romans had a well-developed system and legal ideas, and certain habits of action and feeling which carried the influence of those ideas beyond the narrower sphere of law. It was found possible to maintain some of the discipline of the Roman religion with some of the freedom of the newer philosophical thought.

Wherever the conservatism of feeling among the best men of the nation is not swept away by the flood of rationalism, we have a field for the work of religious reformers, and for the new systems of ethical ideas incident to such reform. The religious reformer, in distinction from the philosopher, appeals primarily to the feelings rather than to the reason of those he addresses. He avoids the absurdities of the older mythology so far as they have prevented that mythology from keeping a lasting hold upon the people; he creates a new theology, having its evidence and its warrant in the feelings and conduct of those who hold it. It is one of the most important facts, in any scientific study of psychology, that in little over a thousand years of Christianity the whole civilized world could pass from the dominion of tribal mythologies, based on tribal war and tribal responsibility, to broader theologies, based on individual responsibility, on moral sentiments, and national if not human brotherhood.

The leading conditions which distinguish the rationalism and ethical history of the last four centuries from those of the ancient world seem to come under three heads: the separation of law and morals, which made it possible to change the theories of conduct without dissolving the foundations of social order; the institution of private property, which had trained people to work intelligently, and without compulsion for a remote end; and the feeling of sympathy and human brotherhood, which found so large a place in the Christian doctrine that it withstood alike the perversions of that doctrine and the attack which undermined its influence. Where moral authority and legal authority were but slightly distinguished, a change in one was sure to affect the other. The separation of Church and State allows the defenders of social order to range themselves on the side of moral progress. Of no less importance for rational conduct was the institution of private property. It taught people to do disagreeable things for a remote reward. It prevented freedom from degenerating into inefficiency and vice. It taught people to see in how many ways their own interests were to be sought in promoting those of others. The most vital point of advantage of modern rationalism lay in the existence of a feeling of unselfishness, for which the Christian Church had prepared the way. This unselfishness was a feeling to which the moralist could appeal, either as a source of individual action, or as a basis of public sentiment.

Utilitarianism, as a working hypothesis, is beginning to give place to rational egoism, both among philosophers and among the mass of mankind; and with this change we are brought face to face with the dangers which proved too much for

ancient morality and ancient freedom. It is not because utilitarianism in any sense coincides with egoism that we are to defend it, but because utilitarianism, as a habit of mind in the nation, means liberty and progress, while egoism means destruction. How is it that utilitarianism has by common consent been made a standard of morals and a criterion for the exercise of private judgment in modern times, when in ancient times such a standard was all but unknown? Is it because Christianity has educated the feelings of those who profess it, and the sense of the nations that hold it, up to a point where sympathy became a common assumption? It is because we have this historical basis of sympathy on which to work that we can develop liberty of judgment in morals as we have developed liberty of action in law.

But the rational egoist will object, is not all reasoned action selfish action? When you calculate the results of an action, do you not, in fact, present the different motives as they appear to you, and choose the strongest of them? But if this be true, it proves too much. If a man always obeys the strongest motive, this strongest motive being determined by his own happiness at the instant, it is his own happiness at the instant which affects his action, and nothing else. The reasoning of the rational egoist destroys his own theories of morals as well as those of the altruist, for it makes far-sighted conduct as illusory as unselfish conduct. The claim of the rational egoist, that all motives are, in the last analysis, selfish, would only be practically true of a community in which self-consciousness was developed to an enormous degree, and sympathy not at all; but such a community would have gone to pieces long before there was any time to apply the finer theories of rational egoism to it. But, as a moral system advances, the conflict between rational egoism and rational altruism grows less and less.

The one danger which we have to face is, that by too quick analysis, by the development of a system of rational egoism as the ultimate aim of morals, we may expose ourselves to the fate by which Greece and Rome fell, and from which we, by our Christian traditions, have been able to save ourselves. If the community will save itself from the destruction of the rational egoist, it must find a rational theory that is not egoistic. It is this which makes the application of the methods of political science to morals most imperatively necessary. The effect of most of the psychological study of the present day is immoral, because the science is based upon an assumption which is immoral in many of its practical effects—the assumption of independent workings of individual minds. Only when we treat conduct and character as part of general history, only when we cease to take facts of individual consciousness as ultimate data, only when we have learned to explain private judgment in morals as we explain constitutional liberty, can we hope to understand either our own conduct or the conduct of nations.

SOCIALISM: ITS HARM AND ITS APOLOGY. By ARTHUR F. MARSHALL, B.A. Oxon. (*The American Catholic Quarterly Review*).—It is well for us to consider such a subject of present and pressing interest as Socialism certainly is from every possible point of view. And, without prejudice, we may give fair and careful consideration to the views of this Catholic writer.

A "serious socialist" is as rarely to be met with in Germany, in England, or in America, as in France; and the "mania for seeking for universal panaceas" is a natural product of the chronic sufferings of any multitude. Socialism, anarchism, communism are but experiments for the mitigation of evils which have sprung from two causes—financially, the altered conditions of trade; morally, the selfishness of the wealthy classes. Utterly impracticable, even impossible, as is socialism, equally

subversive as it would be of the liberties of whole communities, and disastrous to individual aspiration, its real paternity must be sought for in the moral defects of the "superior" classes a good deal more than in the restlessness of the sons of toil. The Germans have given to modern socialism a systematic and scientific form. Whatever there is in English and American socialistic life and literature is but an importation, a plagiarism, a bad imitation of German socialism. In England the imitations are particularly feeble, because English socialists are more negative than constructive in their theories of reconstituting society. The English socialists are not given to chimeras or panaceas so much as to the division of spoil.

What is socialism? What are its fallacies? Socialism, anarchism, and communism are a sort of positive, comparative, and superlative. Communism has never found serious defenders. To appropriate private property under the plea of a common good would put an end to all aspiration and motive. Anarchism, in a lesser degree, would exclude all central control, and secure political and economical independence for separate unions or groups of the labouring world. The socialists who would put everything on a democratic basis call themselves, generically, social democrats, and advocate the transformation of all capital or means of labour into a sort of common bank or treasury for the community, to be administered by the State for the benefit of all, with some sort of arithmetical equity.

Though communism, anarchism, and socialism are modern in their breadth and activity, their theoretical ancestry is very ancient. 1,800 B.C., on the island of Crete, there was a primitive attempt at communism which Lycurgus, in his proposed Spartan constitution, adopted as the groundwork of his ideal. Plato, in his *Republic*, commanded community of goods, and also community of education. Aristotle condemned these systems as untenable and impracticable. Under Christianity we find a community of goods approved by some of the very earliest converts, but this was because "voluntary poverty" was accepted as a "counsel of perfection," which is an estimate utterly alien to modern socialism. Those who quote the "Acts of the Apostles" for justification of their views as to private property are forgetful of these three distinctive features: (1) That the Christian converts were impoverished by their conversion; (2) that the motive of Christian communism was heroic charity; and that (3) the adoption of this lofty standard was voluntary. Modern socialism begins with Count de Saint Simon (1776-1825). His principle was that labour is the standard of economics, and that therefore labourers must take the first place. Fourier proceeded to build up a system of socialism. Louis Blanc warred on free competition as being the root of all economic disturbance. Karl Rodbertus was the first scientific German socialist; he taught that "all goods, considered from an industrial standpoint, are only the product of labour, and cost nothing but labour." Karl Marx argued that while "part of the produce of labour should be employed for new production, the rest should be for use, and be distributed as became private property." Ferdinand Lassalle's phrase, "the iron law of wages," has passed into a household word. He followed closely on the lines of Marx.

Mr. Marshall deals with the first section of the "Gotha programme" (1875). "Labour is the source of all wealth and culture, and since universally efficient labour is possible only through society, it follows that—the universal duty of labour being supposed—the entire product of labour belongs with equal right to the entire body of society, that is, to its individual members, each according to his individual wants." The following passage is taken from the "Erfurt programme" (1891): "Only the transformation of private capitalistic property in the means of production—i.e., land, mines and mining, raw materials, tools, machinery, and means of communication

—into common property, and the change of private production into socialistic, can effect that the extensive industry, and the ever-increasing productiveness, of social labour shall become for the down-trodden classes, instead of a fountain of misery and oppression, a source of the highest prosperity, and of universal and harmonious perfection." This social revolution implies the liberation, not only of the labouring class, but of the entire human race.

Father Cathrein, author of *Socialism Exposed and Refuted*, says: "The fundamental principles of socialism belong not to economical but to metaphysical science." Such fallacies as the equal rights of all men, the insisting on industry being the sole gauge of emolument, and the materialistic estimate of all existence, are fatal to any system of economics. "Equal rights" must mean "absolute equality," however the theories may be kept distinct. Under any conceivable system there must be political and social inequality, just as every one recognizes that, in the sight of God and man, every man has an equal right with all his fellow-men to be treated with justice and with generosity. The State can have no more power to compel all intelligences to be equal than it can have power (or moral right) to prevent the skilful or the industrious from taking precedence of the incapable or the indolent. The theory of "universal compulsory labour" is neither a natural nor a salutary conception; it converts all society into one great productive union—productive only in the gross, material sense, but not productive in either the religious or the refined sense. Materialism is one of the worst evils of socialism.

To consider the objections to socialism that may be called moral and philosophical. Socialism is *impossible*. Not that a refined and equable social system would be impossible under favourable conditions, but only that the conditions which now govern all society would be absolutely fatal to a pure socialism. Human nature, as a prime impediment, stands in the way; and the bright side of human nature would be as fatal to socialism as its darker side, for it includes aspiration and ambition. Moral difficulties are more fatal than are the difficulties of pure economics. Three difficulties may be noted: 1. That of drawing the line between anarchism and a despotic central authority for all countries; the rivalry of separate communities being as certain to beget hostility as the unification of all communities to beget stagnation. 2. That of the division of separate producers among the entire people. No arithmetic could do it (on so large a scale) with due reference to relative values and relative merits. 3. That of the new theory of "public scrutiny." If all goods, both productive and consumable, are to be subjected to the judicial scrutiny of overseers, what a fearful servitude must ensue from such surveillance, and how completely the new system would put an end to domestic life as well as to social and neighbourly life.

What is the relation of socialism to family life? Bebel teaches that marriage is a private agreement. "If disagreement, disappointment, or disaffection should arise, morality demands a disruption of the unnatural and, consequently, immoral alliance." Children must therefore be at the mercy of spasmodic domestic harmonies, and must either be left with no education at all, or must be educated and cared for by the State. As to education, in a secular sense, how can the massing of all children in a quasi-military State system of uniformity tend to the strengthening of the moral character, or of aspiration, or even tend to the bringing out of individuality? "The socialistic idea of fitting all men for all work; of creating such universal aptitude in the vast majority of the members of society that they should be both able and willing to do anything or everything at the beck and call of a State committee or of a bureau, is the idea of turning the human mind upside down." As to religion, an overt

antagonism to Christianity is the most prominent characteristic of socialism. The sentiment is embodied in the following sentence, "We fight clericalism, it is true, but it is not the only ravager. Clericalism will exist as long as there are capitalists to support and pay it." By clericalism is meant Christianity in its dogmatic or divinely authoritative character.

Two facts are on the side of the Socialists. Society is in fearful need of reformation. Mere preaching will not reform it. What is the groundwork of the socialistic discontent? 1. Labour has been increased instead of lessened by the invention of a thousand labour-saving machines. 2. But the labourer can derive no pecuniary benefit, either in the near or far future, by the saving which is effected by these machines, all the wealth passing into the hands of the owners of these machines, and remaining there, without a chance of distribution. 3. Thus the wealth goes on increasing to a magnitude which becomes colossal, and which is, indeed, a burden to the over-prosperous capitalist; while the poor man is so weary with his never-ending toil that he has no time for rest, leisure, or culture—the rich man multiplying his luxuries and his extravagances, and the poor man multiplying only his sorrows.

What are the gravely-proposed "panaceas" which the socialists assure us will be practicable? The socialists wage war against all landlords and all profit-mongers, whose interests, they say, are wrapped up in the impoverishment of the toilers who work for them. All other classes contribute their share to the common good. Education and the fine arts, like all pursuits of the higher culture, have their places in the grand markets of the world's fair. How can labour be emancipated so as to take its rightful place as lord and master? The socialists say that co-operation alone can effect it. Co-operation, they say, must be the primary State maxim in regard to possession, distribution, and equalization, credit-funds being opened by the State for the advancing of required moneys to approved securities, with a view to any industrial purpose. Capital must henceforth be deprived of the right of dictating any terms to the labourers. The people must have the freedom of the land, and so the production of food will be made easy. Co-operation, it is affirmed, will be the saviour of society.

Mr. Marshall refers to the Pope's "Encyclical on the Condition of Labour." From it we learn that society has gone wrong upon first principles; it is wrongly educated from the nursery up to maturity; and the grand fallacy of the education of modern times is that it does not educate the heart, only the intellect. The author's conclusion is as follows: "Socialism is not a science, it is a protest. Not one socialist in a hundred knows or cares about value theories, or about the difference, say, between collectivism and chartism. Not one socialist in a hundred could listen without being bored to an academic discussion by a grave thinker on a single point of economics. The science of socialism may be understood by shrewd demagogues, but the masses do not understand it, and do not want to. *Their* socialism is from the heart, and it is very angry. It does not reason—it rebels, even hates, for the pride and selfishness of their superiors have fomented it. And, therefore, as this socialism is bred solely by discontent, it follows necessarily that we must remove the *cause* before we can even begin to hope to remove the *effect*. The Catholic solution, therefore, is to try to remove the *cause*. It is to try to get back the human family to that ideal charity and simplicity which were characteristic of the first ages of Christianity."

SOME RECENT ASPECTS OF INSTITUTIONAL STUDY. By CHARLES M. ANDREWS, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penna (*The Yale Review*).—The growth of

historical study in recent years, and the ever-increasing interest in institutional problems, has given rise to some methods of historical science that are either quite new, or else transformations or enlargements of older methods. It is in that borderland between the known and the unknown that the difficulties which these methods aim to meet are chiefly to be found. The methods discussed in this article are applicable to subjects evidence for which is wanting, or to subjects for which the evidence is so slight and obscure as to be difficult both to discover and to interpret. They will be of use either in studying primitive institutional history, or in discovering the beginnings of institutional changes or transformations in times less remote. Mr. Andrews deals with the following methods: 1. "The construction, through comparative study, of a hypothetical plan into which all direct evidence shall fit, based on probability and paralleled by tendencies of growth among other peoples. 2. The comprehension, before entering upon any plan of construction, as fully, perfectly, and rationally as the state of direct evidence will allow, of the spirit of the age under examination, that we may be in full touch with the general nature of its institutions, that we may live for the time being in its life, and may possess an instinctive sense of what is true and probable without exact proof. 3. The method of working back from the known, where we stand on the sure foundation of a strictly historical investigation, to the relatively unknown, where the illumination must of necessity be by reflection. 4. The method of discovering in later known social and economic life traces of earlier characteristics and activities on the principle that a nation never outlives its youth, that the habits and customs of primitive times continue to be in some form a part of the life of the simpler portions of the community long after the main body has advanced far along the lines of a higher civilization."

The first of these is known as the comparative method. It studies man, as Mr. Lang says, "in the sum of all his works and thoughts, as evolved through the whole process of his development. It does not despise the most backward nor degraded tribes, nor neglect the most civilized." Rarely has a method been more scoffed at on the ground that it deals to all appearances with evidence as incohesive as the sand. But while its results have been often inconclusive, there is a plenteous hope of reward to the scholar who will persist in its careful and scientific use. There are two phases of the comparative method, in reality the same, yet differing necessarily according to the period and the evidence to which they are applied. In the one phase the conclusions are largely hypothetical, in the other, more strictly historical. The first is the comparison of evidence which we cannot positively say is analogous, but which, so far as can be judged, appears to be so. This method is readily misused. The misuse is to compare anything and everything; it is to pretend to have discovered the most widespread institutions of the human race by the help of some few instances inaccurately observed; it is to find two things that look alike, and to straightway believe that the one was derived from the other; it is to study isolated facts, and not permanent institutions. But we need not reject the method because of its imperfections as thus applied. Can we not lay down certain canons which will give it a scientific character? Comparative evidence of this kind is to the historical student what circumstantial evidence is to the jury. Neither carries proof. But when we take to comparative study in primitive times, we have got beyond the stage where we expect proof. We are looking for probabilities, and for these alone, and these are just what comparative study properly applied furnishes. We must compare, not anything and everything, but only that evidence which, so far as it can be determined, belongs to corresponding periods in the life of a people, and which alone we have the historical right to compare. And

the worker who uses this method must be adequately prepared for his task. Comparative study demands not only proper subjects for comparison, but also a scientific accuracy so far as it can be obtained, a conservative judgment which cannot be led away by alluring parallels, cautious conclusions, even where the evidence seems to be most favourable, and an ever-present readiness to adopt a new position, and to modify our statements, whenever better evidence is brought forward. A writer who cannot be candid and dispassionate had better keep aloof from history and the comparative method. The other error indicated above needs a fuller treatment. It concerns that most difficult of historical problems, the extent to which one people, consciously or unconsciously, have borrowed of another, and the extent to which we are justified in deciding that two systems are identical when they show positive points of similarity. This question confronts us at the threshold of the career of every people who have played a part in history. Did the children of Israel borrow phases of their law and ritual from Egypt? Are the golden calf and brazen serpent of foreign origin? Are the tabernacle vestments borrowed plumes? Did the Phœnicians borrow their silver standard from Babylon, or the Greeks theirs from Lydia? Are we to believe Herodotus' tales of the debt of Greece to Egypt? Did the Romans copy their sumptuary legislation in the Twelve Tables from the laws of Solon? Did the new nationalities of the North copy the Roman *emphyteutic* and *laetic* tenures as the basis of the feudal system? Did the Anglo-Saxons derive their manorial system from that of the Roman Empire? and, finally, did the American Puritans get all their institutions from Holland, or, as used to be thought, so far as they borrowed at all, from the land in which they were born? These are specimen questions, and it is necessary to know how the comparative method touches such as these. The borrowing theory offers a tempting and ready solution, but the effort to support such explanation is not unfrequently like the efforts of lawyers to prove undue influence in the making of a will. Generally speaking, the conscious borrowing by one people of another of a fully developed institution, or even the fundamental principle of an institution, is a rare thing in history. Incidentals and details may often be accepted, but rarely the system itself. Comparative study shows that every people, of whom we have sufficient knowledge to determine the fact, has passed or is passing through certain stages of institutional and social development. All people do not develop wholly alike; everywhere there will be new local and racial divergences from any common type. Such divergences increase with the institutional age of every people, though in the earlier stages there will evidently be a greater absence of external influence. Since this is the case, it follows that each people passing through these stages will develop, in some form or other, its own institutions, which, while peculiar to itself, will be at bottom enough, like similar institutions elsewhere, to give rise to the charge that such system was borrowed. Comparative study along these lines is safe. It may be made accurate, scientific, and thorough, if only the tendency be avoided to search for parallels, as if everything had to be borrowed which was in the least peculiar.

Turn to the second phase of the comparative method, the comparison of the historically known institutions of one nation with those equally well known of another. We may compare with profit the law, constitution, and economics of Greece and of Rome, of France or of England. This method of study will react most helpfully upon and awaken a new interest in the writing of local histories. Such an interest, stimulated by a better knowledge of the universality and oneness of many social and economic problems, ought to make the old-fashioned town and county histories a thing of the past. It will make in a sense historian and antiquarian one.

But there is need of greater care and thoroughness in the investigation of each particular subject. Accuracy in detail is the necessary concomitant of breadth of treatment. It would be well if there could be united in one the grasp of the philosophical historian and the scholar's keenness for exact and precise statement. In three particulars can we apply criticism to books which have been written on early periods of institutional history: 1. Not a few writers have been inclined to treat their material apart from its context. 2. In many writings there is the absence of any perspective in the employment of the evidence at hand. 3. In studying the philosophy of history, we must distinguish between the events of history objectively considered, and these events as we know them through the accounts of others. The form which history takes for us will be largely dependent upon the character of the medium through which it is transmitted. Since, then, so large a portion of history is dependent upon the vagaries of the human mind, it is evident that, where the known facts are most meagre, there will the influence of this other element be most markedly felt; where facts are wanting, the human consciousness will, nay must, supply the remainder. Our minds must therefore be as free as possible from those distorting characteristics which pervert historical truth. The political, social, and religious prepossessions of one age are most injurious to the mind of the student seeking to explain the spirit and activities of another.

We of modern times have evident difficulty in estimating certain conditions which are fundamentally characteristic of primitive times. It was not a trait of primitive man to generalize; the organization of society was simple. Primitive life is full of variety, complexity, and confusion. And few, if any, primitive people are strictly pure in race. All so-called race stocks are really formed by a considerable intermixture of race elements.

The third of our methods is really not new as a scientific method, but has been applied only during the last ten years to historical research. In its simplest form we call it the method of working from the known to the unknown; with more accurate qualification, it is the method of working from that period which gives fulness of evidence step by step backward, until, through the knowledge thus acquired, we are enabled to interpret more accurately and comprehensively the evidence, obscure and constantly decreasing in amount, which meets us as we draw near the times which are relatively unknown. The conception of historical development is the basis of the method, and yet it is, in a sense, the exact opposite of the historical method, for it traces the subject *back* from the circumstances of a fuller growth to the germs whence it came. Much depends on the thoroughness with which this method is used, the period of time which it covers, and the temperament of the scholar who is using it. The advantages of the method are: 1. It will serve as a useful check to results gained from the often over-strained theory of a gradual process. 2. It will conduce to greater conservatism and accuracy in the expression of an opinion, and greater thoroughness in the consultation of evidence, inasmuch as there will be removed from among the influences acting upon the student that subtle force which comes from too firm a belief in a law of progress. 3. It will throw much light upon texts and terms at present obscure and wrongly interpreted; and, 4. It will do a useful work in bringing into the early life a sense of reality which is greatly needed.

The fourth method can hardly be said to have gained, as yet, such a scientific position that its exact benefits for history can be justly measured. In its application it embraces all the ancillary sciences, philology, craniology, archæology, and folk-lore, and of these the last named is of the most recent development. Comparative grammar, as yet, can hardly be described as a science. Craniology touches the

tumulus, grave, cave, and barrow, as well as surviving ethnological types. Archaeology has to do chiefly with the outward evidences of human activity in early times, utensils, weapons, ornaments, structures of wood, brick, or stone. Folk-lore concerns itself with lingering fossilized customs in peasant and local life.

"In drawing a conclusion regarding the results of a use of these four methods, it seems impossible to deny that their influence will be beneficial, not only to history, but to the historian. The scholar will not need to lose cautiousness and judgment in gaining breadth, he will not become a pedant in narrowing his field of special study and in thoroughly understanding it, he will not lose sight of the law of development by reversing the natural processes of thought in working from the known to the unknown, he will not have cut loose from the moorings of scientific study in recognizing the possibilities of the associate sciences in furnishing material for his work; while over and above all there will, nay must, arise a broader sympathy, a spirit of fraternalism, a readier willingness to discard dogmatism, and to co-operate with all others in the development of an interest in, and a truer conception of, the science of history."

CONCEPTIONS OF A FUTURE LIFE. By the Ven. ARCHDEACON FARRAR (*The North American Review*).—The question dealt with is the general question of the Immortality of the Soul, and the bare conceivability of any incorporeal existence. Joubert sums up philosophy in this sentence: "Je, d'où, où, pour comment, c'est toute la philosophie; l'existence, l'origine, le lieu, le fin, et les moyens." A German philosopher wrote: "I know not whence I am, I know not whence I came, I know not whither I am going; I wonder that I am so merry." We *have* bodies, but we *are* souls, we say. But the materialist tells us that our bodies are our total—ourselves. We began with them, and with them we shall end, in dust. As for the things which we are pleased to call "our souls," they assure us that they are mere delusions and nonentities. Voltaire argued that the soul is only an "abstraction réalisée." Two thousand years ago Pherecrates had demonstrated to his own satisfaction "that the soul is nothing whatever; that it is a mere empty name; that there is neither mind nor soul either in man or beast; that the force by which we act or feel is equally diffused through the whole body, is inseparable from the body, and is, in fact, nothing whatever but the body pure and simple."

But the separate existence of the soul has been as much the absolute conviction of the supremest intellects which have shone upon the world as of the humblest and most illiterate peasant. The *cogito, ergo sum* of Descartes is unanswerable. All mankind, except perhaps one in every ten millions, will admit that we *have* souls, and that essentially we *are* souls. But what is the soul? Heathen philosophy had nothing but the merest empiricism to offer in its solution. Only the supremest of the philosophers, especially Plato and Aristotle, saw that there was a clear distinction between the merely animal and nutritive life and the true life by which we live. There is a reason (*vous*) beyond and above anything that exists in the animal which, though subject to temporary influences, is Divine, pre-existent, active, determining, and immortal. The uneasiness which haunts the minds of most men is lest the soul, after all, should prove to be only an inseparable function of the body. If the soul were but the body, how would memory be possible? It cannot be said that *our bodies* remember, for they change—every particle of them—in some seven years.

Yet even when we are thoroughly convinced that the soul is something wholly apart from the body, and the body only its machine, its instrument, its house of clay, it may seem to us so strange that it could act or feel apart from this machine and

house, that the possibility of its immaterial existence may appear to be inconceivable. This difficulty would only apply for Christians to the period between death and the resurrection of the body, in which they believe. But how can we conceive that the soul can live when separated from the body? The following considerations may make it seem less difficult: 1. No one believes in a corporeal Deity; but if God is a Spirit, why does the spirit of man, which is a particle of Divine air, and an effluence of His glory, require of necessity a material embodiment? 2. Why has this difficulty been regarded as practically non-existent, alike by heathens as by Christians, if it were a thing naturally inconceivable by us? The human race in general has spontaneously and instinctively assumed that the soul, as a simple and uncompounded substance, is naturally immortal. 3. The difficulty has, however, led to the theory known as "conditional immortality," and to the doctrine of Metempsychosis, and to the Protestant notion of Psychopannychia, or the sleep of the soul between death and resurrection. 4. If the Church has looked askance at this theory, there is at least no difficulty about the theory of Rudolph Wagner. Carl Vogt had argued against the independent existence of the soul because "physiology sees in psychical activities nothing but functions of the brain"—a doctrine which results in the conclusion that man is what he *eats*," and therefore eating and drinking are his highest human functions! In answer to this Wagner urges "that the transplanting of the soul into another portion of the universe may be effected as quickly and easily as the transmission of light from the sun to the earth; and in like manner the same soul may return at a future epoch and be provided with a new bodily integument."

But it is not possible either to prove or to explain. We do what is a higher act of our nature—we *believe*. We may argue with St. Thomas Aquinas that the soul being immaterial must be immortal, since a pure form cannot destroy itself, nor through the dissolution of a material substratum be destroyed; and that the soul must be immaterial, since it is capable of thinking the universal, whereas, if it were a form inseparable from matter, it could only think the individual. But if a man cannot grasp or cannot accept this reasoning, there is nothing shocking in that sort of agnosticism which admits that "what we know is little, what we are ignorant of is immense." It is not unaided nature which teaches us the existence, the immortality of the soul. It is the light which lighteth every man who is born into the world. It is the voice of God in the soul of man.

EDUCATION IN ANCIENT EGYPT. By Professor C. G. HEBERMANN, Ph.D. (*The American Catholic Quarterly Review*).—To the brute animal nature makes a free gift of its intellectual outfit, if we may use the term. From birth instinct guides it in all its doings. Man, on the contrary, is not only born helpless and ignorant, but for the development of his physical and intellectual powers he is dependent on others. Most of the knowledge which instinct teaches brutes comes to man from without. Education, therefore, is one of man's necessities; even the lowest savage must educate his children after his fashion. What was education among the Egyptians, probably the oldest civilized nation of the world? By education is meant school-education, the training of children and youth in reading, writing, arithmetic, and whatever other branches they may study, to fit them for their life-work. The invention of writing seems to be a pre-requisite to school-education; but this cannot be laid down as an absolute rule, for Cæsar tells us that the Celts of Gaul and Britain had their Druidic schools, in which writing was absolutely forbidden, though they used the Greek alphabet in business affairs, both public and private. Conversely, it is safe to say that usually the invention of writing leads to the establishment of

schools; and we therefore look for the earliest schools among the Egyptians and Babylonians, since both these nations were in possession of the art of writing even at the time when history first introduces them to us.

Since the decipherment of the hieroglyphics, our knowledge of Egyptian history is based mainly on what the monuments and papyri found in Egypt by thousands have revealed to us. These have thrown even more light on the life and manners of the inhabitants of the Nile Valley than on their political fortunes. Among the papyri that have been translated are school-books, school-exercises, corrections of exercises by teachers, a collection of arithmetical and geometrical problems, besides incidental statements elucidating the methods and progress of education in Egypt. The Egyptians had both elementary and higher schools. Temple schools were established at Heliopolis, Memphis, and Thebes; and institutions of less importance were found in the larger cities of the kingdom. The temple schools included an elementary course, but their fame was based on the excellence with which they taught the higher studies. Maspéro tells us that there were district or ward schools (elementary) in the large cities. Probably, the elementary schools are as old as the new empire (about 1100 B.C.), when demotic writing makes its appearance. To these schools the boy was sent when from six to eight years of age. He was dressed in the airiest of garments, a bracelet on his arm and an amulet around his neck, and perhaps a girdle. Girls, apparently, were not sent to school. Learning to read Egyptian was no simple matter. Instead of our twenty-six letters, the Egyptians had several hundred signs. Some of these stood for single letters, some for syllables, some for whole words. Sometimes one sign had several values; sometimes different signs had the same value; and certain signs were not to be read at all—they served to indicate in what sense the word before which they stood was to be taken. The writing taught in the primary school was demotic: it was a simplification of the hieratic, which in turn was a simplification of the original hieroglyphs. The boy did not write on papyrus, it was too dear. The copy was set for him on a wooden tablet, or on a slate. He himself used a thin wooden tablet, covered with white or red stucco; he wrote with a reed, or painted with a brush. Plato's description of the way in which arithmetic was taught reads like an anticipation of the kindergarten. "In Egypt systems of calculation have been actually invented for the use of children, which they learn as a pleasure and an amusement. They have to distribute apples and garlands, adapting the same number either to a larger or less number of persons, and they distribute pugilists and wrestlers, as they follow one another, or pair together by lot. Another mode of amusing them is by taking vessels of gold, and brass, and silver, and the like, and mingling them, or distributing them without mingling." The elementary course lasted for three or four years, and the teachers were educated scribes, generally well advanced in years. Two roads led to the scribeship—the temple schools and private instruction.

In the temple schools the boy was examined at the close of his elementary course, before being admitted to higher studies. These lasted till his sixteenth year, and included the hieratic and hieroglyphic characters. Some of the reading books have been preserved and translated. The oldest of these, "The Precepts of Ptah-hotep," is also a part of the oldest book in the world, and they include teachings on morality. Other ethical works belong to the Twelfth and Twentieth Dynasties. The Egyptians seem to have had no idea of history, not even of chronicle writing. Narratives, formerly regarded as historical, are now pronounced to be romance by all Egyptian scholars. But narrative composition was taught, and also poetic literature, especially lyric poetry in the form of hymns. These things not only served as

readers, but were learned by heart and copied, and they served as models in the higher course of composition. Singularly enough, grammar formed no part of the course. It does not appear that the Egyptians were acquainted with the elements of grammar.

How far did the Egyptians carry arithmetic and mathematics in general? There remains but a single book on the arithmetic and geometry of the Egyptians: it is the well-known Rhind papyrus in the British Museum, called also, after its translator and explainer, the Eisenlohr papyrus. To-day it would be entitled "Problems and Solutions." It starts with fractions, which it deals with in a clever but most roundabout way. It does not grapple with any geometrical theorems.

The scope of the temple schools was more extensive than that of our grammar schools and colleges. Their programme included professional education also. Clement of Alexandria (2nd century) gives an analysis of the so-called forty-two canonical books of the Egyptians. Their names are derived from the different grades of the Egyptian hierarchy, and the books themselves sum up all the learning of the Egyptian priests and their schools. All the sciences were taught. Medicine was probably taught in separate professional schools. Law, religion, astronomy, geography, engineering, form part of the curriculum; and also the fine arts, music, drawing, architecture, sculpture, &c.

The temple schools were open to every Egyptian youth. Neither the scribes nor the priests formed a hereditary caste. Still we must not imagine that the children of the lower classes formed a large proportion of the students in the temple schools of Memphis and Thebes, of On and Khemm. Education was too expensive to warrant such a view. These schools were boarding schools, and boarding schools, even to-day, make heavy demands on the father's purse. Sometimes, however, day scholars were admitted to the temple schools. The schools were but parts of the temples, and the teaching in a manner must have been looked upon as a part of worship. The teachers were priests; and the schools were necessary to the State. Without them the government could find neither competent judges nor able engineers and architects, not to speak of physicians to heal or embalm them, and artists to glorify their exploits.

"That so far back in remote antiquity, some four thousand or more years ago, there should have been schools at all surprises many who think the world's enlightenment began with the nineteenth century. That the sages of On and Thebes discovered and applied so many correct principles of pedagogy, claims the admiration of every thinking student of history and philosophy. They recognized the principles of progressiveness in instruction, and applied it to language teaching; they knew the advantage of teaching reading and writing simultaneously, they had devised examinations as tests of knowledge, they keenly appreciated style, they had a judicious system of correcting compositions, they anticipated the principles of object-teaching and the kindergarten in their method of teaching arithmetic, they not only cultivated drawing and sculpture, but devised clever and progressive methods of instruction in those arts, and last, but not least, they taught their youth sound and wise principles of morals."

THE NATURE OF CHRIST'S AUTHORITY AS A LAWGIVER. By Rev. G. F. GENUNG, Suffield, Connecticut (*The Andover Review*).—The study of the method of our Saviour brings to light a significant analogy between what is called revealed truth and certain other classes of ideas which, though created outright by the human faculties, we nevertheless receive as established knowledge. It indicates that the

teaching which we call supernatural in origin may, nevertheless, be but the higher nature into which we grow by kinship with the Son of God, authenticating itself to us by what we have in common with it.

"He taught them as one having authority." The authority meant is the authority of a lawgiver or commander. The teacher impressed his audience as one who was conscious of a moral kingship, and right to be obeyed. He stood as it were at the very source from which obligation proceeds. It is as if the words which He spoke were finally true and compelling. This is the point towards which the present worth of all Scripture converges. As a progressive revelation its moral value and dignity at any point authenticates itself in proportion as it is in harmony with the clear utterances of Christ. The main value of Scripture to us is as a rule of faith and practice. But whereas in most parts of the Bible we have to transform the history, psalm, or prophecy into a rule by our own interpretative power in judging of its applicability to our conduct, here the perceptive authority is direct and final. One who speaks with authority tells us our duty. Observe the method of this Divine Teacher. We must, at the outset, divest ourselves of the prepossessions which we have inherited from centuries of religious history and worship, and assume in imagination the attitude of His audience in Galilee. We assume His heavenly rank, but the people who listened to Him felt no direct pressure of His Divine claims. There was a remarkable absence of personal assertion or display of credentials. He does not call on His hearers to believe because He says it, but because His message is true. And this is the true way to teach moral doctrine, even when it is proclaimed as by authority. People must gain an ownership of the truth, rather than be silenced by the awe of the promulgator. In the Sermon on the Mount Jesus simply opens His mouth and teaches. To the multitude He is nothing more nor less than a new teacher, and the power of His teaching to rule them is to be established by its own worthiness of acceptance. Truth which stands in its own strength is not careful to borrow cogency from logic. Indeed, its authority is not made stronger by any process of reasoning. As we consider this fact, we are prepared to understand another characteristic of the Saviour's method. He does not argue; He proclaims. He does not prove; He asserts. He deals in truth, rather than in what is called thought. Those truths sometimes seem to us the solidest which are most securely buttressed by reasoned proofs. But it is not the reasoning which makes a thing true. Reasoning is only the process by which it is communicated to us. It is the way of making truth common property. There stands the truth, created by God, eternally the same, and never to pass away. God does not reason; He sees. He does not have to infer one truth from another; it all lies open before Him. That we should have to arrive at truth by laborious processes of inference and generalization is a mark of our finiteness and imperfection. There are truths which come to light only in the direct converse of the soul with eternal reality. The obedient heart sees them directly, and the only thing it can do to establish them is to commit itself to them, and transmute them into living experience. Of this character are the distinctive truths of the Sermon on the Mount. When men's hearts are in the right attitude towards God they will see, and not till then. Truths that are directly seen are none the less truths because a visible process of reasoning is not wrought into them. They are all the more important and exalted for their very simplicity of self-evidencing power. But such knowledge does not appear valid to others, except through the same process of personal intuition. To verify or prove a thing is to find something else that is of the same rank, or several things of the same rank, from which that truth is inferred.

Our science is but generalized truth founded on the facts of experience. But there are truths which rise above all equality of rank with the common facts of life. The highest truths are incommunicable by reasoning. They must be seen and known directly. The words of the Sermon on the Mount stand in the strength of their own self-evidencing power. Let them once be clearly seen and proclaimed, and the hearer who is honest and obedient in heart knows them to be self-evidencing truths. Our Lord appeals to the conscience of each one who hears Him, and He knows that sooner or later all will agree with Him. This is the kind of authority by which He speaks. It is authority proceeding from God. But it has the indorsement of all that is most like God in ourselves. He who commands most truly, therefore, is he who testifies most clearly of the nature of the truest manhood; he is really a witness to the facts of our highest selves. It is, therefore, as a witness that Jesus speaks, even when uttering the words of a lawgiver. But He is a peculiar kind of witness. He is a witness who derives confirmation from our assent. He speaks as witness to an inward truth which our conscience can and must verify when we attain to the point of view for it. And He offers us the means of attaining to that spiritual elevation where we may see for ourselves. We must take Him and His message together; we are to judge by independent sanctified judgment of the worthiness of His doctrines to be received as Divine truth.

It is not doing dishonour to God to try and see His truth for ourselves. Our reason was given us to use. Our reason has not acquiesced nor really believed until it has come to see for itself. Christ would have us know, by the higher intuitive knowledge, that which He knows. To believe in Christ, in its higher sense, is to be in that state of obedience to God in which we shall see that He is the truth. Deriving of power from the assent of the hearer is still authority. To insist on seeing and knowing the truth for ourselves is not to say that there is no such thing as authority, or that we ourselves are the final deciders of the truth. There is always a place for religious authority in the world, however intelligent and rational the human race may become. The nature of the highest truth is such that only the purest, most inspired souls perceive it originally, and these not by dialectic skill, but by insight and devotion. These become prophets, and proclaim that truth for others, who in turn see it as they become spiritually developed to its level. The Saviour, who is the inspirer—who is that higher man in complete oneness with the eternal truth—is the perfect exponent of truth, the Word of God.

The contrast of such authority which insists on suggesting itself to our mind is the contrast of science. But the difference between religion and science is simply a difference in the subject-matter in each case. There is a science of morals and of religion, because there are subjective facts in the movement of our conscience and spirit which admit of being classified and presented as ordered knowledge. Religious or ethical knowledge concerns itself with what ought to be, or is coming to be, in our higher selves. It is the science of that which does not exist, except as humanity creates it by sonship to God. Religious truth has its parallel in the truths of æsthetical science. Take the science and the art of music. "In this we find laws of harmony and of form that are authoritative. It is a science, but it is the science of an art. That which those laws regulate is a pure creation of the soul of man. There is nothing in nature like the harmonies which genius has created; no analogy of birds or thunder-tones has sufficed to teach them to the soul. But no genius can create arbitrarily. These harmonies and measured sequences seem like the deepest and truest voice of nature; we call them excellent in proportion as they appear to be the spontaneous expression of pure emotion." The author of these artistic creations

has not simply willed something of his own arbitrary impulse, he has listened obediently to an inner voice; and yet he is found by students of acoustics to have been working in obedience to certain well-defined mathematical laws. A musical genius who creates great works of art becomes an authority, and inspires a school of followers. It is that which is creative in him, that which he has derived from direct sympathy with higher nature, which is his distinction, and which makes him an authority for the future.

In unmusical or other fine arts, those who by training, and without creative genius, have put themselves in the way of understanding and interpreting works of art, become themselves authorities in artistic learning. They are the scribes of art. They establish a reign not of insight, but of pedantry. They make authority too arbitrary. In pinning themselves to precedents, they lose sight of nature. They do not encourage independent expression of beauty; they only establish slavery to the past. Then by-and-by a genius comes, breaks loose from the bondage of pedantry, which artificially cramps his individuality, and comes back to nature. He becomes a new authority in his turn.

Revealed truth is simply the progressively dawning faith of the sons of God. It is by authority that it naturally propagates itself. In the realm of religious truth the perfect Son of God has come to show us the Father, and make us joint heirs with Him. He has revealed and embodied the truth once for all; and our advance in truth is simply coming to be truly one with Him. His authority, therefore, is final, but it is not arbitrary; for it is the authority of our own higher nature, our own restored spiritual sanity.

CURRENT GERMAN THOUGHT.

THE PLACE OF AUTHORITY IN MATTERS OF FAITH AND DOCTRINE. By DR. KÜBEL, Tübingen (*Neue Kirchl. Zeitschr.*, 1898. No. 1).—Dr. Kübel fills the chair once occupied by Beck, one of the greatest Biblical theologians of the century, and belongs to the same school of thought. The paper is one of the many indications of the attitude which the Lutheran Church is taking up towards the new Ritschlian views. Most of the positions controverted, explicitly or tacitly, are those of the new school. We give a few points in the essay.

After an elaborate exposition of the way in which human life under all its aspects is built up on authority—an authority compatible with freedom—the writer goes on to say that there is no such thing as a mere inward subjective authority, just as there is no merely outward one. "Every authority is something positive, and, although working upon man, is still in itself something standing over against man." It is something outside us, due to another will, claiming our adhesion; we can only accept or refuse it. The issue at stake in religion is the gain or loss of eternal life. "It is the merest Utopia to make man live in any respect on that which he has and is in himself alone. His moral life especially rests, as every one admits, on the influences of education. Moral life arises only when person acts on person, and I, who am acted on, must have clearly before me as a distinct existence the person acting on me. This, therefore, cannot be a mere self-produced objectifying of what has taken place in myself, but it must actually exist independently of me,

and therefore attest itself to me as positively and objectively existing. What importance these thoughts have for the whole doctrine of religion and revelation is obvious. It is to us quite inconceivable how men can so often make the subjective side in the order of these ideas the principal one. It often seems as if to certain theological views Almighty God were nothing but man's *conception* of God produced necessarily in this or that way, instead of the latter being merely the product, the echo of God's objective revelation of Himself. And in Christology the same thing is to be observed. A person who is yet objective and historical is said by many theologians to be merely that which the experience, feeling, or thought of men producea."

One means by which it is attempted to get rid of the authority of the New Testament writers is by asserting that we have precisely the same knowledge and experience of Christ which the apostles and evangelists had. If, it is argued, we know Christ as directly as Paul and John did, we do not need their authority. How is this consistent with the historical character of Christianity? "The experience which we have, *i.e.*, all post-Apostolic Christians, of God's revelation in Christ is not entirely the same, not of the same rank as that of the first Christian witnesses, for it is entirely dependent on the latter. The present form of Christianity is not altogether on a level with its first form, else Christianity would not be a historic religion; at least the period of its foundation would not be a period of revelation proper, governing and illuminating all, and the person of Jesus Christ would not be absolutely unique. And as there has been but one Christ, so there has been but one company of apostles. No single man of God in eighteen centuries, not even a Luther, has reached their height and depth in the knowledge of Christ. Why? Because none, like the apostles, has seen Jesus at once with the bodily and the spiritual eye; and if the historical Christ stands alone, so His time stands alone. The Christian present is the effect of that past—it carries the latter within itself as its causal principle; but this effect is not the absolutely adequate product of the causal past—this only the last period of the future will be. When this appears, then an identity, so to speak, of the present and past will take effect, because then we shall see Christ."

If, then, the Christianity of the present has to gain its knowledge and experience of Christ through the testimony of the first witnesses, that testimony becomes to us a unique authority. This is conceded in the same sense in which authority is conceded to historical accounts in general, but no more. "This testimony and these writings are said to have nothing to do with the authority which we receive as a divine, specific, spiritual authority, when we surrender ourselves in faith to the God and Christ spoken of in this testimony." "The view maintained by the Ritschl school declares the religious experience of the Christian dependent on the New Testament word, but on this merely as a historical testimony about Christ; properly, historical rank can only be claimed by the synoptics, and even these are to be sifted through the critical sieve. Now, this testimony is said to place before me an image of the historical Christ, which certainly gives no quite distinct, or detailed, incontestable historical features; for the properly historical, as such, has no directly religious value, and so many followers of this school incline to take the exalted Christ, or the Church-Christ, as the one we experience; but this image makes a characteristic impression on the whole, generally stated in the phrase 'revelation of the love of God.' This impression is said to have as its immediate result an inner experience of the very person of Christ, and therewith a conviction of the love of God guaranteed by this Person and His work. This, of course, cannot mean that I have actually before my eyes the historical Christ as He was and acted; for as to any particular question I have no guarantee that criticism

will not rob the Christ-image of this or that feature. Rather the Christ whom I experience is, we will not say a misty, but an extremely indefinite figure, of which I can just say: Everything He was and did, whatever becomes of outward facts and circumstances, was the fulfilment of a calling, the revelation of the love of God and neighbours, and so the founding of God's kingdom. But then the synoptists unite in explicitly ascribing to the historical Jesus a series of features which do not agree with what this school regards as the really historical Christ and true Christianity, *e.g.*, the future kingdom of God. A theology which rejects or disparages this view of the future must look on much in the picture of the historical Jesus as mere fable. Whence, then, do the advocates of this school get their picture of the historical Christ? They get it simply from the contents of present-day Christianity, *i.e.*, from that which they alone have and know in their own experience as Christianity. It other living Christians declare that their experience includes more—*e.g.*, what agrees with synoptic Christianity—they are simply pushed aside with no very flattering remarks; Christianity can be nothing more than what they themselves possess of religion. Is not this pure subjectism, or, in Luther's phrase, fanaticism? And is not the New Testament word degraded into a mere outward channel of what were possible even without the New Testament? At least in all this there is no question of authority in the New Testament word."

The writer defines the orthodox position as follows: "Over against the modern views just described positive theology asserts the authoritative position of the word of the original witnesses of revelation in the sentence: the same is God's Word. That is to say, the testimony about revelation does not stand to the latter in a mere outward relation, as a human narrator does to the facts he relates." Every true historian is, of course, deeply interested in his subject; and this interest will give him a sort of inspiration for his task. "But the great distinction of the New Testament accounts from others is that their subject is *Divine*, and the living influence issuing from it, the Spirit filling its genuine witnesses, will not coalesce, as is the case with other authors, with any sort of human impurity. A Xenophon, depicting Socrates in his *Memorabilia*, is not full of a holy enthusiasm for his subject, which keeps all possible imperfection at a distance, and the man he describes is certainly not a saint. On the other hand, in the New Testament, the Holy One of God, καὶ ἑξ ὧν, is the theme; and men speak here who saw His glory as none else did, and as often as they speak of it they breathe its life-giving air, men who felt like none else a hallowing influence which elevated and purified both will and perception, and feel it anew when they reproduce His image and His truth. Even to-day, when one of us as teacher or preacher has to testify of Jesus, he will seek, under the influence of Christ's Spirit, to keep himself clear, not merely of *pia fraus*, but of mere human wisdom and foreign ideas, whether his own or others. And this he will succeed in doing in proportion as his work is really Christian, *i.e.*, unselfish. And must not this have been the case in the first witnesses of Christ, who were commissioned to give the Gospel to the world in a way and degree far transcending this analogy of ours? This was the case. We do not assert this merely on *a priori* grounds, but state it as simple matter of experience, that in their word God and Christ speak to us; how much of the word of the New Testament authors the theologian acknowledges as the word of such witnesses of Christ is nothing to the point; some words he must admit as genuine, else he is no evangelical theologian. . . . The difference between our view and that of the Ritschl school may perhaps be thus stated: according to the latter, it is the inward experience which I feel that makes me wise to salvation; according to our view, it is the Word experienced by me, and only this, by its own power, that makes me wise to salvation.

In brief, the Word is to us a positive and objective authority. It is in itself full of Divine force. Our inward experience is merely the effect and echo of what the Word has in itself. Certainly the Divine force of the Word must be experienced and so confirmed, and only thus can it happen that the Word becomes to me and my life the real authority in religion and morals; for this always depends on my inward acknowledgment. But I thus acknowledge a majesty which exists apart from my experience. I bow before a divinity belonging to this Word in and of itself, and attesting itself irresistibly to me as something far above my own and all other experience, and utterly independent of me, and which finally is in itself what it is, and has itself to declare what it is, and therefore must be accepted as God's Word."

Dr. Kübel also discusses the modern claim only to admit as Divine in Scripture what commends itself to or is confirmed by our experience. "The modern view advances the position: what is not inwardly attested in my conscience, my religious feeling is nothing, *i.e.*, has no Divine authority for me; many would omit 'for me,' and deny altogether the Divinity of what *they* have not experienced to be Divine." Even an orthodox divine, like Gess, makes some astonishing statements in his posthumous work to this effect. The writer comments thus: "We cannot absolutely prescribe to the individual beforehand that he shall at once receive this or that in the Bible or the whole Bible beforehand as God's Word by a simple faith in authority. This sort of legal attitude to Holy Scriptures is utterly foreign to us modern theologians of the positive Biblical school. This only we rightly ask of every member of the Church, that he do not treat irreverently the book which his Church declares its most sacred possession, but at least learn from it, and submit to its influence without prejudice. Now, we know that if he has a sense of truth and religious earnestness, especially if he is a penitent sinner, he will be so seized by some Bible saying that through it God will speak to him. What word this will be we cannot say beforehand; it may be a single utterance (*e.g.*, a saying of Jesus) or a whole section, even a whole book which so acts on him. . . . Now, let us take an Old Testament prophetic book, or an apostolic one, the Epistle to the Romans, and suppose we have no reason to question the claim which the authors make to be acknowledged as prophets and apostles; on the contrary, the *fides humana* is entirely for us. Moreover, the *fides divina* is added in the way described; clearly from these two data important consequences follow as to our entire attitude to the Scripture in question as a whole. As to the doctrine, an advance from particulars to the whole here takes place. If a single passage—*e.g.*, the parable of the Prodigal—has seized us as God's Word, it acquires for us not merely religious but intellectual value, we *must* from it obtain certain doctrines about God and man, and these become certain to us as fixed truths. Advancing from book to book in this way, we arrive at a number of doctrines which become a standard to us. Finally, we find that the Biblical writings are connected together, and allude to one another; we find especially that the New Testament men of God treat the Old Testament, in parts and as a whole, as God's Word. Take the Sermon on the Mount. This has one of the strongest statements respecting the Divine and eternal validity of the Old Testament, and it is quite impossible to sever this from the rest of Christ's teaching as unessential and 'foreign.' We must therefore accept the acknowledgment of the Divine authority of the Old Testament as an essential constituent of the teaching of Jesus. And thus, despite the fact that all Old Testament books do not directly make the claim to Divine or prophetic authority, the Old Testament, as a whole, acquires for us the position of a book to which we owe the reverence due to God's Word." This, of course, only applies to the Old Testament as a whole, and decides nothing about particular parts.

"And yet what has been said at least proves that it is an attitude of reverence which we owe to everything in Scripture. Let us make this clear, in opposition to modern theological methods, by some New Testament writings. We hold the Epistle to the Romans with unqualified certainty, on internal and external grounds, as a Pauline writing, and therefore a writing composed by a chosen servant of Christ in his apostolic calling with the intention and power attending the preaching of eternal truth; and we have without doubt felt this Divine power in the words of this epistle. If this epistle is an apostolic work, containing God's word, it would be a sin in us to treat anything in this epistle disrespectfully. But it would be such treatment on our part if we declared expositions, which the apostle undoubtedly delivered as part of his official message, to be views springing from Paul's former Pharisaism, or to be of such a character that their authority for us is null. As is well known, this is asserted by many modern theologians of some of the chief Pauline doctrines, in the last resort of the entire orthodox doctrine of atonement. The case is the same with the Gospel of John. Whoever, as we do, accepts it as Johannine, can never allow that his Logos-doctrine, his Christology with the clearly-taught pre-existence, &c., is not binding on us. For that this doctrine to John himself was quite essential and central—nay, one of the decisive criteria of Christianity, is undeniable. Who am I, without the revelations and experiences of John, I who owe to the apostles of Jesus Christ all the knowledge of the truth I have, that I should presume to declare unessential a doctrine which a John declared central? The contradiction of theological views, going down into the depths of the religious position, always comes to the surface most clearly in the question respecting 1 Cor. xv. It is absolutely unintelligible to us how any one can assert, while denying the bodily resurrection of Christ and our own hereafter, that he occupies the same religious position as Paul. Paul himself asserts exactly the opposite; are we then wiser, better than he? He would certainly reject the proffered hand of such Christians more energetically than Luther did Zwingle's; whoever follows Paul must do the like."

The writer thus replies to those who bring against his position the reproach of a legal literal spirit. "Bengel and his school, especially Beck and his followers, least merit such a reproach. Is there no law but that of the outward letter? Is the 'law of the Spirit' no 'law' at all? Or is 'law' here a mere empty phrase? Now, we take the Biblical word as a law of the Spirit. What does this involve? We stand before the word of Scripture as the Divine authority of our faith, life, and knowledge, with feelings of reverence, trust and grateful love, but reverence is first. We not merely feel, but know, that He who speaks here as the Lord of our life stands high above us, and therefore has an unqualified right to be believed, and that on this account man must assent to this word, by which the Lord reveals to him eternal life, whether he at once understands it or not, whether it is attested to his own spirit, as the phrase is, or not." "It is the Lord's word, the word of the Father."

THE IMPRECATORY PSALMS IN A NEW ASPECT. By PASTOR A. BARWASSER, Merklingen, Württemberg (*Neue Kirchl. Zeitschr.*, 1898, No. 8).—Psalms of this character are by no means rare. Some bear this character throughout (lviii., lix., cix., cxxvii.), others partially (cxxxix., &c.). In some cases the psalm takes the form of a prayer, in others of an affirmation (xciv. 28, &c.), in others the effect is already seen in spirit (liv. 7).

First, two passages of exceptional severity are referred to. One is lix. 11. A prayer for lingering destruction seems strange, and would contradict ver. 18. The writer therefore accepts an emendation of De Wette, "Pity them not" instead of

"Slay them not." The other is cix. 6-15, which, it is argued, are the words of enemies. Such quotations occur, xxxv. 21, xlii. 8, xli. 8. The change from the plural to the singular is noticeable. In ver. 5 the Psalmist says, "They rewarded me with hatred for *my love*"; it would be strange if this love turned all at once into the opposite. In ver. 4 he speaks of praying. Does his prayer continue in curses? In ver. 16 the Psalmist speaks again, and it is remarkable how naturally ver. 16 joins on to ver. 5. It is true that in ver. 16 the Psalmist speaks of his enemies in the singular, one probably representing the body. And if vers. 6-15 are taken as the words of the enemy, they are an excellent illustration of the "mouth of the wicked" and "words of hatred" in vers. 2, 8.

The ordinary apologies are then examined. It is not enough to refer to the imperfection of Old Testament morality, nor is there any hint that the imprecations are meant only for the utterly obdurate. Calvin alleges the regal position and authority of the Psalmist. This assumes the Davidic authorship, which is more and more limited in our days. And even in psalms of Davidic origin the expressions go beyond mere judicial utterances. Even if rulers punish, it should be with a reluctance, which is not always apparent here. As to the spirit in which punishment should be inflicted, there is no difference between rulers and subjects. Again, there is little resemblance between these psalms and prophetic threatenings. In the latter everything is objective; the Lord speaks; the prophet is His organ. Here the subjective is prominent; the speaker's feelings gush forth in lyric song. If it could be proved that the motive is zeal for God's honour, this would be a valid defence of a kind. Even then a zeal, which overlooked or excluded the possibility of the sinner's conversion, would be imperfect. We see, indeed, that the Psalmist connects his own cause with God's (lxix. 9, cxxx. 9, 21, cxix. 189, xlii. 10). Still, God's cause is not always the chief thought; sometimes it is not even mentioned; and simply to assume that it is the motive, because the Psalmist is one of God's people, is arbitrary. In short, the personal is far more prominent than the Divine. Another defence is that these Psalms are assertions of the Divine righteousness. Undoubtedly this truth is constantly emphasized. But what we have now to do with is, not the insistence on sin, guilt, and holiness, but the personal element. Righteousness is asserted in other than the imprecatory psalms, and in them the antithesis always is—God and the world, not—I and my foes. The Psalmist is speaking in his own case. When confessing his own sins, he invokes God's mercy; when denouncing the sins of his enemies, he invokes God's justice. Why such a distinction? Either both should be treated in the same way, or he should rather seek mercy for others and justice for himself. It will scarcely be held that his own sins were smaller than those of his enemies, or that different psalmists utter the two kinds of psalms. One and the same psalm often contains prayers of both kinds (vi., xxxv., xl.).

It would seem from all this that apology must be abandoned and the case given up. Is it so? Let us remember that there are many acts in the Old Testament which breathe the spirit of these psalms. In these cases we must distinguish between the spirit of the Jewish nation and the spirit of Divine revelation and its organs. God often rebukes His people for their crimes, and prophets often shame the Israelites by the virtues of the heathen. The crime of the Baal-priests, slain by Elijah, was high treason. Nor must it be forgotten on the other side that the germ of the New Testament love of enemies is already present in the Old Testament. See such passages as Exod. xxiii. 2; Lev. xix. 18; Ezek. xxxiii. 11; Job xxxi. 29; Prov. xxiv. 17; also Ps. vii. 4, xxxv. 12 ff., xxxviii. 20, li. 15, "that sinners may be converted unto thee."

Here we seem to have a contradiction. How are we to explain it? "I would put one question: How if the imprecations were not really such, but only seem to be?" This is not as strange as it may appear at first sight. Read Ps. xlv. 9 ff. to ver. 23, "Awake, why sleepest thou, O Lord?" This reminds us of Elijah's irony, with the difference that here all is deadly earnest. "But how these groans, issuing from the time of the Maccabean tribulation, are to be understood, who does not see?" How terrible are Lear's curses on his daughters! But we also remember the ingratitude of the daughters. Here there seems to be one key to the psalms in question. We must give full weight to the outrages of the enemy and the impression on the Psalmist's mind. "Let us make clear the effect on the heart. The understanding sees the danger, feeling is crushed and sad, the will seeks an outlet from these depths of woe. Deliverance,—deliverance from such perils—this wish fills his soul. 'Save me, help me, be not far from me, cast me not away,' how often this comes in the psalms! The longing for deliverance is the guiding motive in the imprecatory psalms. This is the Psalmist's aim in the first instance. Certainly he is grieved when God's honour is attacked; but he desires deliverance above all. And the desire for destruction? We may perhaps say, they state the means of deliverance. Yet this is not quite correct, for means suppose a choice, which however is excluded; but when we say provisionally 'means,' we must further ask, Why just these means? If he really knew no other means for his deliverance but the destruction of his enemies, why does he not leave it to God to carry out the deliverance in a gentler way? The reason is simply this: he is under the necessity of conceiving of his deliverance in this way by the destruction of his enemies; hence the imprecations are the form which the prayer for salvation assumes. Thus the expressions in regard to the destruction of his enemies, which have so ill a sound, are nothing but the deliverance vividly anticipated in spirit. The Psalmist cannot express himself otherwise."

In order to understand this we must observe the Psalmist's circle of ideas. He very often compares his enemies to the powers of nature and to wild beasts. There is no need to quote instances, they are so abundant. "In what connection do these conceptions stand with his desires for deliverance? He does not find himself, when using these images, in the position of free choice; and consequently his imprecations, strictly taken, are not to be regarded as issuing from free choice. It would therefore be utterly wrong to see in the comparisons a spontaneous play of free imagination, as if the Psalmist had just pleased to use these images, but that he might have omitted them. No, he could not but use these comparisons, for more than comparisons are in question. The foes he compares to rivers, the devouring earth, serpents, lions, &c., are not merely pictured by such parables, they really *are* this to him; of course, not in the gross sense of the word, as if the magic wand of Circe had touched them to his fancy, but in the sense that to his imagination the strength and rage of the ox or lion was embodied in the foe. Or the foe appears to him like a power of nature. But how is this possible? It may be that the affliction, aggravated by false friends and furious foes, burst with all violence upon him. The greatness of the anguish, that crushing feeling, exerts immense pressure on the power of imagination, the circle of ideas is narrowed. One idea stands there—a giant figure—other ideas sinking below the horizon: a monster, a lion, this the foe is to him. Shall he seek to win these powers which are inaccessible to all reason? Can the wild dogs change their mind? Now the bulls of Bashan surround him, lions are on the watch for him, a serpent glides with poisonous tongue. 'Break their teeth in their mouth;' such is the cry wrung from his breast. How could he speak otherwise, how else in such straits

frame his prayer for help? 'Destroy them and spare not!' Very intelligible is such a wish. Is the destruction of such powers, which are inaccessible to reason, to be regretted? And yet although we can understand such language in view of the difference between the two Testaments, a Christian poet cannot adopt it. Only exceptional circumstances can justify Milton's "Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints!"

The terrible passage, Ps. cxxxvii. 19, is explained in a similar way. The Psalmist's imagination is impressed with the deadly hate and wrong of Babylon and Edom. They said, "Rase it, rase it." The young generation has suffered with the old. "And now before the Psalmist's eye the time of suffering and exile stretches along. Like one hostile column behind another the future generation, still in childhood, stands before his mental vision, and in his excited state the remembrance of barbarous cruelties forces from him the cry, 'Happy, &c.'"

It may be objected that these psalms must have been composed either before or after feeling had reached its climax, and in this case the explanation from intense feeling falls to the ground. Not necessarily. Often in the height of danger the mind is clear and the heart cool. It is when the danger is past that imagination becomes active. "Then winged fancy comes with its vast creations, filling the soul with anguish and groans. So we conceive the Psalmist composing these psalms in the twilight of imaginative thought."

"Let us put a question to the writer of these psalms. We doubt not, we say to him, that, like Ezekiel, you believe that God has no pleasure in the death of the wicked; we have discovered in a psychological way how you expressed yourself as you have done, but we would ask you this, Why have you so emphasized this side of your inner life, why have you recorded such longings so often for the after-world? He will answer, He could not do otherwise, nor did he wish; his human will followed the Divine; for in these passages the absolute contrast between human frailty and God's power finds expression in grand style. *Deo soli gloria!* He is floating in a sea of troubles. There is no plank to hold by; in himself he has no strength, he must sink, he is alone, his friends have forsaken him, and his enemies, to whose good feeling he cannot of course appeal, he cannot even trust so far as to believe that they would rightly use their freedom if God sought to convert them. Like a nature-power, like an elementary force, they stand over against him; earthly things give him no help, from the heavenly alone he has to look for everything." The writer tells us how he had omitted this class of psalms from his public teaching, and that his attention was called to them by observing that the Anglican Church used them in its services, and that the Reformed Churches of the continent did not stumble at them. He also reminds us how in 1687 the Waldenses marched into Geneva, after fearful suffering, singing the seventy-fourth psalm.

THE MESSIANIC HOPE IN THE PSALTER. By Dr. BERNHARD STADE, Giessen (*Zeitschr. für Theol. u. Kirche*, 1892, No. 5).—Dr. Stade is a well-known leader of the Old Testament advanced school of criticism. The substitution of "Messianic hope" for "Messianic prediction" is intentional and significant. It is not denied that the idea of designed reference to a future Messiah is part and parcel of the old Jewish interpretation, though discarded by post-Christian Judaism, and also of the teaching of the Apostles and Jesus. It passed over from these sources to the Christian Church. Modern critics "derive and explain" Christ's holding the idea "from His human development." It is said to be not binding on us. The "typical Messianic interpretation" is dismissed as a compromise characteristic of a time of

transition. Having said enough to indicate the writer's standpoint, it will be useful to note the positive teaching of his able essay.

The starting-point is that the ruling idea in the days of Jesus was, not that of definite predictions, but that of the Messianic hope generally, *i.e.*, the expectation of a kingdom of God to be set up on earth which should redress all wrongs, and justify man's faith in God's wisdom and righteousness. "The faith that this kingdom of God, prepared in heaven, will soon appear on earth, keeps the people patient under the yoke of the law. It makes it possible for them to endure the conflict of faith with the real state of things." The primary feature of the Psalter, also, is not prediction, but the utterance of the Church's confidence and hope. They are primarily religious songs, sung in the daily service of the second temple, corresponding under this aspect to our hymns which express the substance of religious doctrine in the language of devotion. They are a reply to God's call through law and prophets. "In this case the question to be put is, not, Is a prediction of the Messiah to be found in this or that psalm? but, In the Psalter, in which the Church confesses its faith, do we find the confidence expressed that a great catastrophe is approaching which will introduce the Divine kingdom foretold by prophets?" "To the question thus stated the answer is, The piety which finds expression in the psalms just as much takes its character from the Messianic hope as that of New Testament days. It cherishes its faith in God and His government, it seals the world-wide calling of the Church, it is the Church's stay and staff in its pilgrimage through history. In its deep distress it cries to its God to fulfil His promises, and appear to judge the world. In the confident expectation of the latter it submits to the heathen's scorn of the idea of retribution. It becomes conscious of the unique greatness of its God, assured that one day every knee shall bow before Him. Hence the Messianic faith appears almost regularly in the liturgical worship of God. All temporal suffering is regarded as the final test which will precede revolution in the world's history, and bring about the glorifying of Israel. Hence the strain so often changes suddenly from complaint to rejoicing over the deliverance come. Nay, not a few psalms are transferred straight into the time of the kingdom, describes its blessings as the events by which it is ushered in. The history of the Messianic idea explains the fact that the figure of the Messianic King is not so prominent in the expectation as in New Testament days. Yet the expectation of the Messianic King finds in various ways most definite expression."

Dr. Stade then groups the psalms in classes according to the particular form which the Messianic idea takes in them, premising that his elaborate exposition is merely a selection from a rich field. Parallels are occasionally introduced from prophetic teaching, especially in its later form, which is said to be a "reproduction" of older prophetic ideas. "As much in prophecy is only put into a right light by comparison with the Psalms, so again it sheds rich light upon the Psalms."

1. The first group is that in which "the Messianic faith expresses itself in the form of a prayer or desire addressed to God that He would at last appear in judgment and bring to an end the suffering of the good." Psalms vii., xiii., xxii., xxxv., lvii., lix., lxxviii., lxxiv., lxxxiii., lxxxv., xc., xciv., cvi.-cix., cxv., cxliii., cxvii., cxxx., cxliv. belong to this class. "The longing in these Psalms is not always expressed with the same urgency. They differ also considerably in tone, according as, along with the prayer or desire, complaint of the suffering of the good, their trust in God, praise of God, or several of these lines of thought find expression. I therefore put first psalms which lament before God the suffering of the Church, and then psalms usually described as accusing psalms or prayers against foes. I intend to show that

they can only be understood in their full sense when the connection of the complaint and prayer with the Messianic faith is recognized."

The language of Ps. vii. is very clear. If the introduction (ver. 1) and the assertion of innocence (vers. 3-5) might be taken as the words of an individual, ver. 6 f. shows that in reality the affliction of the Church is meant. Jehovah is to deliver the Church by the general judgment (vers. 6, 7). Ver. 8 expresses the confidence that God will do this. The assertion of personal innocence (ver. 8) is said to be a mark of post-Exilic times. "It was a common practice from the days of Deutero-Isaiah to represent the relation of Israel, which keeps God's commands, to the heathen, who know them not, as a judicial trial which will end in the last judgment in Israel's favour" (Isa. iv. 9). "And if the words, 'Arise,' &c. (ver. 6), contain by reason of the connection in which they stand, a summons to Jehovah seated passively on His heavenly throne to arise and appear on earth to judgment, we may ask whether there is not an allusion to this in psalms which contain the same or a like summons without express reference to the last judgment?" It is significant also that Ps. vii. like Ps. xxxv. ends with praise of God's righteousness; cf. beginning and end in both cases.

"Ps. xxxv. shows that by reason of the Messianic hope the Church, despite its affliction, will not lose its hope in God, and on this account will not cease from His praise, for the prayer to God to come to judgment is followed by the lament of the Church over its wretched state and the outrage and scorn it has to endure. On the other hand, Ps. xxii., in which also the prayer for the beginning of the last judgment, confidence in God's help, and lament over present suffering stand side by side, advances from complaint to prayer. From the deepest anguish the Church cries to its God, who hears it not. It reminds Him of His dealings with the fathers, and depicts the hopeless state in which it now is. Then follows the prayer (vers. 19-21). But vers. 22 ff. at once pass to praise of God, who has helped the oppressed one and heard his cry. Vers. 26, 27 express the confidence that the oppressed will enjoy the blessings of the Messianic kingdom, and the expectation of the conversion of the heathen, for 'the kingdom is the Lord's, and He rules over the heathen'" (ver. 29). Of Ps. lxxxv. it is said, "It is peculiar, and puts the Messianic sense of this psalm beyond doubt, that the prayer starts from the fact that Jehovah has brought the exile to an end (vers. 1 ff.), which denotes, according to prophetic teaching, the beginning of the Messianic kingdom, and that he appeals to the Divine promises (ver. 8), draws from them the assurance of rejoicing (ver. 9), and concludes with a description of the approach of the Messianic kingdom and its blessings." An analysis of the other psalms reveals the presence of the same elements—complaint, prayer for the judgment, confidence, praise—in varying order and proportion. Ps. cxliv. is of special interest. "In it we meet for the first time with a psalm in which the expectation of a king of the Messianic kingdom of David's house is inserted in the Messianic hope. For if God snatches David His servant (ver. 10) from the evil sword, David is to be interpreted, as in the prophetic passages (Ezek. xxxiv. 23 f., Hosea iii. 5) of the Messianic king of David's house. A parallel in substance is Zech. ix. 9. The Messianic King enters Zion on an ass's foal as Prince of peace after His righteousness has been demonstrated by the victory bestowed on Him by God."

2. The last instance leads on to a second group, in which is found "the specific prayer for the restoration of the Davidic royal house, i.e., the appearance of the Messianic King" (Psalms xviii., lxxii., lxxxix., cxxii.). In Ps. cxxxi. the Church still misses the ruler of David's race who is to restore its ancient glory, and reminds God of David's merits in founding the temple. In ver. 8 also it prays the Lord to

enter His temple, the signal for the beginning of Messiah's kingdom. Ps. lxxxix. also appeals to the promises once given to David. Nevertheless, God has cast off David's house (vers. 89-96). This also is the fate of the Church (ver. 47). The Messianic Psalm (xviii.) also ends with the expectation of David's house being restored. "The objections against ver. 50 belonging to the psalm seem to be of little importance, and for us, who are studying the Psalter, they do not come into account." "The supplication for the king and his government, which we find in Ps. lxxii., cannot well be applied to a historical king, unless we suppose that his government was expected to grow into the Messianic kingdom, which is at least not impossible, considering the vivid character of the emotions, to which other psalms also bear witness. The expectations, however, connected with the rule of this king, rather suggest the Messianic King, and a comparison with Isa. ix. 1 ff., and especially xi. 1 ff., confirm this. . . . A prophetic parallel to ver. 8 is Zech. ix. 10; to ver. 9 ff., Isa. xviii."

8. A similar group is that in which "faith in the Messianic future is expressed without a direct prayer to God to introduce it. The same modifications occur as in the former cases." Psalms lx., lxx., lxxv., lxxvii., xcvi., cli., cxlii., cxxxv., cxxxviii., cxl., cxlix., belong to this class. In psalms of complaint in this group the Messianic hope appears as the comfort raising the Church above the misery of the present; in psalms of praise and thanksgiving it is the ground of praise (see the first in Psalms cli., cxl., lx., lxx.; the second in cxxxv., lxxv.). In Ps. cxlii., the first of the Hallel-Psalms (cxlii.-cxlviii.), the Messianic reference is less clear. "Yet the older expositors, with Hengstenberg, were perhaps right in interpreting vers. 7-9 in a Messianic sense; only here there is no prophecy, but the expression of the Church's faith." Isa. lxxv. 6 supplies a commentary on Ps. cxlix. The analysis given of this group does not present many special features.

"The psalms hitherto considered prove that the Church is inclined to look at the situation in which it is found, its political and social state, in the light of the Messianic hope. It regards the affliction under which it groans as a stage to its glorification; it expects deliverance from the affliction from the revolution in the world's history which will begin with the Divine judgment; and it has the feeling that the catastrophe, the wrath of God, will cease any moment. All this means that the Messianic hope is the foremost religious interest. But this sense of the Messianic hope is still more plainly evinced by a number of psalms which merely allude to it in general expressions without directly formulating it. Expositors usually mistake the meaning of these psalms in finding in them a prayer for help or the expression of confidence in God's help; they overlook that in them the reference is not to Divine help in general, but to a quite definite kind of help, the help Israel expects from the last judgment." There are three ways of ascertaining whether the special sense of such general expressions is Messianic. "We may inquire whether the same phrases refer to the Messianic hope in other psalms; we may study the psalm before us to see whether the rest of its contents makes such a reference probable; we may bring parallels from the prophetic books. If we find the first, this will be the more conclusive, as the Psalter plainly presents a self-contained world of thought and a fixed phraseology; the second generally yields but an uncertain result; all the stronger, on the other hand, will be the evidence of the third. Generally all three will combine, our confidence in the cogency of the proof being thus strengthened." These points are then illustrated with much fulness of detail. Such phrases as "Arise, Jehovah," "Awake, why sleepest thou, Jehovah?" "Hasten to me, hasten to my help," "Jehovah will be gracious to us," "Deliver me," "Heal my soul," "He will not keep silence," "Keep not silence," are shown to have Messianic connections both in the Psalms and the Prophets. (Conclusion to follow.)

CURRENT FRENCH THOUGHT.

THE JEWISH IDEA OF PRE-EXISTENCE. By A. WARNITZ (*Revue de Théologie*).—We have on previous occasions examined the various explanations given by disciples of the school of Ritschl of the passages in the fourth Gospel in which Jesus speaks of His pre-existence. We now wish to give some account of the most recent explanation of these utterances as given by the theologian Beyschlag in the first volume of his work on the Theology of the New Testament, which was published at the close of 1891.

According to Beyschlag, the idea of pre-existence was familiar to the society in which Jesus moved. Everything which was regarded as of Divine institution was thought of as having its prototype in heaven before it was manifested on earth. Such was the case with the heavenly tabernacle spoken of in the Epistle to the Hebrews (viii. 5), with the heavenly Jerusalem spoken of in the Epistle to the Galatians (iv. 26), and in the Apocalypse (xxi. 10), and also with the kingdom of heaven described by Jesus Himself as having been prepared from the foundation of the world (Matt. xxv. 84). Must not, therefore, the Messiah, the personal Head of that kingdom, have been regarded by the contemporaries of Jesus as one who would have enjoyed the same pre-existence? It is in accordance with this idea that Jesus, who claimed to be the Messiah, spoke of His place in the Divine plan which governed the history of His people. This is how He was able to say that He had existed before Abraham. It may, of course, be objected that according to this explanation the pre-existence spoken of was merely ideal or imaginary; while in the passages referred to a real personal pre-existence is clearly asserted, as Beyschlag himself admits. To this objection he replies by saying that it is based upon the erroneous supposition that we have before us the precise words which Jesus used, and that it imports into the Biblical idea of pre-existence a modern distinction which is quite foreign to it. The suggestion that the fourth evangelist has not accurately reproduced the words used by Jesus must be set aside. It is a question which cannot be discussed in the presence of the definite text. If we were to admit the suggestion, the whole matter would have to be given up as not having any sure foundation or *raison d'être*. But apart from this question, let us examine the position taken up by Beyschlag with regard to the idea of pre-existence held by the contemporaries of Jesus. Is his position well founded?

If we examine impartially the information we have as to the Jewish belief in the time of Christ regarding the pre-existence of the heavenly tabernacle, the heavenly Jerusalem, the kingdom of heaven, and the Messiah, we come to a totally different conclusion from that which he holds. According to this teaching, it was not as mere ideal prototypes that these objects named were pre-existent, but rather as visible, tangible realities—as material realities, in a word. Thus with regard to the heavenly tabernacle and the heavenly Jerusalem, for example, passages in the Talmud and the Midrashim prove to us that they were expected to descend from heaven at the time of the establishment of the Messianic kingdom in Palestine, and that this descent was regarded as of a literal kind. This belief was based on prophetic texts, such as those contained in Ezekiel (xl.-xlviii.), Isaiah (liv. 11, *et seq.* lx.), Haggai (ii. 7-9), and Zechariah (ii. 6-17). Thus it is that in the Apocalypse of Baruch the heavenly Jerusalem is described as existing in the terrestrial paradise before the fall of Adam, and as having been carried away together with the terrestrial paradise itself, to be preserved in heaven at the time of that fall. Later on Abraham sees it in a night

vision, as does Moses also on Mount Sinai. The Apocalypse of Esdras relates a similar experience (4 Esdras x. 44-50). As any one can see, the language of these pseudo-epigraphical writings leave no doubt as to the character of Jewish opinions on this matter in the time of Christ. The same ideas are found in the older part of the Book of Enoch, which dates from before the Christian era. There, too, the heavenly Jerusalem, "the new house," is to appear on earth in place of the old—it is to be brought down by God Himself, and its glory is to be far beyond that of the old (xl. 6, xc. 28, 29). The Talmudical descriptions, and those of the Midrashim, too, depict at great length the material splendour of the new Jerusalem as actually present in heaven before descending to the earth. Other texts show us the same city as existing in the fourth heaven, together with the temple, and the altar on which the archangel Michael offers sacrifice daily.

It results from these proofs that the Jewish conception of the pre-existence of heavenly things, which were to be revealed in later times, was not, as Beyschlag represents it, of an idealistic, but essentially of a realistic character. The passages in Jewish literature here referred to show us the manner in which the contemporaries of Jesus regarded the pre-existence of the kingdom of heaven and of the Messiah, who was its Head. The very expression, "kingdom of heaven," is evidence that that which it designates was regarded as something coming down from heaven, that is to say, as having existed in heaven before it was founded on earth. Thus it is that in the description of the final judgment Jesus speaks of it as having been prepared by His Father for the blessed from the foundation of the world (Matt. xxv. 34). This conception is also to be connected with the vision of Daniel (vii. 13, 14), in which a kingdom descends from heaven, together with a personage like a son of man, whom Jewish opinion of the time of Jesus identified with the Messiah. The Messiah, therefore, was regarded as having been pre-existent in heaven in a real and personal manner, just as a visible or material pre-existence was ascribed to the kingdom of which He was the Head. This was, it cannot be denied, the teaching of the portion of the Apocalypse of Enoch, which dates back to the time of Herod the Great, and of the Similitudes of Enoch. In them the Messiah, the Son of Man, is clearly represented as having been personally pre-existent with God before the creation of the sun and of the stars. No doubt, therefore, can remain as to the sense in which the doctrine of pre-existence was understood by those to whom Jesus spoke. How can we believe that if Jesus claimed for Himself to have been pre-existent, and used the same language as His contemporaries in speaking of that state, He attached a totally different meaning to the word from that in which they understood it—that He meant by it merely predestination in the Divine mind or in the Divine purpose relative to the Jewish people? All the analogies of the most ancient Jewish teaching and of that in the time of Jesus concerning the pre-existence of the Messiah protest against the modern spiritualizing interpretation of Beyschlag and of those who follow his example. The exegesis on which it is based is controlled by personal opinions or prejudices, and is anti-scientific to the last degree.

THE DEUTERO-ISAIAH. L. GAUTIER (*Revue Chrétienne*).—In examining carefully the book of the prophet Isaiah it is impossible to overlook the absence of any connecting link between the first thirty-nine chapters and the last twenty-seven. In the first part of the work we come across the name of the prophet from time to time, his individuality and that of his contemporaries are displayed to us, and mention is made of the kingdom of Samaria and of the great Assyrian power. In the second part, on the contrary, the names of the prophet and of personages and kingdoms of

the eighth century are completely wanting. Besides this, the first part is concluded by a historical fragment, dealing with various facts concerning the reign of Hezekiah and the ministry of Isaiah, and reproducing almost word for word a passage in 2 Kings (xviii.-xx.), just as the prophecies of Jeremiah close with an extract from the same book. The section that contains this historical passage (Isa. xxxvi.-xxxix.) has all the appearance of being an appendix, marking the close of the book. It is therefore quite permissible to ask if the last twenty-seven chapters, which are anonymous, and which come after the narrative portion, are necessarily by the author of the collection which precedes them, and to which they are at present attached? It is not a question of *authenticity*, since these chapters do not profess to be from the pen of Isaiah. The case is somewhat similar to that of the Epistle to the Hebrews in the New Testament. This latter follows immediately upon the Epistles of St. Paul; it has certain resemblances to them and differences from them; though it does not profess to be by St. Paul, it was long attributed to him, and at the present day the number of theologians who consider him to have been the author of it is extremely small. In the case of Isa. xl.-lxvi. the question was raised last century by Doederlein, who was the first to ascribe the authorship of these chapters to a writer during the period of the Exile. This solution of the problem has gradually made its way until it has come to be held by many orthodox theologians in the present day. It is called, in the current language of modern criticism, the hypothesis of the *Deutero-Isaiah*, or of the *Second Isaiah*.

The arguments in favour of this hypothesis are manifold. Without doing more than mentioning the fact that the later part of the book of Isaiah differs very markedly in *vocabulary* and *style* from the earlier part, we would point out that a very strong argument in favour of a twofold authorship is to be found in the different *historical situations* alluded to in the respective sections of the work. The political horizon of the Deutero-Isaiah is certainly that of the Exile. Babylonia is the background, and the persons he addresses are the Jews in captivity. He speaks of Jerusalem as a city in ruins, of Judra as a country laid waste and depopulated, and of the pride and pomp of Babylon as present realities. Cyrus, the famous warrior and successful general, is for him a living hero; he hails his first exploits with joy, and anticipates a greater future as yet in store for him. Those who deny the theory of a twofold authorship have a very unsatisfactory explanation of these facts. They say that Isaiah in thought, in imagination, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, was, as it were, transported into the future. The ruin of his country, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the carrying away of his people into captivity became to him realities of the present moment. And so his words were addressed, not as in the earlier part of his career, to his contemporaries, but to their descendants in exile a hundred and fifty years later. This explanation of matters has the air of being a desperate expedient. There is no parallel case of a prophet thus devoting one half of his activity to his own generation and one half to posterity; on the contrary, the prophets have in view an actual contemporaneous audience, capable of being touched and moved by messages and declarations which concern it directly. We feel as we read these chapters that they are addressed to the exiles in Babylon, and as Isaiah belongs to an earlier epoch, we find it more reasonable to ascribe this part of the prophetic book to another writer than to think of Isaiah's ministry being prolonged to a period far beyond the date of his death.

A fourth argument in favour of a twofold authorship is to be found in the *difference between the theological ideas* of the two writers. Both have the same faith, and are prophets of the same God, but their personalities are quite distinctly

marked, and the circumstances in which they find themselves are utterly diverse, the one from the other. The one exercises his ministry in Jerusalem, the other in the land of exile: the one at the court of the kings of Judah, the other among the Jews who are subject to a foreign yoke; in the one case Jerusalem, the temple, and its worship are still in existence, in the other, they have all disappeared, and have given place to a totally different kind of life. And not only so, but we have in the prophet Jeremiah a link of connection between Isaiah and his anonymous successor. The ministry of Jeremiah in Jerusalem among a people over whom punishment is impending, the manner in which he speaks of the calamity which is soon to burst upon them, and the attitude he takes up towards their superstitious attachment to the temple, are scarcely intelligible if he and his contemporaries had in their possession the collected prophecies of Isaiah, describing the Exile, not as a possible contingency, but as an accomplished fact. Our belief that the author of Isa. xl.-lxvi. was acquainted with the prophecies of Jeremiah is attended by none of the difficulties that lie in the way of those who hold that Jeremiah was acquainted with the twenty-seven chapters in question, for there can be little doubt that the two writers were not independent of each other.

Such, in brief, are the principal reasons which have led critics to reject the traditional opinion concerning the authorship of the second part of this book, and to support the hypothesis of a second Isaiah who lived during the period of the Exile.

M. Gautier then proceeds to show, in a very luminous and interesting manner, how these chapters become more significant and clear when they are set in their true historical position, and that without losing anything of their religious value.

CURRENT DUTCH THOUGHT.

SOME LEADING THOUGHTS IN THE TEACHING OF JESUS. By G. L. VAN LOON (*Bibliotheek van moderne Theologie en Letterkunde*. 18^{de} dl. 2^{de} st.).—One would be glad to possess greater historical certainty regarding the details of the life of Jesus; and when the word "Myth" or "Legend" is found written over more than one New Testament narrative, not a few are smitten with the fear that the image of Jesus Himself may yet be swept away. This craving for historical certainty must have been current even among the earliest Churches; and it was from it that in those Churches there arose a prejudice against Paul, who was looked upon as inferior to those who had been Apostles before him, because these had had intercourse with Jesus and were in a position to supply information regarding Him. And who would seek to blame this desire for historical certainty, or even to look upon it as unaccountable? And yet it must not be forgotten that although we knew more of Jesus than is actually the case, equal importance is not to be attached to every feature of His person and life. All that came to Jesus from without and that happened to Him externally; whatever is not a revelation of His inward spiritual life; all that, taken at its best, can only have a historical and not a religious interest for Christian piety. For the influence of a personality depends upon what is essential to it; and in the case of Jesus the essential thing is the Spirit that was in Him; the exalted godlike truths in which He lived and by which He was, as it were, permeated—truths which He, as the expression of His inmost being, proclaimed, and which, if they were implanted in the world, would become purifying and sanctifying forces therein.

. It is the life-verities in the teaching of Jesus that lead up to a knowledge of His person, and that continually give occasion to the thoughtful to exclaim: How excellent, how full of translucent goodness and purity must the spring have been from which these waters of life flowed! The pure heart of Jesus made Him see all the more clearly the things of the Spirit. The clear view of the pure soul enabled Him to make discoveries which would have been impossible to lofty speculation or to deep reasoning. Humanity has inquired searchingly and gropingly for genuine religion. To one person it is worship—the paying of tribute from time to time to the Divine Being. To another it is a painful asceticism; to others, again, either a senseless enthusiasm or a passive quietism. But to Jesus religion was life in that holy love which is the consequence of belief in the holy love of God.

The Jewish scribes endeavoured to find out what was the chief commandment among the enactments of the Old Testament. And having set to work, one declared it to be the withholding from all unclean foods, detailing with petty minuteness from what one ought to refrain. Another declared it to be the study of the law; and yet another the keeping holy of the Sabbath day. What does Jesus do in the midst of all this littlemindedness, so chilling in itself, and so hurtful to the highest life? Jesus reads into the religious traditions of His race two precepts—separated from each other in the Old Testament and without connection—the one in Deuteronomy vi. 5, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind"; and the other in Leviticus xix. 18, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." He, being full of love and finding the power of His life in love, seizes these two commandments, unites them, and uses them as the corner-stones of the temple of God.

Where is the place in which the Godhead reveals Himself? Thus has created humanity inquired after God, searching and groping like blind men for the wall. And the heathen point to the temples where the gods gave their oracles; and the Jew to the parchment rolls of the Old Testament, where Jehovah caused His law to be written in the Hebrew tongue. Jesus, on the contrary, lived in the conviction that where the better part of man's nature—mercy and forgiveness—show themselves, there a glimpse is enjoyed of the nature of God, in whose image men are created; and therefore Jesus sees in the purified human heart the place where the Godhead reveals Himself.

What is man? Such has been the question of humanity. Ancient wisdom, in its despair, called him "the dream of a shadow," weak, fragile, and tender. The earliest document of the Old Testament rises higher and describes man as created after the image of God. But to Jesus man is still more than "the image of God"; man, according to Him, is "the child of God"—not of foreign origin or of foreign matter, but sprung from God's own being, spirit from God's Spirit, and therefore destined for moral perfection and to be the object of God's good pleasure.

At the coming of the "kingdom," for which the fathers longed, Israel flattered itself that the heathen would be broken in pieces like a potter's vessel, and that Israel would wield the sceptre. Jesus also lays hold of the idea of a "kingdom;" but with Him it becomes the most lofty ideal. God, who is love, shall rule in every heart, and thus shall men obtain the power to transform the earth into a home of brothers and sisters. To further that "kingdom of God" in all circles of humanity, in the family, in society, in the state, is the calling of Christianity.

But it takes a long time for a great principle to permeate humanity, and it has been left to our own age, rather than any previous one, to emphasize the difference between inquiry into the historical origin of Christianity and appreciation of its

religious value. And the making of this distinction is necessary if Protestantism is to remain consistent. The Ten Commandments of the Old Testament are excellent; every Christian conscience approves of them, and recognizes that even Christians are called upon to hold sacred what, in the name of Jehovah, was enforced upon the Israelites. Excellent also and great are the religious blessings of Christianity: the repose and enjoyment associated with the idea of being God's child; the confidence that nothing can happen contrary to God's will; the freedom in all trouble and anxiety to call upon Him as Father; these, and many others, are blessings intended for all. But this glorious prerogative of the just is a certainty of quite a different kind from the certainty after which the historical inquirer strives when by scientific research he endeavours to make sure that all this Christlikeness has indeed proceeded from the person of that Jesus who was born in Palestine more than eighteen centuries ago.

The historical belief in this person is not so uncertain as some people suppose. The magnificent ideas themselves point to an original, creative personality. But human reason is fallible and shortsighted, and it is with but halting steps that it draws near to truth. This the historical inquirer discovers when he sets himself to the difficult task of deciphering the birth-certificate of Christianity. That being so, ought one to feel offended when in this path a false step is taken? Should one look with mistrust upon the operations of this historical criticism when its results do not satisfy the feelings? Jesus taught His disciples something better. In His remarks in Matt. xii. 32, where He makes a distinction between mistaken words spoken against the "Son of Man" and blasphemous words spoken against the "Holy Ghost," Jesus has in the main indicated the boundary-line which marks the separation between theology on the one side and religion on the other—between the knowledge of the things concerning the Son of Man, which is the aim of the historical part of theology, and the knowledge of the things of the Holy Ghost, which it is the duty of every man as a religious being to possess. But even Protestantism, which left Rome in order to return to the Master, has not comprehended Him. He stood too high for that, and the vision was too dim to see exactly whither He pointed. Protestantism at its rise started from an act of conscience; it made its appeal to conscience; and nevertheless it has brought into its confession of faith all sorts of things as to which conscience is silent, and which stand in no relation at all to the religious-moral life upon which conscience insists. It will be well, therefore, for our age constantly to return to the fundamental thoughts of the New Testament—to this mine of gold which after years of working is still unexhausted.

THE PROGRESS OF HUMANITY. By Dr. A. W. BRONSVELD (*Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede*, Jan., 1898).—The human race has long and frequently been compared to a company of travellers who have to overtake a lengthy and not always easy journey. Thousands of years have been required to reach the point where humanity now finds itself; and who shall determine how great is the distance that lies between us and the end of the wearisome journey? As in most other things, it must be confessed that here also the beginning and the end are enveloped in mists. All things end in mystery, and so very little can be said as to the goal towards which everything that lives under the sun is hastening. Some say to annihilation; others say to exaltation. But whatever may be the answer given to the question, What shall the end be? there is another question that is sometimes put and which in no small degree merits our attention, and it is this: Are we progressing? Have we ground for believing in the progress of our race?

If we mistake not, this idea of progress was for the first time more or less philosophically considered and formulated in the second half of last century. It was Condorcet who gave expression to what was thought or imagined by many on the subject in his *Esquisse d'une histoire du progrès de l'esprit humain*. That book saw the light in 1794. The writer had played an important part in the history of the Revolution, and he died a miserable death from poison administered by his own hand. And yet this man whose life ended so wretchedly believed with his whole heart in the progress of man. And what was it that made him cling to this idea? For one thing, he delighted in the discoveries of the natural sciences, which at that time took their first steps in the new paths in which we still see them marching with steady tread. But in his contemplation of human nature he also shared in the optimism of Rousseau. Condorcet believed that there is placed in us an impetus which leads us to strive after perfection. Alongside of the selfish leanings that haunt our disposition there is also a power within us that stretches forth towards the good, and reveals itself in the feeling of sympathy and benevolence. Condorcet had no doubt that, in the way and by the means which he pointed out, man moved onward and that our race drew nearer to perfection in more than one respect.

That idea of our progress has received continual expression in the present century. Many men of learning, thinkers and philosophers, have declared loudly that we are progressing. There is, for instance, Prof. Opzoomer, whose utterances have exercised so powerful an influence upon many. In the year 1864 he opened his academical course with an address on the "Pledges of our Progress," in which he explained the ground of his hope that we were not standing still, but progressing; that amid so much uncertainty and darkness as to the future there was still light enough to enable us to pursue our way with peace of mind. Among the pledges of this progress Opzoomer counted first of all goodness—"a power inseparable from our nature"; the increase of knowledge; and the growing feeling that it is one's own interest to do what is good for society.

Another prophet of the progress of humanity is the famous Berlin professor, Emil du Bois-Reymond. In 1877 he delivered a lecture, in which he showed the connection between the history of civilization and natural science. The position which he sought to maintain was that the history of natural science is the proper history of humanity; that is to say, if man progresses in the knowledge of nature, he progresses in all other respects. There is great similarity between the statements of Condorcet, Opzoomer, and Du Bois-Reymond; all three lay special emphasis on the increase and on the healthy influence of our *knowledge*.

This belief in the progress of our race is not shared by every one. The ancients spoke of a golden age that had passed away and had given place to an age of iron. Complaints have always been heard of decay, of a steady decline in the standard of morality, of piety, in fact, of all that is noble and good. And another aspect of the case is that we neither rise nor fall, but remain pretty much the same; in other words, that we move in a circle, and every now and again return to the point from which we started. This was the opinion held by Mr. H. A. des Amoré van der Hoeven, who maintained that humanity was neither better nor worse than it was in the days of Tacitus. Advancing civilization may have softened the manners, but it has been at the expense of bravery; gross excesses may have been lessened, but their place has been taken by refined immorality. Humanity, as regards morality, remains the same as it was in the time of Homer or Herodotus; and as to knowledge, much of it has been progress backwards.

Who, then, is right? Must we believe in the progress of our race, or must we talk of the circular movement of humanity? It must be admitted that there is much truth in the contentions of men like Van der Hoeven, Tolstoi, and others, whose protest against the more sanguine views of the Utrecht and Berlin professors is not unwarranted. Man as man, inasmuch as he is still conceived and brought forth in sin, is no better than his ancestors; and he is not necessarily made fundamentally better by an increase of knowledge and a better education. Much depends upon what use he makes of these. But theirs is a view of life that we cannot adopt, and there are many reasons for believing with all our heart in the progress of our race.

There is, to begin with, the *a priori* argument. Suppose we had to ask ourselves in the abstract, Does humanity develop, does it rise, does it advance or does it stand still? we should in every respect be inclined to answer, It does develop, it does advance. And in that connection we should first of all think of God's Providence, which is a guarantee to us that our labour is not hopeless; but we should also think of something else. The study of nature forces us to believe in evolution in the domain of organic life. If that evolution is not to be denied, is it likely that it is not to be observed in the history of the human race? Shall the most highly endowed creature upon earth, in opposition to what happens everywhere else, be doomed to move in a circle out of which he can never come and above the level of which he can never rise? Is it not in the highest degree improbable? Who can say that man has already developed to the utmost of his powers, or brought all his gifts to their richest blossom? And if this cannot be asserted, why should one despair of progress, of the coming of a time in which man will stand higher than did his forefathers?

But to leave the region of the probable, we would point to facts contained in such works as Uhlhorn's *Kampf des Christenthums mit dem Heidenthum*, and Lecky's *History of Rationalism in Europe*. Compare the moral condition of the heathen world with regard to slavery, for example, with the views that prevail on that subject now. Or think of the belief in witchcraft and sorcery, and of the thousands of persons who were cruelly tortured and put to death in connection with it in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and even as late as the eighteenth. Is it not a cause for rejoicing that these days are past, and should it not be admitted that we are not moving in a circle, but in very truth are moving forward?

And then there is the persecution of heretics, the torture, martyrdom, banishment, and degradation of all who departed from the doctrine of the Church. Four centuries ago no one looked upon the hunting of heretics as unlawful. The stern Calvin, the gentle Melancthon, and even Guido de Brès, himself a prisoner, all regarded it as the duty of the government to pursue and uproot atheists and other slanderers of the faith with a strong arm. Who now openly advocates the stake as an appropriate punishment for heresy?

From these three facts—the universal condemnation of slavery, of trials for witchcraft, and of inquisitions—we infer that humanity does not move in a circle, but that it takes on and applies new ideas, ideas that stand higher, and that become permanent. But another ground for our belief in the progress of humanity is the difference in the regard for, and appreciation of, man in earlier and later times. How slight was the respect in which Plato held the individual man. To him the State was everything. Among the Romans, too, the individual was of small account; everything had to give way to the Republic. The personality, the individual, first stepped forth in the *Confessions* of Augustine. But it was long before the individual man received the recognition to which he was entitled. The Reformation preached that between man and God no church and no priest may stand. The Revolution

proclaimed that a man does not owe his worth to what he is *called*, but to what he *is*, and that he must be *free*. And thus the history of civilization has come to be an important part of general history—a history in which room is found for many more persons than in the purely political histories of the past. We see in that appreciation of man as man no idle self-adulation, but the result of a slow development, a recognition of the old saying quoted on Mars Hill, “We are the offspring of God.”

We are thus satisfied that our *à priori* inference, which led us to hope for progress, is confirmed by fact. Much that was at one time approved of is now condemned in the name of humanity and righteousness; the importance of the individual man is recognized; goodness is in the ascendant among us, more plentiful and more powerful than ever; and how much higher is the ideal of the religious and moral man than it was in any previous age! It may of course be objected that this ideal is not likely to be speedily realized. What is meant by speedily? Remember the striking phrase of Augustine: God has patience because He is eternal—*patiens quia æternus*. We move in no circle; our movement is upward, although it may be zigzag; we are progressing, although it may not be straight ahead.

CURRENT SCANDINAVIAN THOUGHT.

CREMATION AND THE BURIAL SERVICE. By BISHOP CLAUSEN.—In connection with the legalization of cremation in Denmark, Dr. Johannes Clausen, Bishop of Aarhus, has issued a pastoral letter to the clergy of his diocese, which has been reprinted, by permission, in the *Dansk Kirketidende*, 1898, No. 2. The Bishop says that the law permitting cremation opens one more sluice gate for the stream of civilization which, heathen in its origin, has forced its way in over the Northern peoples, and now threatens to overthrow one of their most ancient Church customs. For from ancient Israel the Church of Christ has inherited the custom of burial, and this custom, which is hallowed by the Saviour's own burial, has hitherto stood unshaken, and is regarded as the only worthy manner in which the bodies of the departed can be treated. Although it is to be hoped that cremation will find few supporters among a people who are disposed to conservatism, and thus but little inclined to exchange old customs for new ones, still the Bishop feels himself seriously prompted to make a request to the clergy of his diocese that, where opportunity offers, they will guide the people to a knowledge of the true state of the matter, and use their influence in such a way that the laity may be encouraged to preserve the custom of burial among their other significant traditions.

By the insertion in the law of a clause to the effect that the clergy cannot be compelled to perform the ceremony of casting earth upon the coffin, or to undertake any other ecclesiastical function where cremation takes place, due regard is had for the minister, who might frequently feel himself troubled in his conscience when assisting at such a funeral. But in consequence of this freedom from obligation which the minister enjoys, the question arises whether he ought to make use of it and excuse himself from all co-operation; or whether it is not possible to conceive of circumstances in which he may feel himself obliged, in his conscience, to comply with the wishes of the relatives, but in doubt as to the form which such co-operation should take. As it is natural that the clergy of the diocese who may be called upon to make a decision in such circumstances should look for guidance from their Bishop,

Dr. Clausen in fulfilment of his official duty briefly states his views of cremation itself. To him this practice is not only at variance with natural feeling, with the tender care which we owe to the bodies of our departed, but is also contrary to ecclesiastical tradition and the rich symbolism that attaches itself to burial, and has found expression both in the Holy Scriptures and in hymns and sermons. From Christian dogmatics, however, it will not be possible to extract any objection to it, for in this treatment of the dead nothing is found that affects the Christian faith or the teaching of Christianity, not even as regards the belief in and the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. If the reverse of this could be proved, one would reach the absurd conclusion that the burial of the body is a condition of its rising again. If this were so, the whole army of martyrs and thousands of saints whose bodies have been burned to ashes at the stake would be shut out from the glory of paradise.

As burial, in its Christian aspect, thus cannot be said to occupy a central position, a departure from this custom cannot of itself be branded as anti-Christian. In this connection Dr. Clausen directs attention to the fact that in the course of time the Danish Church has given up acts of deep symbolical significance—"burial" through baptism (Rom. vi. 4), and the breaking of bread in the Supper (Matt. xxvi. 26; Acts ii. 42). On that account it has not lost in genuine Christlikeness, and just as little can it withhold the Christian name from those who may feel themselves called upon to give up other symbolical acts, such as burial, unless it has their own open declaration that they have done it out of antipathy to Christianity itself. There may be Christian men who have become supporters of cremation either because they have allowed themselves to be overcome by a certain morbid enthusiasm for classical antiquity, or are seized with discomfort at the sight of our churchyards, where the peace of the grave is often disturbed after a comparatively short time. If in circumstances like these the minister should give the mourners at such a funeral a pointblank refusal the consequence would simply be that the enemies of the national Church would obtain a welcome opportunity of directing their weapons against it with increased vigour. Unstable Christians may be found who have allowed themselves to be induced, without the knowledge of their relatives, or even against their wishes, to leave instructions in their wills that their corpses are to be burned. Should the family, who hold fast to Christianity with their whole heart, in such a case meet with a decided negative, the minister would not merely incur the responsibility of having deprived the mourners of God's Word just at the time and place when they stood most in need of it, but by his absence he would give them an impression of un-Christlikeness which they would have difficulty in getting rid of.

From these considerations it follows, according to Dr. Clausen's thinking, that there are undoubtedly exceptional occasions on which the minister might feel himself in his conscience prompted to co-operate—in such a case, for instance, where it is known that the departed really belonged to the Church and had only been led by peculiar ideas, by persuasion, threats, or other influences, to cherish the thought of having his corpse cremated; and where refusal of the minister's co-operation would deeply pain Christian-minded relatives. On the other hand, he should withhold himself unconditionally under all circumstances where, even in the case of ordinary burial, he would preferably have permission to remain away, for the reason that the person concerned was known, from his own open confession, to have placed himself outside the pale of Christianity.

As regards the form in which it may be possible to co-operate, it follows as a matter of course that no ecclesiastical ceremony whatever—whether address, hymn,

or casting of earth—can take place in the buildings appointed for cremation, the so-called "Crematoria." Such ecclesiastical ceremonies as may be desired can only be performed in the churches or chapels belonging to the national Church. From the moment that earth has been cast upon the coffin, in accordance with the ritual, all co-operation on the part of the minister must cease.¹

LAY PREACHING. By PASTOR SCHEFFELERN (*Dansk Kirketidende*, 1898, No. 9-10).—The share of the laity in Church work has for a number of years been one of the burning questions in all Protestant countries. By lay work is not, of course, meant the participation of the laity in the promotion of works of Christian charity. On the contrary, it is lay preaching that is here specially referred to. This is a question which in Norway, and also to some extent in Sweden, is specially prominent; for ever since Hans Nielsen Hunge and his friends arose in the beginning of this century the number of lay preachers there has steadily increased, and there is now to be found in Norway a whole series of Home Mission Societies, with various names, all of which set themselves to the task of sending out lay preachers. But although the matter has not by any means assumed the proportions in Denmark that it has there, we have good cause for making clear our position with reference to the question. The practice has developed in Denmark in pretty much the same manner as in Norway. Among us the first lay preachers were also pious men who, of their own accord, and according to time and opportunity, proclaimed God's Word in all simplicity without receiving any reward, and without having been commissioned to do so by any one. But from the time that the Home Mission Society was founded, and took the matter in hand, things have taken a different turn. This society, as is known, sends out a host of paid lay preachers, and fixes for them their sphere of work in the different districts of the country. The question, therefore, arises, How are the clergy to regard this matter—whether as belonging to the things that should be opposed, or whether it should be looked upon as a healthy tendency in ecclesiastical progress, which only requires to be diverted into proper channels and used in legitimate ways?

It is clear that if lay activity is to receive ecclesiastical recognition it must not run counter to the Confession in which the Church has laid down its principles, nor to the Holy Scriptures upon which this Confession is based. As regards the Lutheran Confession the point is touched upon in Article XIV., which runs as follows:—"De ordine ecclesiastico docent, quod nemo debeat in ecclesia publice docere, aut sacramenta administrare, nisi rite vocatus."² The meaning of this article has always been perfectly plain, but nevertheless it has been subjected to various interpretations. It has been maintained that to teach *publice* is to teach on the congregation's account, and that the layman does not do this, for when he preaches he teaches only upon his own account, and so is not touched by Article XIV. Others have laid stress upon the words *in ecclesia*, which they have interpreted as meaning the church building, where only the minister has a right to proclaim the Word, whilst it is free to laymen to preach in other buildings. And, lastly, it has been maintained that Article XIV. does not treat of the clerical profession, but of the ecclesiastical order, that is to say of the sum total of all ecclesiastical offices, and that in this way *rite vocatus* may be claimed for every one who works within the prescribed limits of a congregation

¹ So far only two bodies have been cremated in Copenhagen. In the one case, no religious service of any kind was performed. In the other, the parish chaplain was asked to officiate, but refused. Recourse was then had to a dissenting minister, who held a service in his church and performed the ceremony of earth-casting, but with a change in the prescribed formula.—J. M. A.

² *Confessio Augustana*, Art. XIV.

with the approval of minister and people. This, however, is an untenable position, and has been virtually refuted by men like Caspari and Johnsen.

As a matter of fact the Article is plain enough to those who do not merely wish to pervert it. It says nothing about what lies in the conception of the priesthood in general; it says nothing of the right and duty of witness-bearing which belongs to every Christian, both male and female; it says nothing of the right of every Christian to proclaim by word of mouth in his own circle, whether large or small, the excellences of Him who called us from darkness into His marvellous light. But it speaks of the preaching of the Word publicly, and the administration of the Sacraments, and that is a duty which the Church, in accordance with the Lord's will, entrusts to particular persons who constitute the order called *ordo ecclesiasticus*. No one may therefore preach, baptize, or officiate at the Supper except those who belong to the ecclesiastical order, and to that order only those belong who are *rite vocati*.

Looked at from this point of view, the natural conclusion would seem to be that according to the Church's principles all lay preaching is objectionable, and that laymen may only proclaim the Word privately, that is, in the circles into which they find entry through their worldly employments. However, the Church's own history shows that it does not look upon this principle as an end in itself, but as subservient to the great principle that dominates all others and which is expressed in the words: God willeth that all men should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth. And so it is the practice in the whole Church that, although the administration of the Sacraments properly belongs to the *ordo ecclesiasticus*, there are nevertheless circumstances in which a layman may administer the Sacraments with full Christian and ecclesiastical sanction. And what applies to the Sacraments must also apply to the proclamation of the Word. Even the Church of Rome, which places a deep gulf between priest and people, at a certain stage of the "Kulturkampf" in Germany, incited congregations to provide each other with the means of grace rather than recognize priests who were not in the Papal sense *rite vocati*. From this it follows that we can have no difficulty in recognizing that the proclamation of the Word may be entrusted to laymen, that the literal meaning of the word may be set aside when the great principle just enunciated renders it necessary. It is not by any means intended that the clerical office may be dispensed with altogether, but merely that there may be circumstances in which lay preaching may be desirable—yea, even necessary, as a support to the office.

The question thus remains, When may such circumstances be said to exist? Naturally, there is room for great differences of opinion here. There are some who will never see any great need for departing from the strict letter of the law; and there are others who will purposely throw obstacles in the way of lay preaching. But, after all, the pressing question really is, whether or not the activity of the Home Mission Society, in training and sending out lay preachers, is justifiable under a sound construction of Church law.

To simplify the matter, stress must be laid on the fact that our Church is a national Church, which comprehends within it the great body of the people. It has thus undertaken the duty, not merely of strengthening the living, but of quickening the dead; the duty of seeking to permeate the whole population with the Word of God in such a way that, if the people harden not their hearts, they will be turned from a dead mass into a living community. In order to accomplish this, it is necessary that, not merely those who are willing to come and hear should be reached, but also those who persist in standing by the hedges and highways. It is here that the clerical office, if not exactly powerless, at least stands in great

need of help; and it follows, as a natural consequence, that use ought to be made of the gifts of grace, even in the direction of the proclamation of the Word, which are undoubtedly to be found among many of the Church's lay members. The Church ought to take into its service men who feel called of the Spirit to carry the Word into circles where the clergyman can seldom or never penetrate.

It cannot, however, be denied that the method followed by the Home Mission Society during a long series of years of sending out itinerant preachers is fraught with serious dangers, partly to the persons themselves, and partly to the community. As the Society pays its missionaries, they are thereby called away from their proper vocations, and thus easily drift into a life of intellectual sloth, which cannot fail to be injurious to their Christian growth, inasmuch as they are apt to talk themselves empty by perpetually delivering the same addresses, as well as to fall into habits of intellectual arrogance, because they lack the humbling discipline which lies in having a limited sphere of labour. But there is also a danger to the community, such as has already happened in Sweden, where in many country towns mission-houses have been erected close to the churches, and while the parish ministers hold divine service in the churches, meetings are at the same time being held in the mission-houses. Complaint is also made that in many cases the missionaries do not work harmoniously with the clergy, but rather set themselves in opposition to them, and endeavour to cast a shadow over them, and to minimize their influence in their own localities.

Still, there are many signs that the community is ready to change from a state of passivity to one of activity, and a welcome should be extended to every believing layman who is willing to offer his help towards this end. The clergy should pray to God for grace to enable them to recognize with humility that they alone are not in a position to meet all the demands that may be made upon them in a national Church, and especially in large and populous parishes. But it is steady help that is wanted in congregations, and not lay evangelists, who at long intervals will come and hold religious meetings, and immediately thereafter disappear like shooting stars. Perhaps the best solution of the matter would be an order of deacons connected with the congregations themselves, who would act as fellow-workers with the minister even as far as the preaching of the Word in prescribed districts. And some such organization as the Home Mission Society might train capable men for the supply of parishes where they could not be found, and where the minister wanted them. In that way the itinerant life, which is one of the greatest dangers to the success of lay activity would cease. The deacon would receive a fixed sphere of work, where he would himself be known, and where he would come to know the people; and if the right spirit were cultivated by both minister and deacon their united labours could not fail to be attended with rich blessing.

THE BOOK CRITIC.

THROUGH CHRIST TO GOD: A STUDY IN SCIENTIFIC THEOLOGY. By JOSEPH AGAR BEET, D.D. Hodder & Stoughton, London.

"THIS volume deals with the great fundamental truths of the Gospel," such is Dr. Beet's brief description of the book before us. He has the purpose of giving us three other volumes, the first of which will set forth *The New Life in Christ*, "or the Gospel as a power working in and transforming the heart of man"; another will deal with *The Church of Christ*, and give "an account of the collective spiritual life

of the servants of Christ"; and still another will deal with the doctrine of *the last things*, "the final and glorious consummation of the spiritual work whose foundations were laid by Christ and in Christ." It is a great and worthy aim, and we hope that Dr. Beet will be able to accomplish it.

The present instalment of the great work which Dr. Beet has in hand deserves the deepest study. It sets forth his view of the fundamental truths of the Gospel. It describes the relation of the historic revelation given to man in Christ to natural theology. It sets forth in luminous order what preparation is needed and what sciences are required for a due and adequate study of theology. It points out also that for the study of any science "there must be personal acquaintance with the facts on which the science rests." A theologian must be able to use all the results of science; but, above all, he must be in actual contact with the facts. These things are, however, mainly preliminary to the main part of Dr. Beet's work. From them he passes to the description of the historic revelation given to man in Christ. Under the four general heads of "Justification through Faith," "The Death of Christ," "The Son of God," "The Resurrection of Christ," he has given us a luminous account of the main facts and principles of the revelation embodied in the New Testament.

Looking at the book in the light of the needs of our time, what are we to say of it? It is a common phrase to say that ours is a time of unrest, when all beliefs, institutions, and principles are being tried, sifted, and have to justify their existence. Every historical document is being subjected to historical criticism. Every belief is being looked at in the light of its possible origin and subsequent history, and its truth and value weighed, and perhaps found wanting. Religion itself is being tried, and questions regarding it are being asked which were never asked before. Have we any warrant for our religious belief? Is it from first to last an illusion? as Mr. Herbert Spencer says. If we can vindicate the truth of religion and its correspondence with reality, what have we to say of the Christian religion and its great claim? In these days of "evolution," when, try as we may, we cannot keep ourselves from thinking in terms of "evolution," what are we to say regarding the claim of Christianity? Broadly stated, the claim of Christianity is that at a certain time in the history of this world a Person appeared, whose life and teaching are to be the norm and type of what human life and conduct ought everywhere and for all time to be, and that certain documents are to be the rule of faith and manners for all time. It is a stupendous claim; can it be made good? There are of course other claims and other aspects of the Christian religion, but the main question for us is the one we have asked, Have we good ground for the assertion that the life and teaching of Christ are sufficient for the guidance of all men in every age of the world's history? Are the Scriptures a sufficient and adequate rule of faith and life? We look at Dr. Beet's book in this light, and we ask, Has he given us reasons for answering this question in the affirmative?

We think so. The question seems ever present to his mind. In his "Preliminaries" he shows that the visible reveals the invisible, and that the Maker must be greater than all He has made, that nature educates man, and that nature reveals a personal God. The Maker of nature is living and rational; He is also moral, for nature develops moral qualities. But there is also in man a sense of demerit, a sense of sin, and a conviction of retribution, a far need of pardon and liberation. With great brevity, Dr. Beet seeks to make good these propositions. In reading over these chapters we now and then desire a fuller treatment, and sometimes we might wish that the matter was put in a somewhat different way; but on the

whole Dr. Beet has stated the matter clearly, and supported it by sufficient evidence. Taking these with him, he goes on to speak of Christianity and Christ, the Christian document, and the moral teaching of Christ. Christianity is due to the personal influence of Christ, and "it is not too much to say that He has saved our race from the ruin into which it was hopelessly sinking, and has turned back the course of human history into a new path of progress and prosperity." The appeal is to history, and the answer of history is given by a description of the immense superiority of the Christian nations, and their sustained progress. It is a valid argument, and it is set forth with force and felicity by Dr. Beet. The verdict of history is confirmed by an examination of the moral teaching of Christ. He set forth a lofty moral ideal, and embodied it in His own life.

But lofty moral teaching and a perfect moral life are not of themselves sufficient to meet the deep spiritual needs of man.

"The lofty teaching and example of Christ make us feel how far and how inexcusably we have fallen below the ideal to which we ought to have risen, and we shrink from the light which, with increasing clearness, reveals our own deep sin. Even the efforts after amendment, prompted by this sense of guilt, do little more than reveal our moral powerlessness. We lie condemned and helpless in the presence of the living Pattern, which we find ourselves unable to imitate" (p. 63).

This statement may be said to form the transition from the "Preliminaries" to the main portion of the book. To follow Dr. Beet's argument in all its fulness would lead us far beyond our limit. Suffice it to say that we have a statement of the teaching of Scripture, clear, and full, and scientific, as to what Christ has done for sinful men. It is taught in the New Testament that God receives into His favour all who believe the good news announced by Christ. Such, briefly, is the conclusion of the argument and investigation which Dr. Beet has conducted in the second part of his volume. But is the forgiveness of sins consistent with eternal justice? This is answered by Dr. Beet in that part of his book which deals with the Scripture teaching regarding the death of Christ. We shall give Dr. Beet's summary of the results attained in this part:—

"When we accepted Christ's teaching that He was about die in order to obtain for men forgiveness of their sins, we at once asked, Wherein lay the need for this costly and mysterious means of forgiveness? This question Paul answers by asserting that God gave Christ to die in order to harmonize with His own justice the justification of believers. This answer we found to be the only conceivable explanation of abundant teaching which we have traced to the lips of Christ; and we found it to be in agreement with what we know about God's moral government of the world. If therefore we accept the unanimous teaching of the New Testament about the death of Christ, we shall accept this explanation of it; and although it presents difficulties we could not altogether unravel, these difficulties were somewhat lessened by our study of the New Testament about the original relation of the Son of God to mankind and the eternal law of righteousness. Moreover, those difficulties did not weaken the documentary evidence, that in its broad outlines the teaching of Paul came from the Light of the World" (p. 213).

When this result is established as the undoubted teaching of Scripture; when we are sure that Christ has stated that by His life and death He has brought salvation unto men, the further question inevitably rises, "Who is the one Man whose death is life of all who accept the salvation offered by Him? Who and what is Jesus of Nazareth?" The answer to this question is contained in the beautiful and scientific presentation of the teaching of the New Testament with regard to the Christ, which is contained in the fourth part of Dr. Beet's volume. The statement is very condensed, yet very complete, and we rise from its perusal with the conviction that

both the teaching of the Scriptures and the unanimous belief of the Scriptures is that Jesus of Nazareth is the Son of God. In the New Testament, indeed, there are varying types of religious thought and expression. But, as Dr. Beet has shown, these differences only serve to throw into more conspicuous prominence the one definite and harmonious conception of the dignity of Christ, and of His relation to God, which underlies these documents of the New Testament. If the teaching of the New Testament and the belief of the Churches be true, then the facts of modern Christendom can be explained, but not otherwise.

Finally we have a statement of the evidence with regard to the Resurrection of Christ. It is well done, and Dr. Beet has in view all that has been written on the subject. One of the finest chapters in the book is the chapter which deals with objections to the resurrection of our Lord. "The origin of life is as much and as little a miracle as is the resurrection of Christ. Each event differs altogether from all earlier phenomena; each of them is incapable of explanation by the known forces previously at work; and consequently each reveals the operation of a force or Power higher than these earlier forces." But we must refer our readers to the book itself. We may ask, What is the value of Dr. Beet's argument? What force and relevancy has it at the present time? One great merit which the argument has is that it makes but few assumptions. It deals largely with facts. It does not assume anything further about the New Testament documents than this: they are historical documents produced at a certain period of the world's history, and that they record certain events which really happened, and certain beliefs which were really held by living men. But these events and beliefs are related in certain definite ways to the world, to God, and to man. They happened after preparation was made for them; they continue to be operative to this hour. They are related also to the whole nature of man, and satisfy his deepest needs. They are congruous also with all that men have learnt of the world, and agree with man's highest thought about God, as shown by the deepest thinkers of all time. So Dr. Beet's argument comes in the end to this: history shows that at one time a Person lived and died and rose again from the dead, who lived a perfect life, spake as never man spake, taught a perfect morality, and embodied it in His life; who lived for others and died to bring salvation for other people. What, then, are we to think of Him? He has taught men and enabled them to live a certain kind of life, and to-day His name is a source of power and consolation to many millions. An argument which has embodied truths like these, given them a scientific aspect, and set them forth with but few assumptions, is surely of the most cogent kind.

JAMES IVERACH, D.D.

THE GOSPEL OF LIFE. By B. F. WESTCOTT, D.D., Bishop of Durham. Macmillan & Co.

"CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY"—thus wrote Dr. Westcott thirty years ago—"may be in the sense a contradiction in terms, for Christianity confessedly derives its first principles from revelation, and not from simple reason; but there is no less a true Philosophy of Christianity which aims to show how completely these, by their form, their substance, and their consequences, meet the instincts and aspirations of all ages. The exposition of such a Philosophy would be the work of a modern Origen."¹ The book before us is concerned with this great subject. No such design is explicitly stated, indeed, the preface, and the sub-title merely describes the volume as containing "thoughts introductory to the study of Christian doctrine"; but nevertheless

¹ *Dictionary of the Bible*, Art. "Philosophy," sub. fin. p. 858.

we think that most readers will recognize here the main features of the argument indicated in the passage that we have placed at the head of this notice. *The Gospel of Life* supplies a long-felt want in apologetic literature. Directly controversial treatises in defence of Christianity have, no doubt, a use in their place, but it may be questioned whether exposure of erroneous reasoning is ever half so effective as a positive presentation of the truth. There is a "sweet reasonableness" about truth which commends itself to a candid mind. And, if we do not mistake, this is one reason why the Bishop of Durham's books on Christian doctrine have had so great an influence. People are tired of controversy; controversy about religious matters must be distasteful to a religious man; one shrinks from the incessant application of negative tests to one's most sacred beliefs. But in the important and weighty volume before us, as in former volumes from the same pen, controversy is sparingly introduced. Its method is constructive rather than destructive, synthetical rather than analytical; and its object (if we interpret aright the drift of the book) is not so much to expose the imperfection of other explanations of the riddle of the universe, as to show that the Christian philosopher has an explanation to offer which may fairly claim that it is justified not only by logic but by life.

To begin with, we see that "the world is not clear or intelligible" (p. xviii.), but that at every point we meet with problems which we cannot solve. In particular, we find "that as men we are so constituted as to recognize three final existences which sum up for us all being, self, the world, and God" (p. 2), and that "as soon as we begin to reflect upon any one of them, as soon as we begin to act, we are beset by speculative difficulties and contradictions" (p. 9). These problems are not in any sense introduced by Christianity; they are part of the intellectual inheritance of the human race—they are unavoidable. The assumption of these three Ideas is (as Kant has shown) a necessary condition of all progress in speculation, of all hopefulness in practice. But the existence of corresponding objects is not, strictly speaking, susceptible of proof; it is a datum of faith, which is a necessity for natural science no less than for theology. We cannot suppose that our instincts are here playing us false, unless we are prepared to abandon ourselves to permanent intellectual confusion.

The argument of chapter i., in short, "On the Problems of Life" is, up to a certain point, strikingly analogous to the argument of Kant in his famous onslaught on dogmatism. The recognition of the self as the unifying centre of knowledge, the conflict of the antinomies which bewilder us when we reflect upon the origin of things, the failure of intellectual proof to establish the existence of God, these thoughts are familiar to all students of the critical philosophy. And the Bishop holds (practically) that Kant has made out his case with reference to the last point. "The 'proofs' again which are derived from the observation of design, of the adaptation of means to an end, or from the dictates of conscience, make man and man's ways of thinking measures of all being in a manner which cannot be justified. Nor would they lead to an adequate conclusion. The Being to which they guide us is less than the Being for Whom we look and in Whom we trust" (p. 85).

Here Kant's two objections to the design argument are virtually reproduced, and a further doubt is expressed as to the validity of the argument from conscience, which Kant regarded as adequate in its own sphere. It would be quite unreasonable to expect that in a book like *The Gospel of Life*, which is the outcome of years of reflection, every part of the scaffolding on which the structure rests should be exhibited; and yet one feels that here a fuller statement would be welcome. If the passage we have quoted be, however, brought into connection with the discussion on

pp. 202 ff., its drift becomes plainer. For there it is pointed out that the formal invalidity which is found in the so-called "proofs" offered by theologians for the Being of God also besets any proof we can produce for the existence of other finite minds. And this, we take it, is the point at which Bishop Westcott parts company with Kant. For while Kant, as we have said, would have been quite satisfied with the statement of the case on p. 85, he would not have admitted the validity of the further position taken up on p. 202. We have called attention to this matter because we think that the earlier passage may very easily be misunderstood, if not read in the light of the later. Its language would, as it seems, be consistent with the belief that there is some peculiar inconsequence in the arguments by which the existence and action of supreme mind are justified to faith. "We can know that only," it is said, "which falls *within* the range of our minds" (p. 85). But then "it is true that in themselves men and the world are as truly unknowable as God" (p. 208); there is no peculiar inconsequence in the customary reasonings of apologists for Theism. More important, perhaps, to observe is the method by which the Bishop evades the force of Kant's destructive criticism. "The conclusions," as to the existence of God, "are not formally valid, but we do violence to our nature if we do not accept them" (p. 292). This is an application of a more general principle, frequently appealed to throughout the volume that "human desire includes potentially the promise of satisfaction" (p. xix.). In the phraseology of the medieval theologians, *naturale desiderium non potest esse inane*; and hence we cannot believe that the three ultimate Ideas of reason—Self, the World, God—merely mock us with the semblance of reality. "We trust that the system of the world answers to Truth, and that the desire of the race is, in its highest form as in each partial form, a promise of fulfilment" (p. 41); or, as the same thought may be presented from another point of view, "If the power to know God exists in man, such an endowment contains the promise that it will not be left idle" (p. 286). This famous axiom, adopted by two such different writers as Hooker and Coleridge, is thus erected into a principle on which a great superstructure can be raised.

We must sketch more rapidly the valuable chapter on "the conditions under which a solution of the problems of life must be sought." It is pointed out that every class of science deals with a distinct class of facts, and has its own distinct method. This is the more important to insist on as "there is a growing danger lest all facts should be forced into one category, lest one method of investigation should be armed with an absolute despotism, lest one verifying fact should be transformed into a universal necessity" (p. 66). Now, the fundamental facts of theology are the *σημεία* through which the Christian revelation is given (p. 80); they are indeed the substance rather than the proof of revelation (p. 206). And just as moral facts, though they have a side which appeals to sense, can only be properly grasped by a moral faculty, so these spiritual facts will require a spiritual faculty for their full apprehension. "The proof of Revelation is then primarily personal" (p. 88); its proper test is the test of life, and not only of logic.

In order to see the full force of the Christian answer to these hard questions which experience forces upon our notice, the examination of the pre-Christian answers needs study. For from them we shall gather at least some idea of what the devout mind instinctively seeks when driven to speculate on the mysteries of life. It is not easy to give a definition of religion which shall not be either too vague or too confined, and we do not feel that Bishop Westcott's definition will be readily understood apart from its context, but it is necessary to quote it in full. "From one side, then, religion may be defined to be the active expression of that element in man, or rather

perhaps, of his whole being more or less concordantly united, by which he strives to realize a harmony in all things; and, from the other side, a religion is that view of all things which corresponds under particular circumstances with his nature as constituted to seek after this harmony" (p. 97). Thus for the satisfaction of our religious wants we require a solution of the problems of life "which shall bring into a harmonious relation the past, the present, and the future, the seen and the unseen, the conflicting elements of our personal nature." We can see from the records of history that each group of nations has had its own characteristic element to contribute to this solution, and the history of ancient religions is a history of the world's manifold preparation for Christ. And (here agreeing with Justin Martyr, *Dial.* § 121, as well as with Clement of Alexandria) the Bishop of Durham finds in Deut. iv. 19 a recognition of the office of even heathen nations in fulfilling the counsels of God: "Even alien and false beliefs are presented as part of the divine ordering of humanity" (p. 114). One of the most valuable sections of the book before us is taken up with a concise and carefully weighed estimate of the characteristics of the great religions of India and of China. To appreciate with justice this part of the volume would require a prolonged study of the sacred books of the East; but every student will find it full of interest and of suggestiveness.

The presuppositions of the Christian solution are set down as threefold: (1) that the world was made by God; (2) that man was made in the image of God; and (3) that man, by self-assertion, has broken his rightful connexion with God (p. 183). These presuppositions which are set down in Scripture "receive the amplest justification in life," but they do not, of course, clear away all difficulties. As Butler taught us long ago, we cannot expect to have all difficulties removed; all we can ask for is an intelligible answer to our questionings which shall really satisfy them while not labouring under any greater intellectual difficulties than the counter answers which suggest themselves. But we must be careful not to read difficulties into the record which are not there already, and to remember that "the record of the Creation and of the Fall is first apprehended in its full significance when it is studied as a revelation of spiritual mysteries, and not as a realistic narrative" (p. 196). . . . "For the most part the facts of the Creation and the Fall are apprehended individually through feeling and experience. This individual witness is enough for the guidance of life" (p. 198). We have not left ourselves space to speak of the treatment of miracles in chapter vii., and must content ourselves with noting that two propositions are regarded as cardinal in this connexion (p. 211): (1) that the idea of a miracle assumes the existence of the spiritual being to whom it is referred, a point forcibly emphasized by Dr. Mozley in his *Bampton Lectures*; and (2) that our antecedent conception of the character of the being will decide the assignment of any particular fact to his agency. *Miracula sine doctrina nihil valent*. The development of the important principle that miracles are treated in Scripture as subordinate to faith in God (p. 212) is most instructive; and furnishes a valuable supplement to Dr. Mozley's famous essay on the trial of Abraham's faith in his *Ruling Ideas in Early Ages*.

The only other thought to which we can here call attention is probably the most far-reaching in the volume, as its subject is the deepest in theology. Dr. Westcott had already reminded us, in his dissertation on *The Gospel of Creation*, that the doctrine that the Incarnation was dependent on the Fall was neither certainly Scriptural nor universally held by Christian antiquity. This he tells us again (p. 258), "The first Gospel lies in the record of Creation. It was given before the Fall, and not after the Fall. The Divine counsel of the union of God with man realized in the Incarnation is the foundation of Revelation. The poverty and sorrow

and passion of Christ were due to sin, but we dare not suppose that the consummation of the destiny of humanity was due to such a cause."

The difference between the Christian idea of the Incarnation and pagan legends on the same subject is thus marked out: "There had been fabled apotheoses in which heroes had laid aside their dress of mortality, and gained entrance into the family of heaven. But the assumption of humanity, not for a time, but for ever, by the Word who is God, was a truth undreamt of till it was realised" (p. 252). And the bearing of the theories popularly associated with the term evolution, the theory of the continuity pervading nature, upon the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation is expounded in these pregnant words: "The body of man is bound, how closely we are slowly coming to know, with the world in which he lives. The assumption of this body of flesh by the Son of God offers therefore the thought of larger issues of the Incarnation than we can apprehend at first. In this respect the message of Christianity corresponds with the earliest teaching of Genesis on the Creation and the Fall" (p. 241).

We have not attempted to do more than call attention to the varied contents of this remarkable volume. To give a satisfactory critical estimate of a book in which judgments are expressed on so many difficult topics would tax the powers of a student at once of comparative religion, of philosophy, and of Christian doctrine; we can only say that we believe it is one of the most important contributions to the philosophy of religion that we have had in recent years.

J. H. BERNARD, D.D.

THE QUESTION OF QUESTIONS. By SAMUEL WAINWRIGHT, D.D. James Nisbet & Co., 21, Berners Street. 1892.

THIS is another work of Christian Apology. The question of questions which the writer sets himself to discuss is, "What think ye of Christ?"; and in a heavy volume of over three hundred pages he proceeds to defend his position against Jews, Arians, Semi-Arians, Socinians, Unitarians, Agnostics, and, with lofty contempt, the school of the Higher Criticism.

The volume is the outcome of two series of Advent addresses delivered in the author's church of St. Stephen's, Clapham Park, the congregation of which will perhaps welcome its appearance. But for the world outside the book has no interest or value. There is nothing original in the arguments employed, and the writer's style will not attract thoughtful readers. It abounds largely in quotations, and in quotations of such abnormal length as sometimes to extend to almost entire chapters. In chapter x., which consists of nine pages, almost eight are devoted to other people's writings, while a quotation from Père Hyacinthe occupies four pages of chapter xii., and four pages of chapter xix. are filled with an extract from the *Conversations of Napoleon*.

As a specimen of Dr. Wainwright's style of controversy we will select the opening passage of chapter vi., which is entitled, "Betrayed! with a Kiss." It is quite superfluous to say that the Higher Critics are referred to. "As it was in the beginning so it is now," says Dr. Wainwright: "Christ is wounded in the house of His friends, and the Son of Man is betrayed with a kiss. 'The testimony of Jesus is the Spirit of Prophecy'; for 'to Him gave all the prophets witness.' All the prophets: Enoch, the earliest; Moses, the greatest. Such, at least, is the testimony of Holy Scripture. But the 'Higher Criticism' is better informed. There never was a Moses. The Pentateuch? Yes, of course, you think so naturally; but you are wrong. The Higher Criticism has settled that. The Pentateuch is the patchwork product of a

later age ; a forgery palmed off upon the pious Josiah." This will serve as a specimen of the sneering style of Dr. Wainwright, who goes on to say, with insolent audacity, that in reply to a certain question the Higher Critics give "an answer that subverts Christianity." We are jauntily told, however, that "the Higher Criticism is no criticism at all," that it has been "completely refuted," but that it "has been by certain ecclesiastical dignitaries quite recently refurbished, regarnished, repropounded, and warranted 'as good as new.'" Once again, "It is the old story of energies ill-directed, of acquirements misapplied, of God's fair gifts prostituted at the shrine of an ignoble system, that claims for its due the sacrifice of history, of human dignity, and of the Divinity itself, and calls it 'scientific criticism.'" These extracts are sufficient to show what manner of book this production of Dr. Wainwright's is. When writers can thus speak of their opponents they at once put themselves out of court with all intelligent and fair-minded readers. Such methods of controversy are altogether unworthy of the sacred cause of truth, which, however, we have no doubt is as dear to Dr. Wainwright as it is, beyond all question, to Mr. Gore and Professor Driver.

JOHN VAUGHAN.

SOME MAIN QUESTIONS OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH. By HENRY VARLEY, B.A. (Lond.).

THE eight sermons contained in this little volume originally appeared in the *Christian World Pulpit*. They were preached at Highbury Congregational Chapel, Cheltenham, with the hope of confirming the faith and of removing the doubts of some of the more thoughtful of the younger members of the congregation. They are just exactly what they pretend to be—"a plain, homely, and by no means exhaustive treatment of a few of the main questions of the Christian faith." As a contribution to the literature of Christian Apologetics, the little book makes no claim ; but the arguments therein are lucid, and the style is manly and straightforward, and such as to gain the attention of the young people to whom the sermons were specially addressed.

The first six sermons treat of questions about which all Christians, as distinguished from unbelievers, are agreed. The arguments for the existence of God, for the authenticity of the Gospels, for the credibility of miracles, for the Divinity and the Resurrection of our Lord, for the existence of a future life, are forcibly arrayed, and the Christian position ably defended. The last two sermons are not of equal merit with the preceding. Matters of controversy among Christian people are introduced, and in a manner not likely to make for peace. For instance, in discussing the question, "What is a Christian ?" Mr. Varley says, "The Churches of England and of Rome teach that we become Christians by being baptized ; that before baptism we are outside the body of the people of Christ, and that after baptism we are inside. This is nonsense, and, what is more, it is mischievous nonsense." Again, Mr. Varley is equally dogmatic on the nature of the Church. "The Church," he tells us, "does not consist of *christened* people, as some would have us believe, but of *Christian* people, which is a very different thing." Baptism has nothing to do with it. "The Quakers show us how sincere and earnest the Christian life may be without the use of sacraments at all."

This little book would have been more generally useful if the two last sermons had been omitted.

JOHN VAUGHAN.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

APOLOGETICS; OR, CHRISTIANITY DEFENSIVELY STATED. By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis, Free Church College, Glasgow. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892, 8vo, pp. xvi., 522, \$2.50 net.

We have before us the third volume of the "International Theological Library," of which series there have already appeared Canon Driver's "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament" and Dr. Newman Smyth's "Christian Ethics." Only the latter part of this book deals with those materials which the author has handled in his previous works, "The Training of the Twelve," "The Humiliation of Christ," and "The Kingdom of God."

This volume seems to have made the impression of being a departure from the methods traditional in the field of apologetics. It is even doubted whether, save to fill a place in a scheme, this work would have been called a contribution to apologetics. And yet surely, if there is need of a defensive statement of Christianity at all, the defence should be against those phases of doubt and difficulty which beset us at the present day. It is refreshing to see an author who with deference refers us to the Christian history for those victorious answers which have been given from Origen to Butler. One is relieved from a plan of campaign if the enemy against whom it was arranged is dead—dead either by the hands of our ancestors or by the course of nature. There are two living questions before us. The one is philosophical. In the last analysis it is a question of the theory of knowledge. The other is historical. It asks, not how can things be, but how were they. To the first of these Professor Bruce devotes the first part of this work. He begins with the Christian facts, as alleged. He then speaks of the Christian theory of those facts; and then, following a logical rather than the chronological thread, he speaks of the anti-Christian theories—pantheism, materialism, deism, what he calls modern speculative theism, agnosticism. A geniality which indeed pervades the whole work enables the author to give a truly sympathetic account of that fascination which pantheism, in some form of it, has often exerted upon the highest type of mind. The matters at issue between Christianity and materialism, on the one hand, and between Christianity and agnosticism on the other, are the crucial ones. The treatment is delightful in its judicial spirit, in its concessive attitude, in its appreciativeness of that illumination which we, as Christian men,

owe to all departments of physical research. Here, as always, the author assumes not that he has an objector to annihilate, the reader being called to witness and applaud the neatness of the annihilation. His address is not to the objector. It is rather to one in whom he may assume a certain amount of sympathy with the Christian cause, or, at any rate, "a certain fairness and openness of mind, a generous spirit under hostile bias, which he seeks to remove—a bias due to no ignoble cause, but animated even in its hostility by worthy motives." The chapter on modern speculative theism will, I judge, on all hands be felt to be the least satisfactory in this part of the work. For one thing, this phase of thought is not sharply differentiated, especially on the side toward orthodox theism; for another, because certain allusions—e.g., to Martineau—convey but partial impressions of the men.

The way being thus prepared by the discussion of the philosophical inquiries as to God and man and the relations of the two, we advance to the study of the history of those relations—that is, of those which are alleged in the Jewish and Christian sacred writings. This material falls naturally into two books, the first treating of the Historical Preparation for Christianity, the second of the Christian Origins. The first of these two parts is the one which for obvious reasons will attract most attention, and to which the largest measure of immediate value will belong. It is the first attempt, so far as I know, in comprehensive way to make use of the results of modern literary and historical criticism of the Old Testament for the defence of Christianity. There is something almost resembling novelty in this, so largely has it been assumed, in what called itself apologetic literature, that the critics were assailants of Christianity, or, if not that, they were at any rate playing into the hands of the assailants. With commendable absence even of controversial manner, Professor Bruce makes this change of front. The most of us made it for ourselves some time ago. I mean to say, we made our own faith more secure, not less so, more full of light and power, not less so, by the conclusions which Old Testament criticism helped us reach. Professor Bruce, with a cautiousness which is becoming where so much is acknowledged to be yet uncertain, wins a hearing from all parties by putting the case often only hypothetically. Suppose it is to be admitted that all that the critics have alleged is true, what follows for the Christian way of looking at these things? Often that is the only just way of putting the case. Always it is a wise way; and the main order of the literature, as he has given it, will hardly be reversed, nor the general

outline of the history departed from. The author seems to me to have been exceedingly happy in telling just what the reader, whom he has in mind, will wish to know. What are the facts which the investigation would seem to have made reasonably sure? and what is the interpretation of those facts by a man of unwavering Christian faith?

The material of the third part is much more familiar and much less in current controversy. So much has the ground of debate changed within the lifetime of men still living. But, by contrast with any apologetic work of, say, twenty years ago, the book well shows how much has been gained for our knowledge of the teaching of Christ and the thought of Paul by the zealous study of the progress of doctrine in the first three centuries, which has meantime been made. Both of the questions to which this book is addressed are forms of one, the one which agitates our time—that of the ground of authority in religion. Without doubt much of the conscientious objection to the conclusions of literary and historical criticism has originated in the fear that if those conclusions should be established, the authority of Scripture would be impaired. The author seeks to show that it is not thus impaired. He labors to show that that authority is as devoutly felt as ever; but there is no denying that it is differently felt. It is felt as an authority established for us not so much by the external history of the documents, different from the history of any other documents, as by the appeal of the contents of them to our own religious consciousness. So as to the other question. The authoritativeness and obligation of man's relation to God does not stand or fall with our apprehension of our Divine relations as entirely different from all other relations of our lives. It survives in spite of the growing recognition of the similarity, uniformity, and naturalness of all our relations. It survives by the appeal of that which is alleged as to man and God, to our inward consciousness. This being so, there arises the question whether it will not be a part of the problem of the apologetics of the future to give a place to the argument from the religious consciousness, and ultimately to that from the Christian experience, as being really the root in which both lines of reasoning followed in this book unite. For certainly the strongest appeal which we to-day are able to make for the authority of religion is to the religious consciousness—that is, to the felt congruity between what God in Christ offers and what man needs. And the final proof is in the Christian experience—that is, in the felt satisfaction of that need. It is because of this consciousness and experience that

we view the course of speculation and of criticism not only with equanimity, but with delight; and this argument ought to be capable of strong apologetic presentation.

EDWARD C. MOORE.

Providence, R. I.

THE EARLY NARRATIVES OF GENESIS. A Brief Introduction to the Study of Genesis i.-xi. By HERBERT EDWARD RYLE, B.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. xi., 188.

The chapters which form the theme of this volume have probably caused more trouble to those who are sceptically inclined than any other portion of Holy Writ. It is to be presumed that we have all found men who were ready to enter upon a criticism of these records, which was anything except "reverent." From the standpoint of that view of Scripture which makes its every word and its every syllable an infallible and scientifically correct word of God Himself, there was small escape from the logic and facts of the objector. No one can estimate accurately the amount of time and the number of pages that have been consumed in making these records square with the progressive study of the records of the rocks and of archaeology.

The question rises whether all this labor has been well expended. Undoubtedly no amount of toil is to be shunned which serves to bring forward and prove the truth. But when one searches for the ultimate ground out of which all this discussion has sprung, one will be forced to the conclusion that it lies in the definition which has been given to the word and influence which we call inspiration. Given a document which is inspired of God, we are forced to one of two conclusions—its every utterance is absolute and complete truth; or, it is true in so far as it has a definite and circumscribed aim. It is hard to maintain either of these positions: the former in the face of the fact that the best copies which we have of the Bible—for this is the document which we are considering—contain errors and discrepancies; the latter because we are met by the difficulty, easy to suggest, that we must discriminate the portions in which the divine teaching is contained from those which form the "circumstantial setting."

Possibly the amount of labor which has been bestowed upon the Scriptures is due to this view of their inspiration, and that but for it they would have been no more than the religious books of other nations, though we are not inclined to accept this view. But be that as it may, it is beyond doubt that biblical literature has been the most prolific that the pen or the press has

ever seen, and there seems no probability that the end is coming in the near future. With the progress of investigation new theories have been advanced, and among them are those of what is known as the "higher" or literary criticism. Some of its conclusions are hard to receive; others are so evident that the only surprise is that it has required so many centuries to make them known. Some seem to be proved, and others are still in court waiting for a final verdict which seems slow in coming. In the mean time we owe it to ourselves to see what these conclusions are, and to prove them in every way, being assured that if they are "of men they will come to nought."

One conviction which we have at the start, and which is derived from our experience of the truth, is that even if the literary criticism should prove its thesis, we are not compelled to resign our faith in the power and efficacy of the Scriptures to perform the duty for which they were set. The word of God and the works of God are in accord, and it is short-sighted to set the seal of disapproval upon any work or word of God because of our human definitions or *a priori* theses.

The day has gone by when the dogmatician can quote the words of Satan, or even of Elihu, as though they contained the undimmed and undiluted verity of God, and upon such "proof-texts" found a tenet of a theological system. A broader induction is needed and a more intelligent study of Scripture than that which one makes under the guidance of a concordance. Much of the objection which is made against the newer criticism is based on nothing more reasonable than an indisposition to change long-accustomed and early-acquired habits of thought and methods of study. But wuo would dare to announce such a consideration to be his moving principle? But do the old exegetical methods yield more of positive results than the new? "By their fruits ye shall know them." In Professor Ryle's book we have some specimens of the popular and expository results of the "higher" criticism as he understands and applies it. We have read the whole with a growing interest and with profit. The simple narratives have more of the divine influence in them than they ever had before when he shows the lessons which they were intended to convey. To be sure we are stumbled when he speaks of them as "traditions," "primitive traditions," and the like; but, upon second thought, what else had we ever considered them to be? If the writer, Moses or any other, used documents, did they not contain "traditions," how else did the writer become acquainted with them? But the divine element comes in when we compare the biblical with the heathen forms of the same stories.

In the latter are low polytheistic conceptions; in the former they are modified and toned into accordance with a pure and lofty monotheism. This gives an idea of an inspiration loftier and higher than that which makes a man into a machine no more intellectual than a phonograph. Professor Ryle has done a service in putting this truth in popular form.

CHARLES R. GILLET.

New York.

THE EVOLUTION OF CHRISTIANITY. By M. J. SAVAGE. Boston: George H. Ellis. 1892, 12mo, pp. 178.

Mr. Savage, well known as a leader among Unitarian thinkers and preachers, had this book, with its title, in type before Dr. Lyman Abbott's Lowell Institute lectures on the same subject were delivered. It is therefore neither borrowed as to its title nor is it in form a reply to Dr. Abbott's previously published volume. It is, however, a very different presentation of what is, nominally at least, the same subject.

In the concluding chapter Mr. Savage raises and answers the question, What is Christianity? He does not think the world can ever outgrow the spiritual ideal, the temper, the attitude of Jesus. To us, indeed, it seems that he is here very near the true conception of Christianity, as a spirit more than a form, the spirit of faith in and fellowship with such a being as Jesus the Christ. But Mr. Savage identifies Christianity with allegiance to certain ideas rather than with spiritual sympathy with the person representing these ideas—the ideas, namely, of Divine Fatherhood, human brotherhood, and a Divine-human kingdom of truth and peace. These are, indeed, the substantial contents of Christianity, but its dynamic element is in the person and character of its Founder. In a word, the personal element in Christianity is the ruling and plastic element.

But Mr. Savage, conceiving of Christianity, even in its purest form, as an impersonal system of ideas, has treated of its evolution from the same point of view, and has described the development of Christian tenets rather than of the Christian spirit. His book might accordingly have been entitled the Evolution of Orthodoxy. Mr. Savage, of course, treats his subject, thus conceived, with a critical and unsympathetic mind. He means to be fair-minded. He recognizes great merits here and there. In regard to the doctrine of Holy Scripture, he has praise even for Romanists, whose subordination of the printed book to the free Spirit of the Divine life which is in the Church, he holds to be the more rational way. As for St. Paul, he places him among "the five or

six greatest of mankind." But taking Christianity, as he does, to consist largely of doctrines which Jesus Himself never preached, his treatment is necessarily biased and adverse.

Nor do we think that he is careful to avoid loose statements. It is well admitted on all sides that the doctrine of a Trinity of coequal Divine agents is of later date than the Nicene era; that the Nicene theologians taught the subordination of the Son to the Father. Mr. Savage, however, tells us that the Nicene doctrine was that Jesus was the equal of the Father, and almighty like Him. Such a blunder in a point not beset by prejudice—for many Unitarians have a liking for the Nicene Creed, regarding it as only semi-Trinitarian—suggests the query whether the writer has always been at pains to know the subjects thoroughly on which he passes judgment. His treatment of the Messianic idea is here in point. He thinks "all intelligent thinkers" should have done with it; but he does not discriminate, as an intelligent thinker should, between the spiritual core of the idea and the miscellaneous accretions that have gathered round it. His own reverence for the moral leadership of Jesus might have revealed to him that there was somewhat substantial in the ancient hope of a righteous King to rise from Israel.

Mr. Savage is a clear and vigorous writer, and the discourses in this volume are admirable specimens of a literary style at once popular and pure. He has a hearty detestation of all unreality, and carries us with him in his censure of many things and beliefs for which the name of Christianity has been illegitimately claimed; but he has, like every one else, his limitations. He does not easily conceive of truth, except under a logical form; and that, in treating of the things of the Spirit, is a very serious limitation. If he combined the temper of a poet with that of a logician, we are persuaded he would recognize many a subtle truth where now he finds nothing but irrationality. The church he belongs to is the church of the critics. It has a mission in the world. So long as things and beliefs are presented as part of Christianity, which are mere adulterations of it, the critic is needed; but the criticism which helps to build up does not deal mainly in negation. It lays its main emphasis on the things that are worthy of all acceptance. If Mr. Savage's criticism were of this kind, it would avail more for the evolution of real Christianity.

JAMES M. WHITON.

New York.

The Presbyterian professors whose trials for heresy have awakened so widespread an interest do not mean that their posi-

tions shall be misunderstood, if a publication of their views in book form is of any avail. Dr. Briggs has printed three editions of his "Inaugural," and Dr. Smith is now out in what is really a fourth edition (with additions) of "Biblical Scholarship and Inspiration," which was the occasion of his arraignment, and which we reviewed in the MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE in June, 1891. The present volume is entitled *Inspiration and Inerrancy*, a history and a defence, by *Henry Preserved Smith*, Professor in Lane Seminary. Containing the original papers on "Biblical Scholarship and Inspiration." (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1893, 8vo, pp. 374, \$1.50.) In it we find a preliminary statement concerning the "situation" and the "occasion" preceding the trial, the charges in their original and amended forms, the response to the charges, and the rebuttal argument. The whole gives a clear and lucid account of the case, but the wonder will rise as to the character of the arguments by which a conviction was secured. We could wish that the prosecution had the courage to put them forth in print.

The Case against Professor Briggs. Part II. (New York: Scribners, 1893, cr. 8vo, pp. 161, 50 cents, paper.) Part I. contained nine documents belonging to the history of the prosecution of Dr. Briggs, down to the order of the Presbyterian General Assembly remanding the case for trial before the Presbytery of New York. A separate publication of Dr. Briggs's argument-in-chief was made immediately after the trial. The present book gives seven additional documents with some extracts from the stenographic report of the discussions at the trial. They consist of preliminary objections touching the status of the "Committee of Prosecution" as a legally organized and authorized body, and also the amended charges and specifications. The evidence submitted by the defendant is given, and the text of the exceptions entered against the unwarranted introduction of unannounced new evidence in rebuttal at the close of the trial, after the defence had been heard. The tabulated vote and the verdict of the Presbytery close the volume.

The March of Methodism from Epworth around the Globe. Outlines of the History, Doctrine, and Polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By *James McGee*. With an Introduction by Bishop James N. Fitzgerald, LL.D., President of the Epworth League. (New York: Hunt & Eaton; Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis, 1893, 12mo, pp. v., 147.) Mr. McGee has told a wonderful tale in brief space. His object has been to place at the disposal of busy men

a sketch of the progress of the Methodist movement from its inception to the present, and to outline the promise of the future. To a considerable extent his treatment is biographical in its method, and nearly all of the book is historical. Comparatively little space is devoted to the doctrinal views of the denomination. The volume is one from which the reader can get an idea of the moving forces of the history, though by no means an exhaustive view of all of the most important elements.

A Sketch of the Lives and Missionary Work of Rev. Cephas Bennett and his Wife, Stella Kneeland Bennett, 1829-91. By *Ruth Whitaker Ranney*. (Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 142.) A brief but interesting sketch of missionary activity covering the remarkable period of fifty-five years. This would have justified a far larger volume than the one which has been produced by the piety of a granddaughter. Unfortunately the materials at the author's disposal were limited, owing to the destruction of nearly all the letters and journals which would here have found their appropriate use. As it is, however, we get some glimpses of Burma as it was, and also an account of its present state from the pen of Sir Charles Bernard, formerly Chief Commissioner of Burma, as well as of the long-continued exertions of this honored pair.

Reasons for Believing in Christianity. This little volume of apologetics is by the Rev. C. A. Row, Prebendary of St. Paul's and the Bampton lecturer of 1877. It is now in its sixth edition, a fact which goes far to prove its useful character. It is addressed to "busy people," the vast majority of the members of the churches. It is well calculated to answer its purpose, being written in a lucid style and supplied with many striking illustrations. It may be put in the hands of intelligent readers, who will appreciate the force of the reasoning, and who may be led further in their reading. The author acknowledges that his discussions here are not exhaustive, but refers for a fuller treatment to his Bampton Lectures on "Christian Evidences Viewed in Relation to Modern Thought." (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 12mo, pp. xii., 162, paper, 25 cents; cloth, 75 cents.)

Children of God and other sermons, by the Rev. Edward A. Stuart, Vicar of St. James's, Holloway (New York: Dutton, 1893, 12mo, pp. viii., 238, \$1.25), is the title of the latest addition to the "Preachers of the Age" series. It is a sturdy, honest, and, withal, handsome face which looks out from the frontispiece, and it is a sturdy, honest, and true spirit which speaks from the pages which follow. Conviction is

stamped upon all the sermons, which are models of clearness. They are conservative in the best sense, devoted to the presentation of the truth in its integrity and wholeness. It is a volume worthy of its place in the series.

Things New and Old. Sermons by Robert Collyer, minister of the Church of the Messiah, New York. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1893, 12mo, pp. 208, \$1.) In taking up a volume like this it is not necessary that any difference of view-point should blind us to its excellencies. The face that looks at us from the frontispiece is one which awakens respect and admiration, and the spirit of human helpfulness and sympathy reflected by the pages is one to do the heart good. The author appears to us to owe more than he may suspect to the Baptist mother and his own Methodist antecedents, which he mentions in the course of his sermons. The style of discourse is remarkable for its plainness and for the rugged brevity of its words. Seldom have we seen a similar proportion of short, simple words in pulpit address.

Studies in Ephesians. By A. R. Cocks, pastor at Waynesboro, Va., Professor of Philosophy in the Valley Seminary. (Chicago and New York: Revell, 1892, 12mo, pp. 137, 75 cents.) These "studies" represent a number of week-evening lectures delivered before the people of the author's charge. They are based upon the standard commentaries, but give results, not methods. Before publication they were submitted to a number of eminent men, and having met their approval, are now put forth in the hope that they may be useful not only in themselves, but in calling attention to the expository method of homiletical work.

Under the title *The Wonderful Counselor*, the Rev. Henry B. Moad, M.A., has prepared "all the recorded sayings of the Lord Jesus, chronologically arranged on a plan for easy memorizing, in single passages, one for each day of the year, with brief notes, connecting words and phrases." The Introduction is by Rev. Francis E. Clark, D.D., President of the United Society of Christian Endeavor. (New York: Randolph, 1892, 12mo, pp. xiii., 264.) The book is one which adapts itself to continuous reading or to daily use of the sections. The notes in smaller type, placed parallel to the text, are suggestive and good. The whole presents a most delightful method for the study of the words of Christ, giving them in their historical sequence. The dedication to the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor shows the practical aim that the compiler has had in mind—an aim seconded and endorsed by Dr. Clark.

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Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index of Periodicals.

- Af. M. E. R. African M. E. Church Review. (Quarterly.)
 A. R. Andover Review. (Bi-monthly.)
 B. S. Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quarterly.)
 B. W. The Biblical World.
 B. Q. R. Baptist Quarterly Review.
 Ch. Q. R. Church Quarterly Review.
 C. M. Q. Canadian Methodist Quarterly.
 C. R. Charities Review.
 C. T. Christian Thought.
 Ex. Expositor.
 Ex. T. Expository Times.
 G. W. Good Words.
 H. R. Homiletic Review.
 K. M. Katholische Missionen.
 L. Q. Lutheran Quarterly.
 M. R. Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)
 M. H. Missionary Herald.
 Miss. R. Missionary Review.
 N. C. Q. New Christian Quarterly.
 N. H. M. Newbery House Magazine.
 N. W. The New World.
 O. D. Our Day.
 P. E. R. Protestant Episcopal Review.
 P. M. Preachers' Magazine.
 P. Q. Presbyterian Quarterly.
 P. R. R. Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
 R. Ch. Review of the Churches.
 R. Q. R. Reformed Quarterly Review.
 R. R. R. Religious Review of Reviews.
 S. A. H. Sunday at Home.
 S. M. Sunday Magazine.
 T. Tr. The Treasury.
 Y. R. The Yale Review.
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THE MAY MAGAZINES.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE for May contains: "Along the Canal in Old Manhattan," frontispiece; "The Evolution of New York," first part, Thomas A. Janvier; "A Dream City," Candace Wheeler; "James Russell Lowell," Charles Eliot Norton; "Selka Talmeyr: A Tale of Three Cities" (a story), Brander Matthews; "A Discontented Province," Henry Loomis Nelson; "Horace Chase" (a novel), Part V, Constance Fenimore Woolson; "A Child of the Covenant" (a story), Eva Wilder McGlason; "Love's Labor's Lost," Edwin A. Abbey; "The Refugees: A Tale of Two Continents," Part V, A. Conan Doyle; "Colorado and its Capital," Julian Ralph; "The French Scare of 1873," Mr De Blowitz; "Phillips Brooks," Rev. Arthur Brooks, D.D.; "Editor's Study," Charles Dudley Warner.

THE CENTURY for May contains "The World's Fair: Looking North from the Lion Fountain," frontispiece; "At the Fair," Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer; "Decorative Painting at the World's Fair," W. Lewis Fraser; "The White City," Richard Watson Glider; "Sweet Bells Out of Tune" (conclusion), Mrs. Burton Harrison; "The Knight of Pentecost," Harriet Prescott Spofford; "Recollections of Lord Tennyson," John Addington Symonds; "To Alfred Tennyson," Aubrey De Vere; "An Embassy to Provence" (conclusion), Thomas A. Janvier; "Benefits Forgot," VI., Wolcott Balestier; "A Lie," Ellen M. H. Gates; "Personal Impressions of Nicaragua," Gilbert Gaul; "The Chevalier de Resaegnier," Thomas Bailey Aldrich; "The Lake of the Dead," Henry Morton; "Joseph Bonaparte in Bordentown," F. Marion Crawford; "Leaves from the Autobiography of Salvini," Tommaso Salvini; "Some Verses Carol," Henry Jerome Stock-

ard; "The Queen and the Duchess," M. O. W. Oliphant; "John Muir," John Hewitt; "Mr. Gadsbury's Brother," M. Frances Swann Williams; "Relics of Artemus Ward," Don C. Seitz; "An Inside View of the Pension Bureau" (by an employé of the Bureau), A. B. Casselman; "With the Tread of Marching Columns," S. R. Elliot; "Writing to Rosina" (in two parts), Part I., William Henry Bishop.

THE Exhibition number of SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE contains: "A Daughter of Japan," frontispiece; "An Unpublished Autograph Narrative by Washington," introductory note by Henry G. Pickering; "The Braddock Campaign," "Buddha's Flowers," by Alfred Parsons; "The Country Printer," by W. D. Howells; "Early in the Spring," by Robert Louis Stevenson; "The Parting Guest," by George H. Boughton; "Broken Music," by Thomas Bailey Aldrich; "The Milliner's Bill," by Irving R. Wiles; "The Reformation of James Reddy," by Bret Harte; "Study Hour," by Boutet de Monvel; "A Song of Springtime," by L. Marchetti; "The Mirror," by F. S. Church; "The Upward Pressure," by Walter Besant; "The Fiddler of the Reels," by Thomas Hardy; "Arcturus," by J. Alden Weir; "The Middle Years," by Henry James; "A Playmate," by Albert Lynch; "The Coquette," by C. S. Reinhardt; "An Artist in Japan," by Robert Blum; "The Centaur," by H. Siddons Mowbray; "The Heart of the Woods," by W. B. Closson; "Jersey and Mulberry," by H. C. Bunner; "The One I Knew the Best of All: A Memory of the Mind of a Child," by Frances Hodgson Burnett; "Florentine Girls," by E. H. Blashfield; "Between Mass and Vespers," by Sarah Orne Jewett; "A Quiet Spot," by Elbridge Kingsley; "Confidences," by W. T. Smedley; "The Comédie Française at Chicago," by Francisque Sarcey; "The Taxidermist," by George W. Cable.

THE contents of LIPPINCOTT'S for May are: "Mrs. Romney," Rosa Nouchette Carey; "The Society of the Cincinnati," John Bunling; "A Cry from the Dark," Louise Chandler Moulton; "A Pastel" (Lippincott's Notable Stories, No. III.), Cornelia Kane Rathbone; "Triumvirate," Arthur D. F. Randolph; "New St. Louis," James Cox; "The Soul of Man," Dora Read Goodale; "Kühne Beveridge," Gertrude Atherton; "In Quiet Bays," Charlotte Pendleton; "Colonel Pope and Good Roads," Professor L. M. Haupt; "Men of the Day," M. Crofton; "With the Wife."

THE contents of THE COSMOPOLITAN for May are: "Henrik Ibsen," "In the Footsteps of Dickens," Harger Ragan; "Omega: The Last Days of the World," Camille Flammarion; "The Pedagogical Value of the Novel," M. S. Merwin; "Ars et Labor" (poem), F. D. Sherman; "A Traveller from Altruria," W. D. Howells; "Prison Life at Belle Isle," Joseph C. Helm; "In a Dahabieh" (poem), Frederick Peterson; "Lumbering in the Northwest," J. E. Jones; "What the Blossoms Told" (poem), H. S. Morris; "American Society in Paris," Mary Bacon Ford; "The Spoil of the Puma," Gilbert Parker; "The Parentage of Art" (poem), Selden L. Whitcomb; "Henrik Ibsen's Poems," H. H. Boyesen; "Silence" (poem), John B. Tabb; "English Postal Reformers," T. L. James; "Contemporary French Playwrights," Arthur Hornblow; "Crinoline Folly," Helen G. Ecob; "A Revolution in the Means of Communication," Ellisha Gray.

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COMPILED BY THE REV. GEORGE W. GILMORE, M.A.

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CHRONICLE.

(Close on the 30th of each month.)

March 15. Special meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, in Belfast, to take action concerning the Home Rule Bill now pending in the British Parliament.

March 23. Twelfth annual meeting of the International Medical Missionary Society in New York.

March 26. Tenth annual meeting of the New York Auxiliary of the McAll Mission in France.

March 29. Special meeting of the congregation at the Tabernacle, London, at which the Rev. Thomas Spurgeon was invited to officiate in the pulpit for one year.

April 4. Opening reception at the new building of the Reformed Church of America in New York.

Opening of the new Mormon Temple in Salt Lake City.

April 5-7. Fiftieth anniversary in Cambridge and Boston of the American Oriental Society.

April 11. Completion at the Bible House, New York City, of the first Bible in the language of the Gilbert Islands. Rev. Hiram Bingham, son of the pioneer missionary of that name, was present.

April 14. Regular meeting of the Western Section of the Alliance of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian system, in New York City.

April 17. Organization of a National Association of Open-Air Workers, in New York City.

April 19-18. Twenty-third annual meeting of the Woman's Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., in Buffalo.

April 19-20. Twenty-second annual meeting of the Woman's Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, in Providence, R. I.

The Right Rev. C. C. Penick, formerly Bishop of Africa, has been elected General Agent of the Protestant Episcopal Commission of Church Work among Colored People.

The Rev. Dr. George L. Spining, pastor of the Phillips Church, New York City, has been nominated Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in place of General Morgan.

The Rev. John Sheersbanks has been appointed Bishop of Norwich.

The Rev. W. Todd Martin, D.D., D. Lit., is to be the Moderator of the next General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.

Monsignor M. Decelles was consecrated (Roman Catholic) Bishop of St. Hyacinthe, Quebec, March 9, and the Right Rev. D. S. Di Pietro is to be consecrated Bishop of British Honduras.

The Rev. Arthur E. Main, D.D., has been elected President of Alfred University; and the Rev. E. T. Jeffers, D.D., formerly President of Westminster College, and lately pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Oil City, Pa., will accept the presidency of Collegiate Institute, York, Pa.

The Rev. W. F. Blackman has been appointed to the new chair of Social Science in the Yale Divinity School; the Rev. J. Aspinwall Hodge has been selected to fill the chair of Biblical Instruction in Lincoln University; the Rev. Henry J. Van Dyke, D.D., has been offered and has declined the Bartlett chair in Andover Seminary; Professor George N. Boardman has resigned the professorship of Systematic Theology in the Chicago Theological Seminary; and Dr. Schaff has been made Professor Emeritus in Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

OBITUARY.

Bliss, Rev. George Ripley (Baptist), D.D. (Madison University, 1860), LL.D. (Lewisburg University, 1878), at Upland, Pa., March 27, aged 77. He was graduated from Hamilton University, 1838, and from Hamilton Theological Seminary, 1840; became tutor in Madison University, 1840; pastor at New Brunswick, N. J., 1843; Professor of Greek in University of Lewisburg, Pa., 1849; Professor of Biblical Exegesis in Crozer Theological Seminary, 1874, and of Biblical Literature and Theology in the same institution, 1883. He translated, with additions, Fay's Commentary on Joshua and Kleinert's on Obadiah and Micah in the Lange Commentary, and wrote the "Commentary on Luke" in the "Complete Commentary on the New Testament," by Dr. Hovey.

Brown, John M. (African Methodist Episcopal), in Washington, D. C., March 16, aged 76. He was graduated from Oberlin College in 1839; entered the ministry in Detroit, Mich., 1844; was pastor in New Orleans, 1852-57, where he was much persecuted, being imprisoned several times; was at Norfolk, Va., 1861-67; was elected Bishop, 1868.

Cox, Rev. Samuel (English Baptist), D.D. (University of St. Andrews, Edinburgh, 183), at Hastings, March 27, aged 67. He was graduated from the Stepney Baptist Theological College, London, 1852; was ordained pastor of St. Paul's Square Baptist Church, Southsea, the same year; accepted pastorate at Ryde, 1855; became pastor of the General Baptist

Church, Nottingham, 1863. He was the founder of *The Expositor*, and its editor from 1875 to 1884; and has published "The Quest of the Chief Good," "Expository Lectures on the book of Ecclesiastes, with a new Translation," "The Private Letters of St. Paul and St. John," "The Resurrection" (on 1 Cor. xv.), "An Expositor's Note-Book," "Biblical Expositions," "The Pilgrim Psalms," "The Book of Ruth: A Popular Exposition," "A Day with Christ," "Salvator Mundi," "Expository Essays and Discourses," "Commentary on the Book of Job," "Geneals of Evil and other Sermons," "The Larger Hope: A Sequel to Salvator Mundi," "Miracles: An Argument and a Challenge," "Balaam," four series of "Expositions," "The Bird's Nest, and other Sermons for Children of all Ages," "The House and its Builder, and other Discourses," and "A Book for the Doubtful."

Doolittle, Rev. Theodore Sanford (Dutch Reformed), D.D. (Wesleyan University, 1872), LL.D. (Union College, 1891), in New Brunswick, N. J., April 18, aged 56. He was graduated from Rutgers College in 1859, and from New Brunswick Theological Seminary, 1863; became pastor at Flatlands, 1862; was elected Professor of Rhetoric, Logic, and Metaphysics in Rutgers College, 1864, holding the chair till his death; was made vice-president of the Institution, 1890, and acted as president of the same during the fall of 1890. He was an editor of *The Christian at Work*, expounding the International Sunday-School Lessons in that paper. He has also published "An Account of the Centennial Celebration at Rutgers College," and a "History of Rutgers College."

Holdich, Joseph (Methodist Episcopal), D.D., in Morristown, N. J., April 10, aged 83. He was born in England and there received his early education; came to the United States in 1818 and engaged in the study of the law; joined the Philadelphia Conference in 1822, filling important pulpits in that and in the New York Conferences; was appointed Assistant Professor of Moral Science and Belles-Lettres in Wesleyan University, 1835; was appointed full professor of the same, 1836; was elected Secretary of the American Bible Society, 1840, which position he retained till 1878, retiring because of failing health. He is the author of a "Life of Wilbur Fisk."

Kip, Right Rev. William Ingraham (Protestant Episcopal Bishop of California), S. T. D. (Columbia College, 1847), LL.D. (Yale College, 1872), in San Francisco, April 7, aged 82. He was graduated from Yale College, 1831; studied law for a year, but devoted himself to theology, and was graduated from the General Theological Seminary, New York City, 1835; became rector of St. Peter's, Morristown, N. J., 1835; assistant minister of Grace Church, New York, 1836; rector of St. Paul's, Albany, N. Y., 1837; was consecrated Missionary Bishop of California, 1853, and diocesan Bishop of the same, 1857. He has written "Lenten Fast," "Double Witness of the Church," "Christmas Holy-Days at Rome," "Early Jesuit Missions in North America," "Early Conflicts of Christianity," "Catacombs of Rome," "The Unnoticed Things of Scripture," "Olden Time in New York," "Historical Scenes from Old Jesuit Missions," and "Church of the Apostles."

Mendes, Rev. Abraham Pereira (Jewish) D.D., in New York, aged 68. He was born in Kingston, Jamaica; went to London to study theology, 1845; returned to Jamaica, remaining there one year, 1849; was in charge of a synagogue in Birmingham, England, 1850; accepted a call to London, 1852; came to the United States in 1853, and took charge of the synagogue at Newport. He was the author of "The Post-Biblical History of the Jews" and of "The Law of Moses."

CALENDAR.

May 4. Inauguration of Rev. Robert Christie, D.D., to the chair of Didactic and Polemic Theology, in the Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pa.

Annual meeting of the Presbyterian Historical Society at Philadelphia.

May 10. Annual meeting of the London Mission Society. Dr. A. T. Pierson will preach the sermon.

Thirteenth Council of the New York and Philadelphia Synod in Philadelphia.

May 7-9. Annual meeting of the Woman's Board of Missions of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church at East Nashville, Tenn.

May 10-14. Thirtieth International Convention of the Young Men's Christian Associations at Indianapolis. Among the topics to be discussed are Bible Study, Educational Work, the Relation of the Individual Association to Work for Boys, Colored Young Men, Foreign-speaking Young Men, College Work, Physical Departments, Work in Foreign Mission Lands.

May 12. Annual meeting of the Woman's Board of Missions of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church at Nashville, Tenn.

Beginning of the Thirty-eighth Session of the Southern Baptist Convention in Nashville, Tenn.

May 15. Mid-year meeting of the Board of Managers of the Woman's Centenary Association of the Universalist Church, in Chicago.

May 15-22. World's Congress of Representative Women (Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary), at Chicago.

May 18. Jubilee anniversary of the Scotch Disruption, in Edinburgh.

General Assembly of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church at Little Rock, Ark.; of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., in Washington, D. C.; and of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., at Macon, Ga.

In connection with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., the following meetings will be held: May 19—Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions. May 22—Woman's Synodical Committees of Home Missions. May 24—Conference of Synodical Committees to formulate plans of work.

May 22-30. The National Baptist anniversaries at Denver, Col., as follows: May 22-23—Woman's Baptist Foreign Missionary Societies and Woman's Baptist Home Mission Society. May 24-25—American Baptist Publication Society Joint meeting of Women's Societies. May 26-27—American Baptist Missionary Union. May 28—Annual sermons before the Missionary Union, Home Mission Society and Publication Society. May 29-30—American Baptist Home Mission Society. The Baptist Young People's Union will hold meetings each morning during the anniversaries.

May 24-25. Anglican Church Congress for Northern and Central Europe at Geneva, under the presidency of Bishop Wilkinson.

Twenty-fourth Convention of the General Council of the Lutheran Church at Fort Wayne, Ind.

Thirty-sixth Convention of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of America, in Canton, O.

May 30. Annual meeting of the Congregational Home Missionary Society at Chicago.

June 6-8. Missionary Congress appointed by the Presbyterian Synod of New York, at Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

June 8-16. Canada Presbyterian General Assembly, at Bradford, Ont.

June 14-21. The Tenth Annual Meeting of the International Missionary Union, at Clifton Springs, N. Y.

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THE SURVEY OF THOUGHT.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW TESTAMENT JUDAISM.—A very suggestive article is contributed to the *Bibliotheca Sacra* by Professor Schodde on the development of the faith and religious life of Israel in the eventful centuries between the close of the Old and the beginning of the New Testament. "The New Testament," he says, "does not indeed present a systematic or complete account of the popular faith of the day, which was the outcome of the history of Israel since the close of the Old Testament. But the leading features are given, and from these it is evident that this development had been of an erratic kind. Both Christ and the Jewish orthodoxy of His day claim to build upon the Old Testament, and yet the systems of religion which they teach are radically contradictory. Only one conclusion can be reached from this, namely, that in the genesis and formation of the teachings of Jesus' contemporaries, elements must have been introduced that were foreign to its essence and genius, and that in no way accorded with the earlier revelations of God." He points out that the *fons et origo* of this perversion of the Jewish faith lay in the carnal conception which came to be held of the kingdom of God on earth. The contemporaries of Christ had substituted the national idea as the subordinate for the spiritual idea as the principal feature of the kingdom of God, especially in the final consummation of that kingdom. It was the substitution of the means, which were temporal and accidental, for the ends, which were eternal and essential. As a consequence of this leading and fundamental error the nomistic principle was substituted for the principle of faith, which had already in the covenant with Abraham been established as the subjective condition in the kingdom of God. The sum and substance of all practical religion was made to consist in compliance with the *minutiae* of the law, a compliance which was asked to be no deeper than outward and formal. Professor Schodde is of opinion that the beginning of which New Testament Judaism is the end goes back to the days of Ezra the Scribe, and that it is to be ascribed to the establishment of the nomistic principle by him and his coadjutors as the sole and only controlling principle in the religious life of the people. The fatal error of the new departure was its exclusion of the prophetic feature, and in this regard it proved unfaithful to Old Testament precedents and promises. He points out how it came to pass that this one-sided development set in so completely as it did. "The exile was by the prophets declared to be the punishment of the people for their infidelity to Jehovah and His laws. The repentant people confessed the correctness of the charge, and determined that matters should change. All eyes turned to the law,

and the future prosperity and the eventual securing of the hopes held out by revelation to Israel as the people of God were regarded as dependent upon the obedience to that law, the disobedience toward which, by their fathers, had almost destroyed the very existence of the people. Israel's existence was now wound up in the observance of the law, and the very stringency with which this new principle was observed defeated the object which was aimed at, by blinding the people to the spirit of the law and allowing them to see only the letter. Matters progressed so rapidly in this direction that Malachi, the last of the inspired prophets, was compelled to raise his voice against the extreme legalistic standpoint.

THE TEACHING OF OUR LORD AS TO THE AUTHORITY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.—The most conservative views of Old Testament literature find a defender in Bishop Ellicott in a series of articles now appearing in *The Expository Times*. He will not consent to the epithet "mythical" being applied to the earlier chapters of Genesis, or to any other than a literal interpretation of the Book of Jonah; and he treats the allusions made by our Lord to incidents recorded in the Old Testament as establishing the historical truthfulness of those records. We think he weakens his case very considerably by the extreme and rigid position he takes up, and that his method of proof is a very questionable one. Biblical criticism, like any other science, has its varying theories and its conflicting schools and parties. It is surely an excess of the partizan spirit to invoke the sacred authority of Christ in support of certain theories of interpretation or modes of criticism, especially when the judgments on the points in question which He held can only be guessed at, and are not stated in a clear and direct form. A fair specimen of Bishop Ellicott's mode of reasoning is given in his treatment of Christ's reference to Ps. cx. "What we may deduce," he says, "from this passage is this: First, that the psalm was written by David, and that thus this particular superscription is right. Secondly, that David was here writing by direct inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Thirdly, that the reference to the Messiah is so distinct that David may be regarded as consciously speaking of Him. The attempts on the part of modern criticism to explain away the impression which this memorable passage will not fail to leave on any candid mind are many, but all singularly hopeless. It may be perfectly true that our Lord is asking a question rather than making a statement; but if the question is of such a nature that it plainly involves and implies the recognition on our Lord's part of certain facts or truths, why are these facts and truths not to be put in evidence as recognized by Him, and as having the seal of His authority? The true answer to this is: Because it is inconvenient to modern criticism, which has settled that the psalm is of a very late date, and has no Messianic reference at all. But is not modern criticism utterly wrong? Let us put this to the test by this simple question: Is it to be regarded as probable that if the psalm had really been of this late date there was no one in the

gathered company of Pharisees, to whom the words were addressed, who knew that it was so? If this was *not* probable, then why did not some one of these experts at once traverse the Lord's question by the easily-made statement that David never wrote what was imputed to him? If, on the other hand, it *was* probable, then can we possibly believe that a metrical fabrication claiming to be a psalm of David and an oracle of God, and challenging attention by setting forth a doctrine so unfamiliar as the Messiah's everlasting priesthood, could have crept into the jealously-guarded Scripture three or four centuries after the date of Ezra's Bible, and remained there undetected? Whatever else may be said of the scribes, they were certainly careful and jealous guardians of the very letter of the Scriptures. We are thus, apart from other considerations, forced by common sense to believe that the psalm was Davidic, and was known to be so by our Lord and those to whom He was speaking." The significance of the reference to Ps. cx. is in the question which it raises as to the Divinity of the Son of David. The question as to who might be the writer of a passage of Scripture accepted by all as a divinely-inspired oracular utterance was of no consequence.

THOUGHTS ON PREACHING.—It is refreshing in these days, when so much is said in depreciation of preaching, to read an article on the subject which convinces one over again of the dignity and worth of the method instituted by Christ for the dissemination of truth and for the edification of believers. In an article with the above title, which appears in the *Reformed Quarterly Review* (Philadelphia), the Rev. A. R. Kremer, D.D., writes on the subject in a very bright and intelligent manner. He points out what may be one cause of dissatisfaction with preaching, and that is the hap-hazard manner in which subjects for sermons are often, if not generally, selected. "A year's sermons," he says, "would, on examination, in many cases, present a medley of things sacred, and otherwise, without unity or connection. The same preachers may be orderly and systematic in other things, but seem to have made special effort to be the very opposite in the matter of preaching. The sermon itself may be in accordance with orthodox homiletic rules; but *the sermons*, in their relation to each other—a curious what-not of unrelated things. Then we find that both preachers and people become dissatisfied with such loose variety; so a departure is made, it being duly announced from the pulpit and in the press that for some time there will be sermons on Bible characters—patriarchs, prophets, heroes; and this becoming monotonous and failing to attract special and unwearied attention, a course of sermons on the vices and follies of the day will be sure to keep people on the look-out; so that the evil day of a general collapse of interest is from time to time removed farther off. But such attempts at general order in preaching only show the necessity of some true order." He suggests that the Church Year, with its holy seasons and Scripture Lessons, is probably the best guide for the preacher in his selection

of subjects. There is something fanciful but attractive in the reason he gives for his opinion. "The idea is that the Christian, being a citizen of two worlds, should be in harmony with both; that the natural year with its seasons, and the Christian year with its sacred parts and lessons, should be one; that as every human life is repeated, so to speak, by every annual cycle, so also man's spiritual life is repeated year by year, every revolution enlarging the circle of spiritual vision." There is no doubt that an adherence more or less strict to some such plan as this would be found helpful to both ministers and congregations. It is not, however, the only plan. The same article informs us that some of our Dutch brethren follow the Heidelberg Catechism in their preaching, with the result that their people are more thoroughly indoctrinated in the fundamentals of Christian truth than their neighbours. We are afraid that a proposal to make any of our Catechisms the basis of annual cycles of sermons would fill our churches with dismay; and that the majority of hearers would prefer to bear the ills they have than fly to others that they know not of.

RECENT CRITICISM ON THE PENTATEUCH.—Professor E. König, of Rostock, who is already known to scholars as the author of some valuable works on the Old Testament, two of which deal more or less with Pentateuchal criticism, has just issued an Introduction to the Old Testament, in connection with Weber's new series of theological handbooks, in which the question is again minutely examined. More than 100 pages, or about one-fifth of the work, are devoted to the subject, which is handled with the erudition and ability usually characteristic of German investigations of this kind, and also with a moderation and reverence in which many of them are painfully deficient. Dr. König's scholarship is very wide and varied, and unusually up to date. He seems fully acquainted with the bewildering mass of ingenious theories propounded during the last hundred years concerning the origin of the Books of Moses, but has not allowed himself to be swept away by prevalent currents of opinion. He is one with "the higher critics" up to a certain point, but beyond that he goes in the opposite direction. As compared with Wellhausen, for example, he may be fairly described as a conservative, although, on the other hand, he is far removed from the standpoint of the old orthodoxy. The following is a rapid summary of the discussion and its main results. It commences with a brief statement of the method adopted. The arguments concerning each problem, *pro* and *contra*, are arranged, as far as possible, under three heads—literary evidence, linguistic evidence, and material evidence. The first question treated in this way is the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch as a whole, and the answer is in the negative. The Mosaic authorship, it is maintained, is neither claimed by the book itself nor proved by later literary evidence, and is not guaranteed by the testimony of language. It is allowed that the latter indicates the presence of elements which belong to the oldest period of Hebrew, but this circumstance, it is urged, by no means necessitates the conclusion that the

whole work dates from the time of Moses. A very useful sketch of the history of Pentateuchal criticism is rather oddly inserted in the course of this part of the discussion. It is then shown that there are undoubtedly post-Mosaic passages in the Pentateuch, and it is argued that linguistic phenomena disprove unity of authorship, and that divergent references to the same event, as, for instance, the two accounts of creation and the two versions of the Decalogue, point in the same direction. The ground having been thus cleared, Dr. König proceeds to the more difficult task of reconstruction. The existence of very ancient elements in the Pentateuch is freely admitted. It is even considered certain that not merely traditions, but documents from an age anterior to that of Moses were utilized in the composition or compilation of the work. Traces of such documents are found in the simple non-legendary representation of Abraham, in the curious allusions to Elamitic and Babylonian politics in Genesis xiv., and in Jacob's blessing of Levi and Reuben. To Moses are ascribed the Decalogue, the Book of the Covenant, and the law in Exodus xxxiv. 10-26. Very early also are the Song of Moses at the Red Sea, the priestly blessing, the song about the well, and three other short poetic pieces. These ancient materials were worked up at three successive times; and the three writings thus produced were subsequently collected and fitted into one another so as to constitute one whole. To borrow the language of geology, three strata can be detected—primary, secondary, and tertiary. The primary stratum is the document usually denoted by the letters JE. Of its two parts, J and E, the priority is given to the latter, which is ascribed to the period of the Judges. The composition of J cannot have taken place before the days of David, and need not be put later than those of Solomon. The whole of JE, therefore, in Dr. König's opinion, was in existence as early as about 1000 B.C., or within three centuries of the death of Moses. The secondary stratum, comprising the greater part of Deuteronomy, is represented by two symbols, D and Dst. D, extending over chapters v. to xxvi., and including a few other passages, is supposed to have been written soon after the fall of the Northern Kingdom, that is, about 720 B.C., on the basis of former revisions of Mosaic material, the earliest of which may have originated in the time of the Judges. The author of D probably belonged to the circle of the Jerusalem priests. In any case, the book owed its historical efficacy to that section of Jewish society. It is identified, with most moderns, with the book of the law found in the reign of Josiah; but the theory of some critics that this finding was a priestly trick is, of course, entirely out of the question on Dr. König's hypothesis, as the book had, in that case, been in existence for a hundred years. It is suggested that the neglect of the temple under Manasseh may have had, for one of its consequences, the withdrawal of this precious manuscript from the observation of the temple servants. Dst is closely related to D, and must have come into existence at no great distance of time afterwards. The tertiary stratum is indicated by the symbol, EP. It is described as "the esoteric priestly reproduction of

Israel's oldest traditions," and is supposed to have been written during the period of the Exile, when the Jerusalem priesthood had leisure to fix old memories. The Mosaic foundation, which is believed to exist even here, and includes historical as well as legal elements, was probably supplied by oral tradition, propagated in priestly circles, and especially in the family of Aaron. These three documents—JE, D (with Dst), and EP—were combined and welded into one whole, which, notwithstanding the diversity of its component parts, exhibits a substantial and very impressive unity, by Ezra the Scribe, before the commencement of his reforming activity in Jerusalem. This elaborate and skilfully-constructed scheme can probably lay as little claim to finality (as to some of the details, at any rate) as many of its predecessors, but it is far more instructive and far less painful than some of them, and cannot be studied without advantage even by those who regard the methods and results of modern criticism with a measure of suspicion.

DEUTERO-ISAIAH AND THE PSALTER.—The reaction from the extreme notions of the advanced critics which has been shown to be represented in Dr. König's treatment of the Pentateuch is manifested also in his discussion of the authorship of the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah, and in his view concerning the origin of the Psalter. He agrees with the majority of recent critical writers on the subject in ascribing these chapters to a later time than that of Isaiah, and makes an exceedingly ingenious attempt to account for their incorporation with the writings of the earlier prophet, which, though not absolutely conclusive, deserves the careful study of those who still maintain the unity of the book; but he distinctly refuses to endorse the hazardous speculations of the school represented by Professor Duhm. Of the Trito-Isaiah discovered by that eminent critic he cannot find a trace. He only concedes the probability that the last four chapters may have been made public after the proclamation of the edict of Cyrus. The authorship, however, was the same: one hand only can be detected in these seven-and-twenty chapters. In respect of the origin of the Psalter, the reaction is still more strongly marked. Dr. König goes considerably further than even Dr. Baethgen in the direction of traditional beliefs. Whilst allowing that the Psalter principally echoes the thoughts and feelings of Israelites at the later crises of Israelitish history, he maintains that the evidence of literary tradition, of language, and of the subject-matter, warrants the inference that the collection includes poems from earlier ages. That David was a religious as well as a secular poet is considered unquestionable, and the reference in Amos (vi. 5), which has been often adduced to prove the contrary, is pronounced irrelevant. That some of David's sacred poems are contained in our Psalter is also unhesitatingly affirmed. There may be a considerable number of these early hymns. "I hold the Davidic origin of a number of psalms to correspond to all historic probability." There are twelve psalms to the Davidic origin of which there is no positive objection. A final decision, however, is at present unattainable. "The point within

the traditional seventy-three at which we can say 'the prayers of David the Son of Jesse are ended' is uncertain." The existence of Maccabean psalms is almost denied. Only one psalm (the 74th) is put as late as the second century. The acrostic theory discussed lately in the *Academy* in relation to the 2nd and 110th Psalms is pronounced baseless. A more certain example of such an acrostic must be pointed out before this phenomenon can be found in part of the verses of a poem. The necessity for the most vigilant caution in the attempt to fix the date of a psalm is illustrated by some penetrating remarks which deserve to be widely circulated. In wielding the linguistic argument it must be remembered that a form which occurs in prose only in late Hebrew might conceivably be used in poetry at a far earlier period. The shorter form of the first person pronoun, for example, 'אני, the frequent use of which in prose is considered an indication of lateness, may possibly have been used by the side of 'אני in the poetic diction of comparatively early times. It must also not be forgotten that our acquaintance with David's history may be incomplete, that he may have stood in situations similar to those in which others were placed in later ages, and that he may have given expression to Israelitish thoughts, which, though not of general human interest, did not change with changing times.

BIBLICAL THOUGHT.

DANIEL: EXTERNAL REFERENCES.

By REV. J. E. H. THOMSON, B.D.

It seems often to be tacitly assumed that the earliest indubitable reference to a book—if it be a book of Scripture—shows us the earliest date we can claim for the book's existence. It ought to be borne in mind that a reference or a quotation merely affords a *terminus ad quem*, later than which we cannot place the origin of the book in question, but setting no limit to the earliness to be assumed. Further, it must not be forgotten that the number of references are to a large extent limited by the amount of the literature available. A person who demanded that the age of the Rig-Veda be proved by contemporary quotation would simply demonstrate his own ignorance of the nature of the question. Another thing has also to be taken into consideration. In some literatures quotations and references are frequent and indubitable. Thus, in any volume of sermons the number of Scriptural quotations is usually large. On the other hand, the ballad literature of our own country has no such thing as avowed quotation, although whole verses of earlier ballads are transferred to later ones without scruple. Let us, then, look at the literary characteristics of the period near the date assumed for the

composition of Daniel, by the orthodox on the one side, and by the critics on the other, and the extent of the literature available in either case.

In the first place, we cannot help noticing the extreme paucity of the literature that claims to be contemporary with Daniel, on the assumption that the orthodox date is correct. That literature consists of three post-Exilian prophets, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, the Deutero-Isaiah, and Ezekiel. Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles, from the fact that they are histories which do not narrate the life of the captivity in Babylon, may be thrown out. Ezekiel and the Deutero-Isaiah may also be laid aside, because the gathering of the fragments which form our Daniel had not taken place when they wrote. So we are left to Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. In regard to the first of these, we seem rather to have to do with an epitome which merely supplies the headings and, perhaps, the opening sentences of the prophecies, than the prophecies themselves in any completeness of form. The latter half of the prophecies of Zechariah seem really to be the work of an earlier and pre-Exilian prophet. Malachi appears also to be fragmentary. Further, with the exception of the opening chapters of Zechariah, none of these deals with the subjects which naturally suggest Daniel.

In Zechariah i. 18-21, some have seen a reference to the four monarchies of Daniel; others, with greater likelihood, see a reference to the Greek Empire—the goat with the four horns. Four horns naturally imply a beast whose horns they are. Now, in Daniel we have the Greek he-goat with first the notable horn and then the four that sprang up in its place. Two of these, Egypt and Syria, did scatter and oppress Judah, though the former not nearly so much as the latter. But more: a careful student of history might note the fact that Demetrius Poliorcetes, who represented another horn, that of Macedon, held possession of Syria and Palestine for some time; and Attalus of Pergamos, who represents the fourth horn, aided Epiphanes, the great oppressor of the Jews, to gain possession of his brother's throne. A fair case, therefore, might be made out for a reference to Daniel.

Although we would not press this, yet we must bear in mind that property in literary productions was not recognized in those early days. A man wrote because he felt he had something to communicate, and had a mind to share what he thought or knew with others, and was even more pleased with the mere exercise of power than with any praise that might follow. The reality of inspiration, the divinely-given impulse to write, and of revelation, rendered property in their products impossible. Even poetic imagination, then thought in heathendom to be real inspiration and revelation, rendered the idea of ownership in what was produced repugnant to the mind. This had a re-active effect, for if, on the one hand, the author was not prone to claim his work, on the other hand, subsequent writers often made use of his works without acknowledgment or thought of acknowledgment, any more than one would formally return thanks to a river for the pleasure afforded by a draught from its waters. In such circumstances, things borrowed are changed in every possible way without thought of

wrong. When matters are thus, it is evident that not only need we expect very few direct quotations, but resemblances may seem vague and yet be real—not to be seen at a glance, but only to be deduced by inference.

We shall, however, lay aside this alleged reference to Daniel in Zechariah, and look at such quotations and references as are to be found in non-Scriptural writings, or such influences of Daniel as are traceable in them. We shall begin our chain of external evidences with Josephus. There is no doubt that he believed in the authenticity of Daniel. Of course, authenticity had not the strict limits it has for us, or we should not have the apocryphal *First Book of Esdras* drawn upon by him. Yet he clearly takes the Book of Daniel as a record of facts, and as such, uses it; indeed, he conveys a large part of the historical chapters of Daniel to his own pages, having, as his custom is, put them through his mind and brought out the facts in his own cumbersome style. He takes up first the reception of the youths at the court, their refusal to eat of the king's meat, and their prosperity. He gives an account of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and mentions Daniel's interpretation. He tells of the three Hebrew children, and, omitting Nebuchadnezzar's lycanthropy, proceeds to Belshazzar's feast. In Belshazzar's feast Josephus evidently had the Masoretic text before him. He gives, with some additions, the account of Daniel being cast into the den of lions. He does not give an account of the four beasts, but does give an account of the vision of the ram and of the he-goat. It seems impossible to explain the assertion that has been made by Mr. Bevan, that Josephus' knowledge of Daniel is vague, and that he probably never had read the prophecy. This assertion could only be made by one who had never carefully studied Josephus.

Nearly contemporary with Josephus is 4th Esdras. In it Daniel is referred to, if not by name, yet with equal clearness. Thus, chap. xi., after the description of the Roman eagle with its three heads and twelve wings, and a narrative of the fate of its various wings and heads, a voice calls, "Hear then, and I will talk with thee: art thou not it that remainest of the four beasts whom I made to reign in my world?" The clear and obvious reference is to the four beasts of Daniel. We need not refer to the many evidences in 4th Esdras to be found of the influence of Daniel on the writer.

The books of the New Testament are of various dates, and there is great discussion among the critics as to these dates. We may, however, without undue assumption, consider Revelation and the Synoptists as earlier than Josephus' *Antiquities*, and probably earlier than 4th Esdras. There is one direct quotation, Matt. xxiv. 15 and Mark xiii. 14. But the Book of Revelation is admittedly full of reminiscences of Daniel. Whatever date may be assigned to the Synoptists, few doubt the early date and Apostolic origin of Revelation.

That Philo, an earlier contemporary of our Lord, does not quote Daniel must be admitted. But Philo's writings do not naturally lend themselves to quotation from Daniel. A great part of his voluminous works consists of sermons on Genesis, in which he deduces Platonic meanings from Mosaic

texts. He had little sympathy with the national hopes of the Jews, and showed but little interest in their Messianic aspirations. Daniel was not within the scope of his work. Dr. Edersheim thinks that Philo's picture of Messianic times has been influenced by Daniel vii. 13, 14. Certainly the influence is far from being clear.

The Book of Jubilees and the fragment of the Assumption of Moses are dated as probably A.D. 6. In them there is no indubitable trace of Daniel's influence. We mention these writings because, along with Philo, they show that Mr. Bevan's assertion of the *great* influence of Daniel after his prophecy began to get vogue is not to be taken absolutely, and therefore no argument is to be deduced from the want of any incontestable evidence of Daniel in the Persian period.

The Psalter of Solomon, half a century earlier, is as blank of trace of the influence of Daniel. In the Apocalypse of Baruch, again, the influence of Daniel is marked and obvious. In the 39th chapter it is said (ver. 3): "Behold the days come, and the kingdom itself which formerly corrupted Zion shall itself be corrupted, and be subdued to that which shall come after it." (Ver. 4) "Again, after a time even it shall be corrupted; a third shall arise and shall rule its own time, and be corrupted." (Ver. 5) "And after these things a fourth kingdom shall arise, whose powers shall be hard and evil, more than those who were before it, and shall rule all times like the woods of the field, and shall hold times, and be exalted above the cedars of Lebanon." I know that in the date I assign to the Apocalypse of Baruch I differ from the majority of critics, yet it seems to me the ordinary critical date can scarcely be maintained in the face of the fact that, after the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, the author thinks the elders of Jerusalem could still meet, nay, that the people could be permitted to assemble, in Jerusalem. A man who had seen the Roman siege and capture of Jerusalem by Titus would be under no such illusion. Moreover, the Roman who is to capture Jerusalem is not, in the Syriac, an "emperor," *melk*, but merely a "leader," *m'dovorno*. Further, the scheme of history terminates more naturally with the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey than with that of Titus. Hence, as we have said elsewhere, we would place the date of the Apocalypse of Baruch B.C. 59.¹

The next earlier notice is in the First Book of Maccabees. The aged Mattathias, when dying, assembles his sons and addresses to them words of encouragement in regard to the struggle in which they were engaged. In the course of this farewell address he refers to the deliverance of Daniel's three companions from the fiery furnace, and to Daniel's own deliverance from the den of lions. Were this speech certainly historical, the case in favour of the Maccabean origin of Daniel would simply have broken down. We must, however, admit that the Greek habit of putting speeches in the mouths of the actors in a history might easily have infected the writer of the First Book

¹ The reader will pardon a reference to *Books which influenced our Lord and His Apostles*, pp. 414, *fig.*, where I discuss this question with some fulness.

of Maccabees. There are, however, few traces of this. The example brought forward by Mr. Bevan does not prove his point. He maintains that it is absurd to hold that the advice given to Mattathias by the king's friends (1 Macc. ii. 17, 18) is accurately reported. That is true only to this extent, that the direct mode of speech is used, where we should have used the *oratio obliqua*; certainly *oratio recta* would be used in the Hebrew original. In other words, the substance of the advice given is recorded, though not the *ipsissima verba*. If, however, the substance of Mattathias' dying speech is accurate, then his references to Daniel are to be regarded as historical. It would probably be well known that on his death-bed Mattathias had exhorted his sons to valour, and had encouraged them by calling to their memory the deeds of their fathers. The substance of his farewell speech might also be known. Had a *falsarius* been at work, he would have chosen much more telling instances for the purpose of encouraging the sons to valour than Mattathias has done. Samson or Jephtha, Gideon or Barak, would have been much more to the point. The three holy children were delivered from the fiery furnace themselves, but they did not encounter armies of Babylonians and defeat them in order to escape. Daniel submitted to be put into the den of lions, and never thought of raising the people against the decree of Darius. The history that Josephus gives to Moses in the Egyptian court shows the natural direction a *falsarius* would have taken. A speech involving such elements would have been far more to the purpose than the speech the writer of Maccabees actually puts in the mouth of the dying priest. The probability, then, is that Mattathias did, in fact, make in substance the dying speech attributed to him.

Even though this be contested, and it be maintained that the author of the book invented the matter of this speech, still the Book of Daniel would seem to be necessarily earlier than critics reckon it. John Hyrcanus died in the year B.C. 105, and as the history of his reign is referred to in 1st Maccabees, it must be assumed that he had already died. At the same time, that book could not have been written long after his death, as there is no reference to any hostile interference on the part of the Romans. So we may date 1st Maccabees approximately B.C. 100. As early, then, as a century before the Christian era Daniel was regarded as part of the canonical Scripture. Had the prophecy been composed at the date alleged by critics, B.C. 167, we should certainly have had in the First or Second Book of Maccabees the story of its "discovery," in order to account for the fact that it had been unknown so long. The writer of 1st Maccabees, at all events, thinks Daniel was known as far back as the death of Mattathias. Without committing myself to the late date of Deuteronomy, I am yet free to admit that the narrative of the finding of the book of the law in the Temple explains how a recent book could be received as of great antiquity. But, as we have said, neither in First nor Second Maccabees is there any trace or notice of the discovery of such a book having been made. The evidence, then, of this passage in 1st Maccabees, though dated so late as B.C. 100, carries us much further back in

reality. Daniel must have had a vogue many years, indeed generations, before the days of the author of 1st Maccabees.¹

The next earlier external evidence of the existence of the Book of Daniel is to be found in the Third Book of the Sibylline Oracles. The reference to Epiphanes in terms which recall Daniel is so obvious that it is denied by no critic. Mr. Bevan admits the reference as indubitable. The passage is as follows. I quote the version of Dr. Pusey, which is line for line with the original.

But Macedon shall bring forth heavy woe for Asia,
And greatest grief of Europe shall shoot forth.
From bastards of the race of the Kronidæ and the race of slaves.
Then (Macedon) shall overcome Babylon the strong city,
And of the whole earth the sun surveys.
Entitled Lady she shall perish by an evil fate,
Having no law for the late much-bewailed descendants.
Once, too, shall there come unexpectedly to the happy soil of Asia
A man with purple robe on his shoulders,
Fierce, unjust, fiery, lightning-born.
But all Asia shall bear the yoke, and the bedewed earth shall drink much slaughter.
But then, too, shall Ades take charge of every one to utter destruction,
Whose race he willet utterly to destroy.
From their race shall his race utterly perish,
* Giving forth one sucker, which, too, the destroyer shall cut off
From ten horns, but shall plant another plant close by.
He shall cut off the warrior father of the purple race.
And himself, by sons² (to whom war becomes auspicious) like-minded,
Shall perish; then shall the horn planted hard by rule.

The reference to Daniel in the phrase "from the ten horns" is universally admitted—the only question is as to the date of the passage in question. No one who knows anything of the *Oracula Sibyllina* needs to be told how difficult it is to settle the date of any portion of them. They have been divided into books. These books, however, are not complete poems, but are centos, made up of portions of the most diverse ages. We may, I think, regard the passage before us as forming a unity. Further, that the most of the third book is of the same period. However, Alexandre maintains that while the beginning of this passage applies to the rise of the Macedonian empire, the next portion is concerning the Roman empire and refers to Hadrian. It seems certain that the first part of this passage has a reference to Alexander the Great. At first sight there would seem to be a change, but Epiphanes did not claim to be "born of the thunder" as Alexander did. Then, however, Epiphanes appears in connection with the ten horns. Epiphanes seems to be "the plant planted close by." Alexandre's theory above referred to has this in its favour, the fact that "the purple robe" was the sign of imperial rank among the Romans; though the Macedonians

¹ This is acknowledged by Meinhold, *Strack u. Zöckler Kurtz gefasster Commentar*, vol. viii., 262. He dates Daniel, or the elements from which it has been compiled, B.C. 300.

² Having given forth one root, which war shall cut,

From the ten horns, he shall plant beside another sucker.

³ Marked by Alexandre and Schürer as certainly corrupt.

also made the same use of this colour. Another point in favour of his view is that the symbol of the ten horns in all later Apocalyptists is applied to Rome. It may, however, be maintained that as Rome had not yet revealed its true character, the beast with the ten horns might be applied to the Macedonian empire.

Notwithstanding, there seems more weight in the position advanced by Pusey and Hilgenfeld that this book mainly refers to the Greek period. Rome was yet Republican, because (177) it is spoken of as λευκή και πολόκρυνος, "white and many headed," in reference to the *toga candida* of those who were candidates for the different magistracies, and to the "many" that formed the Senate in contrast to the one monarch of Egypt and Syria.

Another note of time in the book is that the Jewish Messiah is expected to appear during the reign of the seventh king of the Grecian "race." (III. 192-3, 318, 608-10.) The only question here is whether we are to regard the first king as Alexander the Great, in which case the seventh king is Ptolemy Philometor. If, again, we reckon only the Lagid princes, then Ptolemy Physcon is the seventh king. At first sight one is inclined to think the more natural idea to be that the seventh king is the seventh Ptolemy. But we must remember that sovereigns were not so regularly known by their numerical distinction as by names they assumed, and it is by these they are distinguished on coins. I am aware that in some instances even these names are not found. Ptolemy Philometor, who is well known in history as a favourer of the Jews, reigned from 181 B.C. to 146 B.C. His son, a child, was proclaimed king by the name Eupator, but was quickly put to death by his uncle Physcon, who assumed the title Energetes. He had, twenty-four years before, attempted to oust his brother, and had assumed the title and insignia of royalty. This enables us to use another word which occurs in relation to this: in line 608 this seventh Greek king is called βασιλεὺς νέος. The word νέος may mean *young* or *new*, but in the latter sense it is scarcely ever applied to a person. But more, no one could call Physcon a *new* king when four-and-twenty years before his final accession he had assumed the crown. We are thus forced to make our choice between the youthful Eupator and Philometor, his father. But the period between the proclamation of Eupator and his murder was so short that it is impossible that, whatever the hopes founded on his accession, they could blossom into verse. We are reduced, then, to Philometor. This portion of the Sibylline Oracles must have been written during his youth. He was ten years old at his accession—he would scarcely be reckoned νέος much after he was twenty-one—hence, B.C. 170 seems to be the latest probable date for the composition of portions of this book. The part before us suits that date perfectly.

Further, it may be remarked as confirmatory of this view that there are no references to the victories that were won by Judas Maccabæus and his brothers, victories that would be grateful to the writer, not only as a Jew

but also as an Alexandrian. We see how these victories of the Maccabees filled the hearts and memories of the people from the Books of Maccabees that go into the secondary canon—the Apocrypha. We see it also in the pages of Josephus. It is impossible that an Alexandrian Jew could refrain from making exulting reference to such inspiring events.

This seems to prove the date of this passage of the *Oracula Sybillina* to be before the Maccabean struggle, and therefore that the date of Daniel must be considerably earlier still. We must further bear in mind that the fact that we know the book was in existence at the date in question 170 B.C. does not imply that it had then only recently come into existence. On the other hand, the nature of the reference implies that it was well known and generally received. To be written in Palestine and to be generally received in Egypt implies a very considerable interval of time to have intervened which cannot be put at less than twenty years. There were no facilities for the publication and rapid diffusion of books in Palestine.

But even if it is maintained that Hilgenfeld and Schürer are right, and that this book of the *Oracula Sibyllina* was written so late as 140 B.C., it is difficult to imagine that there is time enough for the Book of Daniel, composed, as it must have been, by hypothesis, in secrecy, and set afloat in secrecy, to have obtained a popularity in Palestine sufficiently great to float it down to Egypt. Not only had they no printing press in those days, with its rapid multiplication of copies, but the Palestinian authors could not, as could a Roman or Alexandrian author, call in a publisher with an army of educated slaves to multiply his book. Slaves were never common among the Jews, and least of all were they so among the Jews who had returned from the Exile. There could, therefore, be no case where one slave read and fifty wrote to his dictation. One individual would have laboriously to copy from an individual exemplar. Multiplication would be but slow in such circumstances. When the book came to Egypt, unless some wealthy Jew was desirous of multiplying copies, the same process would go on. A known poet or philosopher might command the help of a publisher, but what publisher would adventure to multiply the vaticinations of an obscure Jew of Palestine?

Thus even should we hold that this third book of the *Oracula Sibyllina* was written so late as 140 B.C., we yet believe that the balance of evidence even from its reference tends to prove that Daniel must have been published before the Maccabean struggle.

We can now go a step further back. Most people who know anything of the extra canonical books of the Bible know of the existence of the Book of Enoch. In reality there are three books, each marked off from that preceding by a formula. Besides these three books, there are certain fragments imbedded in the book in which the speaker is not Enoch, as in the rest, but Noah. Critics are in the main agreed that the first and third books are for the most part by one and the same hand, and that the second book, the Book of Similitudes, is by another. There is considerable discussion as to which of these portions is the older. Ewald, in opposition to the majority of critics, maintains the Book of Similitudes to be the oldest portion of the whole.

Despite his solitariness in his opinion, I feel constrained to agree with him. The reasons that have led me to this decision are as follows. The Book of Similitudes is universally acknowledged to be the finest portion of the Book of Enoch. It is a thing unknown that an imitation should be finer than the thing imitated: but by hypothesis the writer of the middle portion saw the other two books, and it occurred to him to imitate what had been done, and to insert his imitation between the other two parts. But further and more important, the angelology and cosmology of the Book of Similitudes differ from those of the first and third books, and are simpler. It is an acknowledged canon of criticism that the simpler form of such things is always the older. Yet, again, the Noachian fragments have been added only to the Book of Similitudes and to a small portion in the third book by the same hand. The fact that these fragments have not been added to the Book of the Course of the Heavens and the Book of the Saints proves that they were not in existence. But, again, the Noachian fragments represent a cosmology which while simpler than that of the Book of the Course of the Heavens, is more complex than that of the Book of Similitudes.

In both portions there are notes of time. In the third book there is a sketch history of the world in which the saints figure as bullocks and sheep, while their enemies are wolves, lions, bears, &c. This history terminates with Judas Maccabæus. A number of critics maintain that "the ram with the noticeable horns" is John Hyrcanus. Only on that hypothesis there is no reference to Judas at all—an impossible supposition. Again, John Hyrcanus was by no means a *persona grata* to the Pharisees or Essenes, as proved by the insult offered to him at his own table by the Pharisee Eleazar, therefore little likely to be assigned a place of such honour in an Essenian or Pharisee production like the Book of Enoch. If this view is correct, then the date of the first and third book is approximately 160 B.C. Starting from this alone, we can argue that the centre must be very considerably older than these other two portions, seeing time must be allowed for the composition of the Noachian fragments and their addition to the text. But in that middle portion there is a distinct note of time. Near the close of the middle portion we are told that the angels go to stir up the kings of Media and Parthia, and that after they are stirred up there is to be a campaign in the Holy Land. Some critics have maintained that this campaign was made by the Parthians, and that it happened in the days of Herod the Great. But there is no mention of Media in this, it had ceased to be even a name by the time of Herod the Great. In the time of Antiochus the Great, two brothers Alexander and Milo, governors of Persia and Media, rebelled against Antiochus, were overthrown, rebelled again, this time abetted by Parthia, and again were warred down. This is the event referred to, and it happened 210 B.C., fifty years before the Maccabean struggle—long enough thus for the composition of the Noachian fragments to come in between that of this Book of Similitudes and that of the other two books.¹

¹ On the question of the date of the Books of Enoch I would beg again to refer to *Books which influenced our Lord and His Apostles*, pp. 389 *ff.*

In this middle portion there is a description of the last judgment which is admittedly drawn from Daniel. It is on the same lines as the description in Daniel, and more complex. Further, while in Daniel we have *a Son of Man* coming, in Enoch we have *the Son of Man*. Admitting this view to be correct, before 210 B.C. the Book of Daniel was well known and influential.

Against this is advanced the fact that, though there is in Ecclesiasticus a lengthened catalogue of the worthies of Israel, there is no mention of Daniel. In the 40th chapter of the Book of Siracides begins the "Hymn of the Fathers," as it is called. The author begins with Enoch and Noah, and proceeds through Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to Aaron and Moses. In the earlier portion of his hymn the author enlarges his description of men and events, but condenses more and more till he comes to Simon, the son of Onias, the great high priest. Daniel is not mentioned, but neither is Job, Ezra, nor Jehoshaphat. If Job is objected to, and acknowledged not to be an Israelite, surely no objection can be brought to Ezra and Jehoshaphat.

The *argumentum e silentio* is proverbially hazardous, but it is peculiarly so in regard to Ecclesiasticus. In Rabbinic writings there are several quotations from Ben Sira, to give the author his Rabbinic name, which are not found in the Greek book. But further, he twice refers to Enoch. Now, Enoch is not prominent in the Old Testament. We might be inclined to see in this evidence that our Book of Enoch had been published by this time. If so, that carries with it evidence that Daniel was extant at a yet earlier date.

We shall defer to our next an estimate of the arguments as to the date of Daniel drawn from the canon.

EARLY CRITICISM OF THE PSALTER IN CONNEXION WITH THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA.

By REV. PROFESSOR T. K. CHEYNE, M.A.

IN treating of the higher criticism of the Psalter I found, not without surprise, that I had frequently been more or less anticipated by that great early theologian and Biblical scholar, Theodore of Mopsuestia. It is always interesting to trace anticipations of modern work in former ages, and therefore I venture to mention in *THE THINKER* another pleasing surprise for which I am indebted to the researches of an American scholar, Professor J. Douglas Bruce, of Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. These researches as yet are only summed up briefly in an article in *Modern Language Notes*, February, 1893, on the "Immediate and Ultimate Source of the Rubrics and Introductions to the Psalms in the Paris Psalter," and the author reserves a detailed discussion of the subject for a dissertation which will appear later.

The "Paris Psalter" is an Anglo-Saxon translation of the Psalms,

edited by Thorpe in 1835,¹ from an eleventh-century manuscript at Paris which formerly belonged to the Duc de Berri, brother of Charles V. It contains Psalms li. 6—cl. in poetry, the remainder being in prose. The former portion was ascribed by the editor to the learned Aldhelm, but this view has not obtained the suffrages of a majority of scholars; the latter, according to some able German scholars, may be the work of the greatest of our early translators, King Alfred. It is not, however, the version itself but the Latin rubrics prefixed to all the Psalms, and the Anglo-Saxon arguments which accompany the rubrics in the case of the prose-psalms in the Paris MS., which attract us at present. The arguments in particular invite examination on account of their fulness. Professor Bruce has, perhaps, no special interest in the higher criticism of the Psalms, and so does not make as much of this as he might have done. But the reader may be glad to know that in this early English Psalter the following advanced critical decisions are given. Psalms xix. and xx. (Septuagint numeration), xxvi.—xxix., xxxii., and xxxiii. are said to have reference to Hezekiah. Psalms xli. and xlii. are said to be utterances of the Jews in Babylon longing for restoration. Psalm xlv. is indited in the name of the people of Judah, returning thanks for their deliverance from Rezin and Pekah. Psalm l. has reference, in part (this implies the prophetic character of David), to the penitential longings of the Jews in Babylon. Psalms xliii. and xlv. are even represented in the arguments as referring to the times of the Maccabees. Lastly, in the Latin rubrics, Psalm lx. becomes virtually a psalm of the Exile, and Psalm lxxiii. of the Maccabees.

The question now arises, Whence did the writer of the Paris MS., or of the MS. upon which he ultimately depends, obtain these surprising critical judgments? And upon looking a little further it will be clear that he has before him some book from which he not unfrequently copies in a servile manner. For the Latin rubrics are often so obscure as to be unintelligible, and this has evidently arisen, not so much from condensation, as from omissions. Psalm xlv., for instance, has this rubric, "Propheta de Christo ad ecclesiam dicit de reginâ auri."² Psalm lxii., "Ex personâ eorum canitur." And Psalm lxvii., "Prophetæ resurrectionem Christi." Dr. Wichmann, in his inaugural dissertation on King Alfred's A.-S. translation of Psalms i.—li. (a copy of which I owe to the kindness of the late Professor Delitzsch), was altogether baffled by this enigma. Professor Bruce, however, with his wider knowledge of early theological literature, saw "that the Latin rubrics . . . with the exception of a few cases of adaptation, and still fewer of absolute divergence . . . are taken verbatim from the *argumenta* of the voluminous commentary entitled *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis*, and formerly ascribed to the Venerable Bede" (see Migne's

¹ *Libri Psalmorum Versio Vetus Latina; cum Paraphrasi Anglo-Saxonica, partim soluta oratione, partim metricè composita*. Nunc primum e cod. MS. in Bibl. Regiâ Parisiensi adservato descripsit et edidit Benjamin Thorpe, S.A.S. Oxonii, e typographeo academico. MDCCCXXXV.

² The *Exegesis*, referred to presently, enables us to correct "auri" into "austri."

Patrologia, xciii. 478-1098), and "that the A.-S. arguments of the Paris Psalter are simply paraphrases of the same *argumenta*."

Stimulated by Professor Bruce's article, I have looked through the arguments of the psalms in the *Exegesis*, and the facts which they reveal are indeed extraordinary. Not only is the *Exegesis* the chief source both of the arguments and of the rubrics referred to, but the book shows us an early English (?) theologian full to overflowing of the critical spirit which he unites with not a little mediæval mysticism, and when we look a little more closely we see that he is a disciple of the "Interpreter" *par excellence* of the Syrian Church—Theodore of Mopsuestia. Thus Psalms li. and lii. (Septuagint numeration) are said to be directed against Rabshakeh. Psalm liii. is spoken in the name of Hezekiah. Psalm liv. in the name of the high priest, Onias (cf. my own *Bampton Lectures*, p. 123). Psalms lv.-lix. are Maccabæan. Psalm lx. is a psalm of the Exile. Psalm lxi., Maccabæan. Psalms lxii. and lxiv.-lxvi., Exilic. Psalms lxxix. and lxxxii., cvii., and cviii., Maccabæan.

How is this to be accounted for? Thanks to the Syriac studies of Professor Baethgen, to whom I have given, as I hope, full credit in my *Bampton Lectures*, we now know much more of Theodore than we did before. But Professor Baethgen's discoveries must, it would appear, be considered to be supplemented to no unimportant extent by Professor Bruce's remarks on the *Exegesis*. Many questions of critical detail, of course, arise; these are touched upon in the above-mentioned article in *Modern Language Notes*, and will be fully considered in the light of the Syriac commentary and the fragments of the original Greek of Theodore. But it has already been made probable that the unknown theologian to whom we owe the *Exegesis* drew from the original Greek of Theodore. Can any reader of THE THINKER throw fresh light on the origin of this mysterious work, or on the manuscript authority of its text?

THE REAL CHARACTER AND IMPORTANCE OF THE FIRST BOOK OF ESDRAS.¹

By SIR H. H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., M.P.

IN a notice of some letters on this subject which I have recently published in the *Academy*, an anonymous critic in your pages superciliously says of

[The theory that 1 Esdras is a compilation from 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and some unknown source is by no means so extinct as Sir H. H. Howorth thinks. We refer him to Canon Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (pp. 519, 520). Our critic had read all the letters that had appeared in the *Academy*, and gave an accurate statement of the theory advanced in them. He examined two or three alleged examples of the superiority of the text in 1 Esdras to that in the Book of Ezra; and to his criticism Sir H. H. Howorth has not, as yet, replied. One inaccuracy our critic pleads guilty to, and for it he tenders an apology: it is in his having inadvertently spoken of the distinguished scholar as Mr. Howorth.]

the position I have maintained that "it breaks down utterly." As this is by no means the opinion of some very competent judges, who have made a special study of the subject, you may, perhaps, permit me to put a part, at all events, of my case before your readers, since I not only hold it to be interesting, but also of the first importance to Biblical criticism.

In the present paper I shall limit myself to the evidence I have adduced for maintaining that the First Book of Esdras represents the Septuagint version of what, in the canonical Bible, occurs partly in Chronicles and Nehemiah and partly in Ezra.

I must begin by protesting against the habit countenanced by my anonymous critic of taking for granted that the version in the older Greek codices of the Bible is the Septuagint. Large parts of it are probably based upon the Septuagint; more we cannot say. When Origen published his Hexapla, he also created an eclectic text which apparently displaced the older versions. Jerome openly charged him with having imported his own emendations and corrections into what passed as the Septuagint. Not only so, we are expressly told that, in regard to one book (and the same may apply, and I believe does apply, to others), the Septuagint translation was discarded by the Church in favour of the translation of Theodotion. I mean, of course, the Book of Daniel. Hence, it becomes doubly misleading when the question at issue is as to whether a particular book represents the Septuagint text, or not, to speak in *ex cathedra* language, of any extant Greek codex as "the Septuagint."

Let us pass on, however. The points to which your critic refers are secondary and subsidiary, and make me think he cannot have read more than one of my letters, and this very cursorily. I am quite prepared to defend what I have written about these minor issues; but, before doing so, we must have some agreement upon the main and principal issue. This issue is, as I have said, that in the apocryphal book known as the First of Esdras we have the Septuagint version of the narrative, which, in the received Hebrew text and the translations from it, is represented largely by the Book of Ezra. That is the issue, and it is a very simple one. Upon this issue I challenge discussion.

My case is this. Josephus was a Jew of the Jews, a Pharisee and a priest, a Palestinian and not an Alexandrian Jew, belonging to an aristocratic family, and closely connected with the temple. A more orthodox person it would probably be difficult to find among his Jewish contemporaries.

Secondly, he was not only an orthodox Jew, but a man of great learning and research, as is shown in his controversial work against Apion and elsewhere, where he quotes from a large number of authorities. He was, in fact, an accomplished Hebrew and Greek scholar.

Thirdly, that he made mistakes is only saying of him what must be said of us all, but that he was an honest and conscientious historian I firmly believe. Nor would it have been very easy for him, in his peculiar position,

to be dishonest. His subservience to the Roman authorities at a time of fierce party strife among the Jews must have made him many enemies among his own people, who would only have been too ready to expose him if he had ventured upon the dangerous path of sophisticating his authorities or his history, nor, so far as I know, was there the slightest temptation or reason for him to do so, polemical or otherwise.

Under these circumstances we may take it for granted that when he sat down to write his history he selected the most approved authorities he could lay his hands upon, and used them honestly and fairly. This is my first point.

Again, when Josephus wrote, the Hebrew Bible, so far as we can judge, had ceased to be used in Palestine and elsewhere, except, perhaps, in the Synagogue service. It had been displaced either by the Greek translation or by Aramaic Targums and paraphrases. Philo, the Alexandrian Jewish Platonist, especially apostrophizes the virtues of the Greek translation. It is from the Greek translation that Christ and the Apostles habitually quote; and lastly, although he was an accomplished Hebrew scholar, it is the Greek translation that is quoted and used by Josephus in his works. This is my second point.

Again, the only Greek translation of any part of the Bible which existed in the time of Josephus, so far as we have any evidence, was the Septuagint. All the other Greek translations of which we have notice are later than his time. It would be a most arbitrary proceeding to postulate the existence of some unknown Greek translation merely to support some preconceived theory. Nor would Josephus be likely to appeal to an obscure work, even if it then existed, in preference to the widely-known and widely-accepted Septuagint. This is my third point.

If these points be conceded, I don't see how my critic can avoid conceding my conclusion. There is no dispute whatever among those who have examined the question that Josephus used the First Book of Esdras for his narrative, and did not use but ignored the canonical Book of Ezra. This is proved by every kind of evidence: by his use of the story of Darius and the three young men, contained in the former but not in the latter work; by the forms of the proper names which he quotes, such as Sanabasser, &c., &c.; by the order of his narrative, and otherwise. What escape is there, then, from the conclusion that the First Book of Esdras represents the Septuagint version?

The view which once prevailed, and which seems to be countenanced by my critic, that the First Book of Esdras is a mere *rechauffée* of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, was, I thought, as extinct as the dodo. Dr. Ginsburg, in his article in Kitto's *Cyclopædia*, long ago put this beyond doubt, and has quoted a number of very interesting examples to show that the work is an original and direct translation from the Hebrew, and no *rechauffée*. I have the further sanction of two of the highest authorities on the subject (who have respectively edited the Books of Esdras and the Book of Ezra in most

scholarly editions) for the view that the First Book of Esdras represents an independent translation from the Hebrew. Mr. Ball, whose recent edition of the Apocrypha is so excellent, has pointed out a large number of Hebraisms in its text, and this not only in the rest of the book, but also in the passage about Darius and the three young men, which has been described as a Greek interpolation. How, in the face of the evidence, Dr. Driver can justify his statement on the subject I do not know. But the question is not one of authority; it is a question of fact.

On the other hand, the fluent and excellent Greek in which the Book of Esdras I. is written contrasts with that of the canonical Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and has been referred to by several writers as pointing to the translator having been an Alexandrian, and not a Palestinian, Jew.

Again, the fact that in the fragments of Origen's Hexapla which are extant we find no variants preserved of the text of Ezra and Nehemiah is best explained by the theory that in regard to those books he did not compare the *textus receptus*, which was perhaps that of Theodotion, with the Septuagint, probably because in the latter version the text varied so completely that it was really a different edition rather than different translation.

Since writing this sentence I see that Dr. Gwynne has called attention to the similar absence of variants in Origen's remains from Chronicles, and he argues that Origen had failed as a matter of fact to secure a true Septuagint text of that book. Inasmuch as Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah were once continuous, the same conclusion would apply to Ezra and Nehemiah.

If this be the evidence in regard to the First Book of Esdras, that in regard to the canonical Books of Ezra and Nehemiah is not less eloquent. As we find them in the extant Greek MSS. they are mere translations of the Hebrew text as it was preserved by the Masorets. With this text they agree in the order of their narrative in the forms of the proper names, in the mistakes in the text, and in the singular feature of the reduplicated verses, proving that they are the direct outcome of the controversy which arose about Aquila's translation, when the Christians, like the Jews, insisted on having a new translation of their own, which was made first by Theodotion, then by Symmachus and others, and avowedly as a corrective of the Septuagint. This is supported by the fact that the First Book of Esdras does not occur in the Hebrew Bibles, while it does occur and is put in the position of honour before the Book of Ezra in the earliest Greek manuscripts, which are largely based upon the Septuagint. The presence of both books in the early Christian Bibles may be accounted for by the fact that there being considerable differences between their texts they were probably treated as different works, and both inserted in the canon. In the case of the Book of Daniel, of which there were also two versions, that of the Septuagint was cut out and discarded altogether, while the later Greek translation of Theodotion was adopted as alone of authority.

I have now explained what is the main issue which I have tried to

raise in my letters to the *Academy*, where I have also tried to show that the consequences, if the theory be right, are not only interesting, but most important. These consequences, including the points raised by my critic, I shall be pleased to discuss on another occasion, provided always that we come to some agreement upon the main issue. Without such agreement, to discuss the consequences is ridiculous. I therefore invite the fullest and frankest criticism of the position I have taken. I would only press that it be such a discussion as would commend itself to a scientific student of history; that is to say, one based upon induction from the facts, and not upon preconceived hypotheses.

EXPOSITORY THOUGHT.

DAVID'S SON AND DAVID'S LORD.

MARK xii. 35-37.

BY REV. PROFESSOR W. MILLIGAN, D.D.

THE readers of the *THINKER* are well aware of the interest attaching to this passage, and we may be excused, therefore, if we turn to it again, with the hope that to all that has been said of it something may still be added by which its unquestionable difficulties may be, at least to some extent, relieved. We may not succeed in accomplishing this; but it is worth while to try. The passage in the Revised Version runs as follows: "And Jesus answered and said, as He taught in the temple, How say the scribes that the Christ is the Son of David? David himself said in the Holy Spirit,

'The Lord said unto my Lord,
Sit Thou on My right hand
Till I make Thine enemies the footstool of Thy feet.'

David himself calleth Him Lord; and whence is He his son?"

The passage thus quoted is taken from Psalm cx., and difficulties only arise when the verdict of modern criticism, that that psalm cannot have been written by David, is accepted. Whether or not such criticism is correct, we do not at present ask; but, proceeding on the supposition that it is so, two questions demand consideration: (1) How came our Lord to ascribe to David a composition which is not really his? and (2) If the psalm was not penned by David, is not the force of our Lord's argument destroyed—a false premise leading to an illegitimate conclusion?

1. Upon the first of these questions it is hardly necessary to say much. It is easy to understand that, in enforcing upon the people religious conclusions in themselves absolutely true, our Lord should connect them with things believed by those who heard Him to be authenticated facts, and from which His hearers, had they reasoned accurately and without prejudice, would have drawn the very conclusions to which He sought to lead them.

It was not the reality or unreality of the facts that was either to Him or them the primary matter of concern ; for it was part of the situation that the lesson, in itself true, could have been deduced equally well from many other facts, in regard to the reality of which no doubt could afterwards arise. That there should be from the accepted starting-point a path leading directly to a conclusion not dependent on that starting-point alone, but inherent in the general constitution of things, was all that was necessary to justify the use made of it. If we do not admit this, the effect will be that we shall deprive ourselves of the right to urge many of those conclusions which are not only valuable, but indispensable for the formation of character and the guidance of life. We are taught, not by facts, but by our interpretation of facts. Our interpretation of them may be often wrong, or, at all events, we cannot be sure that it is always infallibly correct. If we may not draw conclusions from them binding upon us with all the power of truth, we are simply adrift, without a compass, upon a trackless ocean and under a sky in which no sun or star shines upon us. Neither science nor history affords us any fact of which we are not compelled to allow that future investigation may throw new light upon it, and in many respects alter its character. Are we on that account to dismiss science and history as fields from which we can never gather lessons fraught with truth as legitimately deduced as it is incontestable? Take the case of a teacher who, himself acquainted with astronomy, should address a multitude living under the belief that the sun, every time it rises above the horizon, mounts higher into the sky until it reaches its meridian splendour, and who should exhort his hearers to conform their lives to the great laws of nature by seeing that their path was "as the path of the just, shining more and more unto the perfect day"—no one would think of charging such a teacher with making an illegitimate use of his premises. He must employ them as they exist in the minds of those whom he is addressing. Nor will the hearers, when they afterwards reach the same stage of knowledge as their teacher, be in the slightest degree shaken from the validity of the conclusion once powerfully brought home to them by what they now know is not the fact. They will rather say, By that means only could we then have been influenced as we were ; as things now are, we know other great laws of nature upon which to rest the same conclusion ; perhaps those who come after us will dismiss them also as the elementary conceptions of a state of childhood : be it so ; they will by that time have learnt to substitute other laws of nature, which will be as true to them as ours were to us, and which will convey to them the same instruction. Our teacher taught us wisely, and to his teaching and the manner of it our progress is due.

Similar remarks apply to history. When our Lord warned His hearers by recalling to them the Flood in the days of Noah, He must have employed His illustration in the sense which the words bore in the minds of those to whom His warning was addressed. They believed the Flood to have been universal ; on that supposition, therefore, His warning was,

as a matter of fact, based. Did He Himself, then, believe it to have been universal? It is impossible to answer the question, because, even if He believed it to have been limited, He could not have spoken in any other way than that in which He actually spoke. It was a matter of no moment whether the Flood was universal or not. In either case the warning for the sake of which alone He spoke was equally valid. It could have been established by numerous illustrations taken either from sacred or (as in the case of the Galileans slain by Pilate) profane history; it was a truth that destruction, swift and sudden, will overtake the guilty; if they who were warned could be supposed to have come later in life to the conclusion that their earlier belief had been wrong and that the Flood was limited, the authority of the Teacher who had once awakened their alarm would not have been in the least degree impaired.

Our Lord, therefore, was fully justified in speaking of David as the author of Psalm cx., even although modern criticism may be right in saying that David could not have penned it. That criticism (we can readily enough suppose) might have been made a good deal earlier in date. Its result might have been reached by some of those who heard the words as originally spoken by Jesus. Yet even then, so far as the mere question of authorship is concerned, they would not have been in the least degree startled. They would have vindicated the course taken by our Lord as that which they would themselves have taken, although they had at the time possessed their later knowledge. It was, they would have said, the general belief that David did write the words in question, and to have insinuated anything to the contrary would have only confused the minds of men, and diverted them from what was meant to be the lesson of the hour.

Here, indeed, lies the main consideration by which the action of our Lord, in speaking of the psalm as David's, even though He knew that it was not David's, may be fully justified. It is a mistake to imagine that the thought of David's authorship was dependent upon the mention of the poet's or the prophet's *name*. The psalm was well known to all. We see by the frequent quotations from it in the New Testament how important was the place it occupied in the popular mind. But it occupied this place as a psalm which had been composed by David, and any quotation made from it would be instantly associated with the poet-king. Nothing, therefore, would have been gained had our Lord simply quoted from the psalm as an anonymous production, saying nothing of David. Notwithstanding His silence upon the question of authorship, His hearers would have thought that he was quoting David, and He knew that they would think so. There was only one way by which He could have corrected this false impression, and that was by openly contradicting it. The immediate effect would have been to lead the multitude into a wholly different sphere of thought, to have aroused their prejudices, to have raised difficulties which they would not have been in a position to overcome, to render powerless any lesson which the words of the psalm could teach. Such a course would have been out of

keeping with our Lord's method of instruction, as it would be out of teaching with a great teacher's method in any age. Our Lord took men as He found them, with their knowledge of science and history as a part of themselves. His aim was not to correct mistakes upon these points, but to draw from men's beliefs those moral and religious lessons which were not less truly deducible from the uncorrected, than from the corrected mistake.

2. We turn to the second and more difficult question connected with the words before us. If David was not the author of Psalm cx., is not the force of our Lord's argument destroyed? Is not a great religious conclusion drawn from false premises? In considering this point it is necessary to form as distinct an idea as possible of the actual circumstances amidst which our Lord was speaking, and of the views and feelings of those whom He had in His eye. As we learn from the last clause of verse 37, He was speaking to "the great multitude" (R.V. margin), and His object was to show them that they were misled by the scribes, who taught them that He could not be the Messiah, the long-looked-for King of Israel. At verse 35, accordingly, He puts the question: "How say the scribes that the Christ is the son of David?" In what sense, we have first to ask, did the scribes say this? In what sense did they make the statement so that it should be an objection to the Messianic claims of Jesus? The words themselves, and the whole context, make only one answer possible. "The son of David" meant, in the mouth of the scribes, a great temporal prince, inheriting, as the descendant of their most illustrious king, the royal splendour associated with his memory, and clothed with all the outward majesty and greatness which were alone worthy of his name. Look, they then cried, at this pretender, poor, forsaken, alone, without friends or dignity, how can He be the son of David? and we all know that if not the son of David He is not the Christ. To this language of the scribes our Lord's words are a reply, and the general principle of the reply is to show that the Scriptures, the authority of which was acknowledged by all, had spoken of "the Christ" in such a manner as to prove that, while He was to be the son of David, He was yet far higher than David. But outward glory higher than David's He could not, as David's son, have. His glory must, therefore, be of a *different kind*; and, would they examine and judge for themselves, the people would see this. They would see that the sense in which the scribes declared that the Messiah must be the son of David, was not the sense in which God had spoken of the matter in their own sacred books, and that in the despised Jesus of Nazareth, who was really of David's line, there might be found that higher than any royal earthly glory which had been celebrated in Psalm cx. Now, a very little consideration will satisfy us that to the validity and force of this reasoning it is not in the slightest degree necessary to suppose that that psalm should have been written by David. Our confusion arises from our insensibly yielding to the impression that, because in the words "his son" of verse 37 we must understand the pronoun "his" to refer to David, we must equally understand mention of the same person to be required in

verse 36, where we read, "David himself said in the Holy Spirit." We are apt to think that, unless it be so, the argument must be unsound. That, however, is by no means the case. Let us make a slight change in the language used. Let us imagine our Lord saying in verse 36, not "David himself," but "the author of Psalm cx. said in the Holy Spirit, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou on My right hand, till I make Thine enemies the footstool of Thy feet." The argument will then be as follows: An inspired psalmist called the coming Messiah LORD, applied to him the very same term he had a moment before used of the Great Being from whom his inspiration came. How, then, can One so infinitely superior to David be the son of David in the sense in which your scribes would have you interpret that prophetic designation? These scribes, our Lord might have continued, urge that the lowliness of My present state forbids My being regarded as the son of David, which we are all satisfied the Messiah must be; but, if you attend to one of the oracles of God, you will find that it ascribes to the Messiah a glory not only far greater than could belong to the famous king of Israel, but a glory which must have been of a wholly different kind. This glory, then, may belong to Me. Even in My low estate it is quite possible that I may be He in whom the words "my LORD," with all that accompanies them, are fulfilled. The argument is thus entirely independent of the Davidic authorship of the psalm; and this will be at once evident to the eye if we read with the introduction, at the necessary points, of the change suggested, one other being added, that of substituting for the word "his," in verse 37, the word "David's"; or the right to make this will not be disputed, inasmuch as the first of these two words is obviously dependent upon the word "David" in the second clause of the verse, and must be introduced when the specific name disappears from that clause. Thus, then, we shall read as follows:—

"And Jesus answered and said, as He taught in the temple, How say the scribes that the Christ is the son of David? A sacred writer himself said in the Holy Spirit,

'The Lord said unto my Lord,
Sit on My right hand,
Till I make Thine enemies the footstool of Thy feet.'

The sacred writer calleth Him LORD; and whence is He David's son?"

We venture to think that the answer of our Lord, had it been thus given, would have effected the very same end as it actually did, and that it would, when we attend to the state of mind of the parties, have gone home to them with the same conclusiveness, as when we read His words in the form in which they were really spoken. If so, nothing could more thoroughly demonstrate that the force of our Lord's argument is no more dependent on the Davidic authorship of the psalm, than the intention of our Lord to assert the Davidic authorship is proved by the fact that He speaks of the psalm in the same way as that in which He would have spoken of it had it been really

David's. It may or it may not be David's. Let competent criticism determine. The result in no way affects either the intelligence or the confidence of faith.

"LET US HAVE PEACE WITH GOD."

ROM. v. 1.

BY REV. HAY SWEET ESCOTT, M.A.

DR. AGAR BEET has contributed to the April number of *THE THINKER* a thoughtful and scholarly paper on this important passage. But its very importance and its direct bearing on Christian life make me desirous of gaining for it further consideration. Only let it be understood that my object is simply to call the attention of Dr. Beet, and of your readers generally, to another interpretation, and by no means to impugn the rendering or reasoning of the learned commentator. Indeed, I believe that his exposition of the Greek participial construction is quite unassailable, whilst his remarks on St. Paul's quick and vivid sympathy with the opinion he is discussing are deeply true, and need to be ever borne in mind by all who would thoroughly understand the great Apostle's writings.

There are at least three senses in which the words in question may be taken. 1. In the first, and perhaps most natural to the English reader (though rejected by Dr. Beet), they amount to this: since we have been justified by faith, let us have peace with God. And there is nothing in this contrary to the requirements of the Greek, though Dr. Beet's own rendering is quite admissible also. The learned divine objects to the separation thus made between justification and peace; and, strictly speaking, the one involves the other. But were there not then, are there not now, not a few who, we trust, do truly believe, and so are justified before God, yet who, from ignorance, confusion of thought, or depression of feeling, have not in any adequate degree Christ's promised peace? Is not the entreaty (2 Cor. v. 20), "Be ye reconciled," a somewhat parallel case, if we take it as addressed to "justified" Christians (see 1 Cor. vi. 11), and not merely as characterizing St. Paul's preaching generally? And is not the expression in Heb. xii. 28 very similar, if interpreted, as by Westcott, let us "*realize*" grace? All this, I think, may be fairly alleged in support of the common rendering of the passage.

2. But secondly, the words undoubtedly will support the meaning which Dr. Beet advocates. That is, they may be read as an exhortation to the readers, as *not* being already justified, to avail themselves of free justification as the way of peace, to apprehend both together, justification and peace. There is no need of adding here any arguments in defence of this view. It is enough to refer the reader to Dr. Beet's paper. My present object is to state a difficulty in which both these

views are involved ; a difficulty felt indeed by Dr. Beet in common with other thoughtful readers, but which he thinks can be removed by reference to that peculiarity of St. Paul's mind above alluded to, of which he adduces several illustrations. The difficulty is this. The very next words to the passage under discussion not only substitute the assertion of actual present possession for an exhortation to seek to possess, but by the employment of the word "also" they certainly seem to imply that there is a difference between the "peace" of ver. 1, and the blessings mentioned as already received in ver. 2. Those words are: "By whom also we have access (by faith) into this grace wherein we stand." "We have," being perfect, equals we have obtained and still possess ; and to "stand in grace" implies an assured and firm position ; whilst "also" seems to contrast this with "let us have peace."

3. There remains an interpretation of the passage given by Godet in his Commentary and, as he says, by Schott before him. Of course, it is not forgotten that Godet, as well as Meyer, retains the reading "we have," and that both Dr. Beet and the present writer proceed on the assumption that the true reading is "let us have." But this does not invalidate Godet's interpretation. But he shall speak for himself. After heading the entire section v. 1-11 with the words, "The certainty of Final Salvation for Believers," and adding some remarks on various commentaries, he proceeds to say: "(The Apostle) turns his attention to the *future* which opens up before the justified soul. It is not at its goal ; a career of trials and struggles awaits it. Will its state of justification hold good till it can possess the finished salvation? The apprehension of Divine wrath exists in the profound depths of man's heart. A trespass suffices to re-awaken it. What justified one will not sometimes put the anxious question, Will the sentence by which my faith was reckoned to me for righteousness be still valid before the judgment-seat, and in the day of wrath (ver. 9) will this salvation by grace, in which I now rejoice, still endure? It is the answer to this ever-reviving fear which the following piece is intended to give." Again, "We have in Christ, besides the mediation of His death, by which we have already been justified, that of His life, by which we shall be maintained in this state of salvation ; compare vers. 9 and 10, which are the authentic explanation of the clause: *through our Lord Jesus Christ*. In this way ver. 2, which refers to the atonement, ceases to have the effect of a repetition. Schott says to the same purpose: 'As it is to the person of Christ that we owed access into grace (ver. 2), it is the same person of Christ which assures us of the perfecting of salvation (ver. 1).'"

The words quoted will be sufficient, it is hoped, to make the proposed interpretation clear. The Apostle is considered in ver. 1 to be insisting, not on the first peace of sin forgiven, but on the abiding confidence that, by the ceaseless love and mediation of Him who died for us, we shall be kept for evermore ; that, as by His blood we are justified, so by His life we shall be finally saved. To the exegete this interpretation has two recommendations.

entirely removes the difficulty of ver. 2, which otherwise seems a needless repetition. And, further, it gives a logical coherence to the whole passage 1-11. But, as stated above, it is its bearing on Christian life which gives it its great importance. These remarks are not written on the Calvinistic or Arminian hypothesis, nor is it forgotten that the life of the Christian must ever be a conflict, and that to watch and pray and put on the whole armour of God are necessary conditions of victory. But surely to those honest but depressed and timid Christians who are ever listening to the storm and gazing on the waves, rather than regarding the strength of their good ship and their Captain's vigilance and skill—surely to such it must be a source of needed and powerful comfort to reflect that the great Apostle, when treating of the high subject of justification, has devoted a whole section of his argument to the purpose of changing such fears to peaceful confidence, of assuring them that the justified state, the "grace in which they stand," will, through the love and power of their living Mediator, hold good in that great day before the bar of God.

THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

CHRISTIAN ASCETICISM.

By REV. S. A. ALEXANDER, M.A., KEBLE COLLEGE, OXFORD.

(Concluded.)

III. To turn to the *à priori* objections which science, philosophy, and religion bring against the older form of asceticism. The modern scientist is particularly bitter in his attack on a system which encourages a persistent neglect of health, and runs counter to the natural law that "every pain decreases utility and lowers the tide of life."¹ His argument rests, for a great part of its force, on the assumption that monasticism was a worship of pain as such. There is ample evidence, however, that the ascetic life, except in the debased and exaggerated forms already referred to, was never undertaken without the spiritual purpose of self-amendment. Even in Syria, where, with the development of asceticism, a deepening value became attached to the mere act of sacrifice, apart from motive or result, and where, with the growth of the doctrine that sins committed after baptism could only be expiated by penance, men were continually tortured by the fear lest their voluntary sufferings might not be commensurate with their wrong-doing—even here, in its later and excessive shape, asceticism was still under the control of the moral law; while, in its earlier stages, men like Antony, Hilarion, and Basil valued it, "not so much because it had, as they thought, a merit in itself, but because it enabled the spirit to rise

¹ Herbert Spencer, *Data of Ethics*, vi. 37.

above the flesh ; because it gave them strength to conquer their passions and appetites, and leave their soul to think and act."¹ In the words of a modern philosopher,² the war of asceticism has "never been against pleasure, but against disturbing passion and artificial wants and weak dependence on external or accidental things. Its aim has been, not to suffer, but to be free from the entanglements of self, to serve the calls of human pity or Divine love, and conform to the counsels of a Christlike perfection. . . . This was its essential principle, as it still is, for those to whom the garden of Gethsemane is more sacred than the garden of Epicurus."

The philosophic argument is a weapon drawn from the armoury of teleology. It consists in a deduction from the thesis, periodically recurrent in the history of thought from Socrates to Paley, that "a gratuitous gift of pleasure has been attached by the Creator to most of the functions of life . . . permitting their exercise beyond the limit of mere correlated use."³ Asceticism, it has thus been argued, is immoderately utilitarian in spirit ; for if mankind has been bound, *e.g.*, in eating, to consult only the necessary claims of the physical organism, food would not have been made so pleasant to the taste. In its cruder statement, this position is no longer tenable. To the thinker who, on the one hand, places strong feelings and capacities for pleasure among the adaptations by which the fittest survive, and through which the law of natural selection works ; and who, on the other, is aware how prodigal is Nature of her resources, how careful she is of the continuance and development of the species, and how terribly over-weighted (to secure those ends) are human passions, even the most gratuitous pleasures may seem to exist for some ulterior object ; at least, he will hesitate to base an argument on the possibility of their gratuitousness. The modern discovery, too, of the inadequacy of the old anthropological conception of the universe, which made of Man, not only the apex of the world, but even the one centre round which everything else immediately revolved, has revealed the fact that many pleasant things, hitherto supposed to be specially created for the enjoyment of this darling of heaven, are in reality playing, quite apart from him, an indispensable part in the economy of nature ; so that, for example, the colours and scents of flowers, which are now perceived to be necessary factors in the fertilization of plants, must be classed among "the utilities," not "the gratuities," of the earth. No doubt it may still be urged with some truth that, as we need not have been made sharers in them, many pleasures are still gratuities *in relation to us* ; and that therefore, "over and above the bare satisfaction of functional ends," our nature was clearly intended to "experience a certain surplus of unearned and merely ornamental pleasures."⁴ The characteristics, however, of the philosophic objection make it needless to emphasize such qualifications here. For it must be remarked, first, that the

¹ Charles Kingsley, *Hermits*, p. 165.

² Martineau, *Types of Ethical Theory*, ii. 381 (2nd edit.).

³ *Ibid.*, ii. 168, a passage from which part of the argument in this paragraph is derived.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 169.

asceticism against which it is directed is simply that which avoids pleasures as such; and, next, that it only deals with the question of lawfulness, and not with that of a higher or lower choice. It does not touch that true Christian asceticism which, while it believes in the innocency of natural pleasure, believes also in quality and gradation, listens always for the perpetual invitation to "come up higher," and refuses, with St. Paul,¹ to make lawfulness the measure of expediency.

The mention of St. Paul brings us to the last appeal. Is asceticism sanctioned by the writings of the New Testament; and, if so, asceticism of what kind? Is it the asceticism of the character and limits of which occasional hints have already been given? Or is it the old asceticism, rather more fully outlined in the preceding pages in respect of its development, its merits, and its failures?

A very superficial examination of the sacred text suffices for a decision which deeper research seems only to justify and confirm. Neither the spirit of Christ's teaching nor the spirit of His life was in keeping with the narrow and austere temper of the old asceticism. He might, had He chosen, have adopted some ascetic rite, like that of circumcision, as the mark of membership in His society; and yet the form which He actually selected was the very simple and natural one of baptism. On celibacy, on fasting, on the conduct of the ascetic life, He laid down no rules whatever, except to guard against unreality. His method of teaching men was not to encircle their thought and practice with a stringent system of minute regulations, but to inspire them with a new life, a guiding spirit, which should, by its power of being applied to every moral emergency, endow them with a free autonomy. Hence fasting and celibacy are permitted, and even, within limits, encouraged; but they are neither enjoined, nor made prominent, nor held out as necessary conditions of the higher life. They are rather treated as possible helps under special circumstances and for particular individuals.² Such treatment was, in fact, demanded by the universal character of the Christian faith. Any severer call for practical austerity would have closed its doors effectually against the mass of mankind, who have neither the intellect to appreciate nor the power to practice a finely regulated code of morals. Christ, therefore, taught not by moral definition, but by a guiding and positive enthusiasm; and what He taught in word He further developed and illustrated in life. Though He might fast in a special spiritual crisis, His life as a whole was not that of an ascetic³; indeed, so far removed was it from the current asceticism that the world about Him, contrasting it with the stern and simple life of John the Baptist,⁴ did not hesitate to blame it even for excess; and Christ Himself "apologized for the indulgent character of His discipline by pointing with sad foresight to the sufferings which His

¹ 1 Cor. vi. 12.

² Matt. xix. 11; cf. ix. 15.

³ The passage, "This kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting," is a gloss in Matt. xvii. 21, while in Mark ix. 29 the last two words are probably a later insertion.

⁴ Matt. xi. 18, 19. The disciples did not fast: Matt. ix. 14.

followers would all too soon have to endure."¹ Content to inspire a spirit of self-sacrifice and the resolution to pursue at all costs what is highest and purest, He readily lent the sanction of His presence as well to the marriage supper as to the more habitual festivity of daily life; thus marking His approval of whatever is truly human, and His sense of the possibility of the sanctification of the commonest things. In this attitude of freedom or magnanimity of sentiment towards external and transitory phenomena, it is particularly true that "the spirit giveth life," by stamping with the sign of innocence that which a more contracted criticism rejects or condemns. This, then, was the attitude adopted by Him towards the whole question of pleasure and pain. He made neither of pleasure nor of pain an object to be sought for, a guide for conduct, a criterion of excellence. On the one hand, He refused to disparage the human body. The long wanderings in which He went about doing good and healing the sick show the gentleness and care with which He watched over the physical welfare of men. As the work of God's hands, and as the dwelling-place of His spirit, the body possessed for Him a sacredness of its own, and He did not refuse to recognize its necessary claims.² His teaching rather, in its essential spirit of catholicity, corroborates the sentiment that the wish "to live one's earthly life on all sides as fully as possible is a wish that in itself cannot be called illegitimate."³ But, on the other hand, though He saw the need of pleasure in life, He would not erect it into a primary object. On the contrary, all immediate reference to pleasure was shut out from the rule of conduct, the aims and motives, which He prescribed. A splendid carelessness is the characteristic of the Christian life. If the living of it brings a man into pain, or suffering, or even death, then it is well; it must be so; pleasure, if it comes at all, must come unsought. This paradox (a modern writer has remarked⁴)—the paradox that "pleasure is necessary, and yet that it is not to be sought; that this world is to be renounced, and yet that it is noble and glorious"—was realized in practice by the early Church, which was both contemptuous of life and most careful of bodily wants; which, while it carried its regard for the body "to the borders of effeminacy," nevertheless "pushed Stoical apathy almost to madness"; which, in due time, created, on the one hand, the hermit's cell, and, on the other, the hospital. This tradition, it may be added, has never long been lost in the Church. The Christian life has always been felt to be based on sacrifice; and though, for due encouragement, rewards, positive and negative, may be offered, and even kept in view, it is not for the sake of those rewards that the sacrifice is undertaken. They are only incidental: the end is God. "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you"—that is the summing up of the whole position, the crowning maxim of true asceticism.

And, amid a certain variety of tendency due to individual temperament,

¹ Cf. *Eccle Homo*, p. 110 (19th edit.).

² Martensen, *Individual Ethics*, p. 372.

³ Matt. vi. 32.

⁴ *Eccle Homo*, p. 111.

such a position is strongly supported by Apostolic teaching. Where abstinence from sensual pleasure is encouraged, it is always out of regard for special circumstances or for the call of a higher life. Pleasure itself is to St. Paul almost wanting in moral colour;¹ it takes its hue from the character or sentiment of the man who enjoys or rejects it; purity of heart giving it the impress of purity,² while the sense of defilement actually makes it unclean. In this large-minded treatment of carnal things, St. Paul, following St. Peter, emphasizes the true subjectivity of the spiritual life. Christian wisdom carries with it, in fuller meanings than that of the Stoic could ever do, the gifts of kingship and of liberty: authority, that is, to refuse or to accept the bounty of a vassal world—not without perpetual thanksgiving for that bounty, whether accepted or refused; and freedom to be and to do whatever is noblest and best. And yet, with all his power of the sceptre, the Christian must not forget that he is the servant of men, and that thus his choice is, in practice, limited both by inward and by outward conditions. First, he has to keep in constant view the growth of God's kingdom *within himself*. Compared with the spirit, the flesh is the seat of evil;³ and a frequent dallying with its charms may restore it to its old supremacy over the man. The spiritual life is too great and deep a thing to be pursued in this half-hearted way. It must be wrought out as if a man's salvation depended on his earnestness. He must be ready to undergo a searching trial and training; to endure hardness; to keep his body in subjection, even if he be a St. Paul, lest he fall at last into moral shipwreck. Again, the Christian has to have regard for the advance of God's kingdom *in others*. It may be right for him, for a brother's sake, to abstain from the most allowable pleasures.⁴ What is innocent to him may not be so to another; and it is better not to enjoy at all than to enjoy at the high price of a soul's disaster. Or again, the Christian has to be observant, both for himself and for others, of the circumstances and needs of the age, or the special peculiarities of a given place or occasion. Theoretically, he has a perfect right to marry;⁵ but in practice it may be sometimes better to abstain.⁶ Theoretically, he is at liberty to enter into business relations with men; but occasionally it is wiser for him to hold aloof. In times of "distress"⁷ the standpoint of practical morality may require to be shifted. There can be little doubt that the growing respect for fasting⁸ and celibacy traceable in the early Church was largely due to this attention to contemporary circumstances and wants. Other causes were undoubtedly working towards the deeper insistence on the ascetic rule; but prominent at least among controlling principles was the Church's sense of what the times required: its resolution to be uncontaminated and untrammelled by the pagan world about it; its devotion to the spread of Gospel truth, and consequent willingness to submit to any necessary

¹ Rom. xiv. throughout; esp. xiv. 20.² Titus i. 15.³ Rom. xiv. 15, 17, 20.⁴ 1 Cor. viii. &c.⁵ 1 Tim. iv. 1-3; cf. 1 Cor. vii. 28, 33; ix. 5.⁶ 1 Cor. vii. 8.⁷ 1 Cor. vii. 26.⁸ Cf. the curious phrase in the *Didache* (i. 5), "Fast for those that per-

secute you."

sacrifice ; its belief in the nearness of its Lord's return ; its determination to hold its own in the face of spreading heresy ; its hope of meeting unconquered those persecutions of fire and sword with which the spirit of laxity born in peace was unable to contend.

IV. It needs, therefore, no exhaustive research into the writings of the New Testament to discover that there is such a thing as Christian asceticism, parallel in some points to the regulated asceticism of monastic discipline, and at variance with it on others ; and its qualities and limits have already, perhaps, been indicated with sufficient distinctness to enable us, in summing up, to grasp three of its leading characteristics. These are : its spirituality, its positivity, its unselfishness.

The true Christian asceticism is spiritual both in its aim and in its theory of nature. Its aim is always to pursue as far as may be at every point a perfect ideal. In the light of this ideal the more specially pleasurable aspects of life fade into comparative insignificance. Because the world—the present visible order—passes away together with the feelings and desires appropriate to it, the Christian feels the need of choosing some higher and more spiritual centre about which his daily life may revolve. And in making such a choice he does not hastily reject pleasure as a dangerous and an evil thing. Rather he welcomes it as having a favourable influence on his development, wherever it is not wrongly attained or unduly valued. In seeking for God's righteousness he "handles the things of this world"—to use an image of St. Francis de Sales—"as an infant reaches for flowers with one hand while holding its father's fast by the other."¹ He gathers the flowers without forgetting his Father's presence ; remembering that it is his Father who "makes them grow," and who sends to him, in each, a message—a "word of the Lord"—before it fades. In the lily of the field he finds a parable of God's daily care for men. He knows the use of the material world for the enlargement and purification of his inner life—its power of hardening or softening, of controlling or inspiring. Recognizing that if the body is under the government of the spirit, the spirit owns in its turn a kind of dependence on the body and (correspondingly and in a larger meaning) on the whole material world and its complex influences, he learns to educate his senses, and himself through his senses ; to take delight in the beauty of nature—in its charm and variety and glow—or interest in its darker and more tragic aspects ; and to submit to what is best in the influence of those things for the purpose of keeping himself at the highest possible level for grappling with his life-work. He is not blind, therefore, to the resources of joy, and the opportunities of learning, offered to him in the primary facts of nature and human life, and even in their apparently insignificant suggestions. But since it is at present irrelevant to enumerate the ways and degrees in which the material world assists the spiritual development, we must be content to observe that such assistance is of the highest value and importance, and that no Christian interpretation of the world-problem can afford to overlook or to underrate it. Christianity, in

¹ *Introd. à la Vie* (3-10).

act, offers no encouragement to the theory of the inherent evil of nature. In the purest sense its theory is sacramental. Its method is to consecrate, not to destroy; to spiritualize, not to renounce. It is always turning the water into wine. It takes all the manifold energies of human life, all human activities and hopes and passions, and makes them sacred by the infusion of a new spirit; and thus by the gift of a new and more abundant life,¹ far more than by the repudiation of atrophied or wasted limbs, it revivifies the whole man. The command to cut off the offending hand, and to pluck out the offending eye, contains only the injunction to follow the higher life at the cost of the lower—to make spirit into the real, and sense into the accidental. It marks at once the character of true asceticism, and, inferentially, its limits; for though the sacrifice may win heaven, the man still enters into it "maimed." It were better so to follow God that the pleasures of eye and hand are forgotten in Him, or pursued only in reference to Him. Perfection, then, consists in selling all that we have, and in obeying the Divine summons; there must be no hesitation, no lingering attachment that will call us out the narrow way, no looking back with longing to the valleys of enticement in which we cannot keep our hand upon God's plough. The asceticism required for such an effort, in spite of an occasional need of more definite practice for special seasons or individuals, is not that which expresses itself in a mechanical routine within rigid limits. The true spiritual formula is rather this: Reject the lower law in the presence of the higher; or, most positively, Be guided by the tendency to select at every moment that course which is truly the best. Such is the spirituality of Christian asceticism; alike in its aim and in its theory of nature it is represented by a perpetual preference for the spiritual and universal—by the perpetual suggestion of the higher motive.

In keeping with its spirituality is its positivity. A religion which aimed only at the avoidance of evil, and which asked for nothing more than a negative goodness, would be of little practical value to mankind. Even in Greece, where moral philosophy constituted the highest form of religion, Aristotle,² with his deep glance into ethical standards, saw that a positivity of moral conduct is an essential factor in the perfect life; and Christ's teaching, in His claim that God must be the master-thought that sways the soul, went infinitely farther. So Christian asceticism is not negative and destructive; it is positive and constructive. It replaces the "Thou shalt not!" by the larger "Thou shalt!" It is connected with love, not with fear, in the religious consciousness. It escapes temptation, as we have seen, not by cutting off the given conditions, but by the perpetual suggestion of a higher motive. Its warfare is not defensive, but offensive; it is too enthusiastic to be fearful, not much in pursuit to flee.

Thus we reach its last great characteristic—its unselfishness. As political society only became possible in the past, and continues to-day, by the resignation of certain personal rights by the individual, so does spiritual society,

¹ John x. 10.

² *Eth.*, iv. 1, 7.

basing itself on sacrifice, witness the organic unity of the moral order. The Christian ascetic lives for others as well as for himself. Christian asceticism is not an instrument of self-interest, but the requisite condition of a lofty endeavour. The sacrifice which it involves for the sake of the common advantage does not, however, clash with the call to self-development—a primary duty, recognized fully by Christian doctrine in the value it attaches to the individual. The full realization of all the riches of our individuality; the growth, in fineness and taste and comprehensiveness, of the receptive spirit under the sacred influences of beauty in Art and Nature; the widening and many-sided sympathy with which the Christian, keenly alive to the varied elements of the age in which he lives, meets and embraces the multiplex phenomena of human life, trying, with just interpretations and active response, to participate in the ceaseless movement, the throbbing activity, the diversified interests of an increasingly complex society—all these are necessary factors in the endeavour to become that which God meant us to be; and as such they are in no way antagonistic to the true asceticism. Only in this aspect the teaching of the New Testament would seem to suggest two facts: first, that individuality is often best developed by meeting social wants; and next, that an individuality ought never to be developed simply in and for itself as a work of art, but always with some immediate and conscious reference to God and God's world of human souls, with all their needs and aspirations. And here, in balancing the claims of the individual with the counsel to merge our selfish ends in ends that are more universal, we find that the true meeting-point of individualism and socialism, in the moral sphere, is given by the identification of Christian asceticism with the philosophic demand for *self-realization through society*. That too is the law of the Christian. He realizes himself, but it is *through society*; he is an ascetic, and yet a complete man; he wins his soul, but it is by the surrender of a world of his own ambitions; and, fired by that spirit of sacrifice in which his Master lived and died, he learns, if not by the outward approval of human judges, at least by the inward communication of a spiritual voice, that he has lost his life and saved it.

CURRENT AMERICAN THOUGHT.

THE PLACE OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL IN THE NEW TESTAMENT LITERATURE. By ORELLLO' CONE, Buchtel College (*The New World*).—The criticism of the fourth Gospel cannot any longer be regarded, by the most zealous advocates of its Apostolical origin, as undertaken in a spirit of hostility to Christianity. The results of the work of the critical school are not merely negative, and prejudicial to Christian faith. They must modify men's opinions of the person and mission of Jesus, and of the method and substance of His teaching, so far as they are accepted. But no serious harm,

therefore, ensues to Christian belief, since the result of the abandonment of the fourth Gospel as a historical source is that the student turns with confidence to the Synoptic records, which are conceded to be less affected than the former by the subjectivity of their writers. The Johannine problem arises out of the relation which the fourth Gospel holds to the Synoptics as to contents, purpose, general conception of the person and biography of Jesus, and doctrinal points of view. The manifest purpose of the fourth Gospel is not to furnish a biography, but to elaborate and enforce certain distinctive doctrines. The author has given to the discourses an undeniably subjective colouring.

With respect to the material of his narrative, there is no doubt that the fourth Evangelist shows considerable dependence upon the Synoptics. These Synoptists present the story of Jesus with an appearance, in general, of historical probability and self-consistency, and of comparative freedom from the influence of dogmatic interests and preconceptions. In contrast with this sober historical realism, the fourth Evangelist plainly shows the influence of dogmatic preconceptions in his idealization of the person of Christ, and in the way in which he records the Messianic manifestation. Contrary to the traditional idea of the Messiah, he declares in the prologue that this expected Person was a superhuman being, the Logos, who was "in the beginning with God, and was God." Mr. Cone gives various illustrations of what he regards as an ideal construction of the history, with a view to supporting this thesis of the prologue.

The discourses and sayings ascribed to Jesus in this Gospel deserve special consideration in a study of its place in the literature of the New Testament. If the Synoptic records are founded upon the original tradition of Jesus' method of teaching, the portrayal of it in the fourth Gospel is secondary, unhistorical, ideal, and very remote in origin from the former. Comparing John with the Synoptists, Mr. Cone says, "All that is essential in contents, all that is characteristic in manner, and all that is unique in simplicity in the Synoptic representation of Jesus' teaching, is wanting in the Johannine discourses. To such a degree has the writer put himself into them that it is impossible to determine, in many instances, where the line should be drawn between the words which he intends to ascribe to Jesus and his own reflections upon the subject in hand. Verbal accuracy is not indeed essential to authenticity. But there is such fundamental difference between the fourth and the previous Gospels, that the supposition of the Evangelist's subjectivity must be made."

The superficial reader cannot but observe the difference between the subjects of these discourses and those with which the Jesus of the Synoptists is chiefly occupied. The practical moral interest which predominates in the older Gospels drops into a subordinate place, or disappears entirely. The kingdom of God, the burden of the original tradition, recedes to give place to the personality of Jesus, which is advanced into the foreground, although by no means treated in a manner adapted to the ordinary understanding. The ruling purpose of the writer, to make Jesus continually discourse of the doctrines on which the whole structure of the Gospel is founded, occasions sometimes a total incongruity between a given incident and the words spoken in connection with it, so that the reader experiences a succession of surprises and disappointments (see John xii. 20-34). "So unmistakable a dogmatic purpose, showing itself in all the discourses, and determining their form and contents, makes it evident to the historic sense that the writer was not in touch with the simplicity, freshness, and spontaneity of the original Apostolic tradition of Jesus, but rather indicates the point of view of a later age of theological

reflection and discussion, when such questions were mooted as Christ's equality with God, and philosophical conceptions of His nature and mission, impossible at an earlier time, had been matured. The absence of that most characteristic feature of Jesus' teaching, the parable, which was so striking and prominent that it is said, 'without a parable spake He not unto them,' raises a reasonable doubt of the authenticity of the discourses of this Gospel."

The careful student of the New Testament cannot but observe, in its several writings, different stages of doctrinal development, the most primitive of which are found in the original Synoptic tradition, while the Pauline, the Deutero-Pauline, and the Johannine writings indicate the results of reflection upon the central themes of the Gospel, and the modifications of doctrine which could not but arise from the influence of contemporary thought. With respect to the Christological conceptions of the fourth Gospel, it may be shown with great probability that the Logos idea, which is the fundamental doctrine of the prologue, is the product of a theological reflection that was not only entirely foreign to the original Apostolic tradition, but is explicable only as belonging to a somewhat advanced period of the post-Apostolic age. The coming of Apollos into the Christian Church is, perhaps, not without connection with the entrance into it of Alexandrian modes of thought. In Ephesus, the Christian idea of the Logos was undoubtedly fostered. Weizsäcker and Holzmann conclude that the fourth Gospel is a connecting link between Philo and Justin Martyr.

If the conception of the person of Jesus which appears in the fourth Gospel is the culmination of a process of idealization and exaltation of Him, it should be possible to show both the beginnings and the intermediate stages of this process. But the Synoptic Gospels were not written until some forty to sixty years after the death of Jesus, and in that time the traditions gathered poetic and legendary accretions. There are unmistakable signs of a development of the tradition in the direction of an idealization of the central figure, modifications of His sayings, and an enhancement of His works. The differing reports in the Synoptics of various sayings of Jesus indicate the pliancy of the tradition, and show how His teaching was transformed and His person idealized, in accordance with the principle, which may be regarded as a deduction from history, that the results of the occupation of human thought with any subject are largely determined by the intellectual environment, and by prepossessions and absorbing interests and feelings. The idealizing exaltation of the person of Christ was advanced by Paul far beyond that of the Synoptic tradition. Paul conceived a Christology whose celestial point of departure required a metaphysical construction. In the further development of the doctrine of the person of Christ, which appears in the Epistles designated by criticism as Deutero-Pauline—those addressed to the Hebrews, the Colossians, and the Ephesians—is manifested the profound impression which His personality made upon the early believers in Him. Here the influence of Alexandrian ideas becomes unmistakably apparent. It is but a step from this doctrine of the person of Christ to that of the fourth Gospel. The Christology of the Gospel rests, indeed, upon a monotheistic basis, but it approaches as near to Trinitarianism as is compatible with the aloneness and absolute supremacy of the Father. For the genesis of the Johannine conception there was needed the entire antecedent development of the idealizing of the person of Christ—the ideal "man from heaven" of Paul, and the Deutero-Pauline enhancement of this notion—together with the Logos speculation of the Alexandrian philosophy. The Johannine in relation to the Synoptic doctrine of Christ is a riddle only to those who refuse to regard both conceptions historically.

The idea of the pre-existence of Christ, for example, is not so much as intimated in the Synoptic records. In the fourth Gospel it is elaborated and made fundamental.

The doctrine of the *work* of Christ contained in this Gospel, its soteriology, also indicates that its place is among the latest products of thought in the New Testament. The burden of the teaching of Jesus, as recorded in the Synoptics, is practical righteousness, which is attainable by trustful obedience to God. To hear the words of Jesus and do them, to take up the cross and follow Him—these are the all-important requirements. No emphasis is laid upon faith in His person from a soteriological point of view. In the Pauline doctrine of salvation, the chief stress is laid upon faith as a condition of justification, and it is faith in Jesus as an atoning agent. The Deutero-Pauline writers laid the chief stress upon the ethical aspect of the passion of Christ, avoiding, apparently with intention, the distinctive terminology of the Apostle. In the fourth Gospel the break with the Pauline soteriology is complete. The writer places the Divine Logos in the centre of his soteriological scheme as the all-important figure and agency. He emphasizes a mystical inward relation of men to Jesus, consummated through a faith and love by which the receptive soul is immediately connected with the life-giving personality of the Son of God. The life-giving Christ is represented, in a manner congenial to Hellenistic Christian thought, as directly communicating to the believer a spiritual principle which is in him "a well of water springing up to everlasting life." The death of Christ is not made prominent as a factor in salvation, but the stress is laid upon the whole personality of the Logos, who, as the organ of revelation, and the manifestation of God, communicates life and light to those who are receptive of them. The earlier views of the significance of the death of Christ with respect to His person undergo a transformation in this Gospel, which is not without importance in determining, negatively at least, its authorship and date. In the Synoptics, the death of Jesus is regarded by the disciples, when it is intimated to them, with horror; and when it actually occurs, it is represented as the death-blow of their Messianic hopes. In the Pauline apprehension of it, its soteriological significance is emphasized, but it is regarded as a humiliation and a "curse" to which Jesus was subjected. "It did not accord, however, with the exalted rank to which the person of Christ had been raised, in the development of Christological thought, at the time of the composition of the fourth Gospel, to represent the heaven-descended Logos as degraded and cursed by the pathetic fortune of His closing earthly hours. As His death was the culmination of His mortal career, so the exaltation of His person, and the manifestation of His power and saving efficacy, are represented as reaching in this event their highest point. In being 'lifted up' Jesus is represented as not merely raised upon the cross, but as attaining the acme of His spiritual elevation and attraction. The hour of His death is that in which the Son of Man is "glorified." On the cross He utters no heart-broken cry of anguish and abandonment, but majestically exclaims, 'It is finished,' and dies like a god."

There appears, also, in this Gospel the culmination, so far as the New Testament is concerned, of a course of development of mythological conceptions in its doctrine of Satan. In the Synoptic Gospels, Satan has no great prominence as a spiritual adversary. In Paul's thought, the contest of the believer is rather with "the flesh" opposing the spiritual strivings than with hostile spirit-powers. In the Deutero-Pauline literature there is a further development of this mythology of the infernal powers. We find a hierarchy of demonic forces. The conspicuous *dualism* of the fourth Gospel has led some to suppose its author to have come under the influence of Gnostic or Montanistic views. Certainly, along with the higher significance ascribed

by the Evangelist to the person of Christ, there is an enhancement of the hostile power of evil to the greatest concreteness of a personified principle of badness. This unique spiritual Gospel exalts the prince of evil only to prophesy his defeat, and to celebrate his subjection to the greater Prince of the powers of life.

The eschatology of the Gospel shows it to have been written in an age and environment when the earlier expectation of the personal return of Christ to the earth had given place to a spiritual conception of judgment and the kingdom of God. Accordingly, it is distinguished by the absence of details regarding the second coming of Christ, and of a definite statement of its time.

The results of the historico-critical study of the fourth Gospel tend to show with great probability that its place in the literature of the New Testament is among the latest products of Christian thought herein contained, and that it represents the culmination of a course of doctrinal development, which may be shown almost certainly to have taken place in the consecutive writings of the Christian canon. It is a Gospel of subjective reflection upon an idealized object. It represents a Christianized Alexandrianism in which the original Christology of Jesus now disappears among metaphysical abstractions, and now vaguely emerges in the shadowy outlines of a speculative biography. There follows, however, by no means from its unapostolic origin, the conclusion that it has not a worth of its own. In its pages the post-Apostolic age delivers through a great writer a great teaching. "This writer has emphasized an aspect of Jesus' relation to men that is of great significance and permanent worth. With warm appreciation he has presented the personality of Jesus as a great attractive force to 'draw' men to the higher life. This apprehension of Christ as the life, the light, and the truth, signifies that, in the Hellenistic Christian thought of the first quarter of the second century, the Pauline soteriology, which exalted the death of Christ as a ransom, and neglected His life and teachings, had given place to a more natural and rational, although somewhat mystical, conception."

DRUIDISM. By REV. A. H. MCKINNEY, Ph.D., New York (*Christian Thought*).—The Celts were the earliest Aryan settlers in Western Europe. They belong to that great Indo-European family of mankind which spread over Europe in successive waves. They are divided into two main groups: the Western, or Gaelic Celts, of whom the Irish are representatives, and the Cymric Celts, of whom the Welsh are the survivors. There seem to have been three (or, if we count the slaves, four) castes among them: (1) the common people, who were sunk in superstition and ignorance; (2) the knightly, or warrior, caste; (3) the Druids, or priestly; caste.

The Druids formed a class of priests corresponding in many respects to the Magi of ancient Persia. Their office was not hereditary, but was open to those who showed themselves worthy of it. The number was regulated according to the population. The candidate for initiation was obliged to prove his descent from nine successive generations of free ancestors, and to secure twelve heads of families, who would become responsible for his good conduct and maintenance. A long course of study had to be pursued. There were three test examinations before the Druidic College of the tribe. Even then the head of the clan had the power of veto. They were divided into three general classes, the priests, the prophets, and the bards. Over all was a president, who was elected for life. There seem also to have been three chief bards, or Arch-Druids, of Britain, having their seats at what are now London, York, and Caerleon. There was also an order of Druidesses, or prophetic women, but at times their rites were of a very degrading character. The Druids enjoyed exceptional honour and authority. As priests, prophets, teachers, bards, judges, law-makers, soothsayers, and physicians, they not only gained, but kept within their order, all that

was worth having of knowledge and influence. The British Druids had forty universities south of the Forth and the Clyde: at one time sixty thousand students were in attendance. They studied arithmetic, astronomy, mechanics, botany, geography, medicine, astrology, poetry, and oratory, but only for the sake of increasing their power, not with a view to imparting what they learned. They formed an esoteric order. They had an alphabet of sixteen letters; but their teachings were transmitted orally, the triadic form of teaching being the prevalent one.

Druidism takes a very early place in history; it is contemporaneous with the earliest development of Zoroastrianism, Confucianism, and Buddhism, but probably should be traced to the primitive cult. Some claim that the Druids were polytheistic, and they were certainly such in practice, if not in spirit. Others claim that they were pantheistic, since they regarded the universe as the body of God. This pantheistic notion was further strengthened by their theory of creation, which was that the Infinite produced the universe by germs evolved from Himself. The Pantheism of the Druids did not, like the Indian Pantheism, tend to do away with moral responsibility. On the contrary, the thought of the nearness of God tended to the development of strong character. There is, however, much to be said in favour of the hypothesis that the Druids were monotheists. Probably, at first, the Druids had a very exalted conception of God, and taught and practised a pure monotheism. But speculation, on the one hand, led to pantheism among some, and a yielding to the superstitions of the ignorant, on the other hand, led to polytheism in practice, if not in actual belief. Through the ages there were some who, in spite of speculation and superstition, held to the belief in the one supreme, personal God, and through their influence, from time to time, attempts were made to bring the people back to the primitive monotheism. When Christianity came into contact with Druidism, the good in the latter system readily united with the former.

The real defect in Druidism was the absence of anything like charity or love. The Druids' golden rule was: "Do not hurt your neighbour: but if he hurts you, hold him strictly accountable." Distinguishing between the Druids of the Continent and those of Britain, the doctrines of the British section may be thus stated: 1. monotheism. The idea of the one supreme God never was lost, and at the beginning of the Christian era it seems to have been quite clear. The Trinity of the Druids was simply God manifesting Himself in a threefold aspect. No doubt there were tendencies, at times very strong, towards polytheism, but the reaction was always towards monotheism. A parallel to this state of affairs is seen in the history of the Jews. 2. Creation by a personal God. Matter was considered eternal and imperishable, but capable of all kinds of changes and combinations. God permeated the universe, just as the mind of man affects all parts of his body. They did not clearly distinguish between God and the universe. On the other hand, there was a sense of the immanence of God, which led men to seek for Him in nature, and to act under the consciousness of His presence. 3. The immortality of the soul. It is claimed that it was the Druids who first clearly taught this doctrine. And their system certainly gives evidence of a very early and a very marked development of this truth. References to the belief in immortality are more frequent in the writings of the Druids than in the Old Testament Scriptures. 4. Metempsychosis, or transmigration, was believed in; but the doctrine was not elaborated as it is in Buddhism. "Eternal life was one of eternal progress. Man, having fallen from his angelic state in heaven, has risen through various stages of probation to his present state, in which he is again a free agent. Now he may choose the good, and if he willingly abides by his choice, at his death his soul will re-enter his former angelic state. If he prefers evil, at death his

soul goes back to that probationary stage best fitted to purify it." It does not appear that the Druids believed in the passing of the souls of men into animals. 5. Man's freedom and responsibility were emphasized. Man had full power within himself to choose good or evil. The choice once made, the chooser must abide by the consequences. This tended to develop a strong moral character. 6. The doctrine of the fall of man was taught. The fall was brought about by man attempting to rival God in power. 7. Vicarious atonement. Traces of sacrifices are found in Britain, and it is claimed that the value of an atonement or expiatory sacrifice was in proportion to the value of the life sacrificed. In Druidism we have a foreshadowing of Divine redemption. 8. Confession and penance. Guilt was expiated by voluntary confession and penance. Specific punishments were prescribed, and these had to be endured before the guilty one was pardoned.

The rites and ceremonies were elaborate and impressive, and there was an air of mystery about them. They had three great festivals, May 1st, spring, autumn, and mid-winter. The mistletoe was gathered during the mid-winter festival. The three white berries were treated as the symbol of the Trinity. Then three white bulls were sacrificed. Human beings were undoubtedly sacrificed at these festivals. Every tribe possessed a particular sword, termed the "Sword of the Tribe." Neither this nor any other weapon could be unsheathed in the congress of the tribe or any congress of Druids or Bards. "But when an individual was about to be excommunicated, which was never done until after a year and a day's notice, to allow the offender time for voluntary atonement, he was brought into the congress of the tribe, the sword of the tribe was unsheathed by the head of the tribe, and proclaimed to be unsheathed against the offender by name; his name was then struck out of the roll of the book of the tribe, and out of the book of his own family; the badge of the tribe was torn from his arm, his sword broken in the ground, and his wand over his head by the head of the tribe; his head was shaved, and the executioner of the tribe, with the point of the sword of the tribe, drew blood from the forehead, breast, and loins, and pouring it on his head exclaimed, 'The blood of the man thus accursed be on his own head.' His forehead was then branded, and he was led forth, the herald of the tribe going before and proclaiming, 'This man hath no name, nor family, nor tribe among the names and families and tribes of Britain, henceforth let no man's flesh touch his flesh, nor tongue speak to him, nor eye look upon him, nor hand of man bury him, and let the darkness of Annion again receive him.' This sentence was read throughout the land, and the excommunicated one went from place to place, until, unable to bear the treatment he received, he fled from the haunts of men to die in some unfrequented spot."

The Druids had many symbols. One was a white bull with horns crowned with golden stars. (Possibly the origin of the name John Bull.) Every Druid wore three rays of light worked in gold on his mitre. The oak was the symbol of the Supreme Being. The mistletoe was the symbol of man as creature dependent on God. In addition there were the crested wren, which was the sacred bird; the wheat, which was the sacred grain; and the trefoil, vervain, and hyssop, which were the sacred herbs. A powerful charm was the snake's egg, supposed by them to be produced by the saliva of a number of snakes.

The author suggests a comparison between Brahmanism and Druidism, which seems to indicate a common primitive faith. The comparison is made of the caste systems, the priesthood, the lack of written literature, the sacrifices, the conceptions of transmigration, the Trinity, and the pantheistic tone on both religions.

What has been the influence of Druidism? Looking at history in a political

sense, the Celts cannot be said to have played an important part; but looking at the hold that Druidism had over its followers, and then, through the Britons, the influence it has exerted in the world, one cannot but assign to it a high place of honour. In the fifth century B.C. the laws of the Druids were codified. These are acknowledged by leading English jurists to have been the basis of English liberty and English common law. "Druidism stood as a witness for God in Western Europe, and when God's more perfect revelation was made through His Son Jesus Christ, it saw that its work was done, and it became a part of that faith whose Founder gave His life, that the way to the Father might be open to all."

THE REAL PROBLEM OF INSPIRATION. By PROFESSOR BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD, D.D., LL.D., Princeton (*The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*).—It is now implied that the Christian doctrine of the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures has been brought into straits by modern investigation, and needs now to adapt itself to certain assured but damaging results of the scientific study of the Bible. It cannot, however, be fairly said that the old doctrine of inspiration is put in jeopardy. The exact state of the case is this: a special school of Old Testament criticism, which has for some years been gaining somewhat widespread acceptance of its results, has begun to proclaim that these results having been accepted, a "changed view of the Bible" follows, which implies a reconstructed doctrine of inspiration, and, indeed, also a whole new theology. But it is really not the established doctrine of inspiration that is brought into discredit and distress by this conflict, but the school of Old Testament criticism which is at present fashionable.

It is important to keep ourselves reminded that the doctrine of inspiration which has become established in the Church is open to all *legitimate criticism*, and is to continue to be held only as, and so far as, it is ever anew critically tested and approved. The author holds that it is not really endangered by any assured results of recent Biblical study. The Church has held that the Bible is the Word of God in such a sense that its words, though written by men, and bearing indelibly impressed upon them the marks of human origin, were written, nevertheless, under such an influence of the Holy Ghost as to be also the words of God, the adequate expression of His mind and will. It has always recognized that this conception of co-authorship implies that the Spirit's superintendence extends to the choice of the words by the human authors (verbal inspiration), and preserves its product from everything inconsistent with a Divine authorship, thus securing, among other things, that entire truthfulness which is everywhere presupposed in and asserted for Scripture by the Biblical writers (inerrancy). If this doctrine is to be assailed on critical grounds, criticism must proceed against the evidence on which it is based: against (1) the exegetical evidence that the doctrine held and taught by the Church is the doctrine held and taught by the Biblical writers themselves; and against (2) the whole mass of evidence—internal and external, objective and subjective, historical and philosophical, human and Divine—which goes to show that the Biblical writers are trustworthy as doctrinal guides. Failing in dealing with the evidences, criticism can destroy the doctrine only by undermining its foundation in our confidence in the trustworthiness of Scripture as a witness to doctrine. The really decisive question among Christian scholars is this: What does an exact and scientific exegesis determine to be the Biblical doctrine of inspiration? It is generally admitted by scholars who do not accept the Church theory of inspiration that it is the doctrine of the New Testament writers. Thus, Richard Rothe, writing of the New Testament authors, says, "They look upon the words of the Old Testament as *immediate* words of God, and adduce them expressly as such, even those of them which are not at all related as direct

sayings of God. They see nothing at all in the sacred volume which is simply the word of its human author, and not, at the same time, the very Word of God Himself." It is not that the doctrine of verbal inspiration is based on a few isolated statements of Scripture to the neglect, if not the outrage, of its phenomena; it is based on the broad foundation of the carefully ascertained *doctrine* of the Scripture writers on the subject. Nor is the doctrine of verbal inspiration "based wholly upon an *a priori* assumption of what inspiration *must be*, rather than upon what the Bible *actually is*," as is now so confidently asserted. It is based wholly upon an exegetical fact. Our Lord and His Apostles held this doctrine of Scripture, and everywhere deal with the Scriptures of the Old Testament in accordance with it. The question which really faces us is, "Are the New Testament writers trustworthy guides in doctrine? Or are we at liberty to reject their authority, and frame contrary doctrines for ourselves?"

This being the real question, the author affirms that we cannot modify the doctrine of plenary inspiration in any of its essential elements without undermining our confidence in the authority of the Apostles as teachers of doctrine. Every school of thought that takes a lower ground replaces and subordinates the authority of the Bible in doctrine and life to that of reason, or of the feelings, or of the "Christian consciousness," or of that corporate Christian consciousness which so easily hardens into simple ecclesiastical domination. Four types of procedure may be recognized.

1. That which proceeds by attempting to establish a distinction between the teaching of Christ and the teaching of the Apostles, refusing the latter in favour of the former. Rothe represents those who affirm that Jesus did not share the conception of Scripture belonging to contemporary Judaism. The Apostles represent the current Jewish thought in which they were bred; while Christ's Divine originality breaks away from this; and commends to us a new and more liberal way. But this must result in undermining utterly all confidence in the New Testament writers as teachers of doctrine. Its very principle is appeal from Apostolic teaching to that of Christ, on the ground that the former is not authoritative. But we have no Christ except the one whom the Apostles have given to us. Jesus Himself left no treatises on doctrine, and no written dialogues. And this Christ is committed to the trustworthiness of the Apostles as teachers. His credit is involved in their credit.

2. Another method is that of those who represent the doctrine of the New Testament writers as merely a matter of accommodation to the prejudices of the Jews. But to prove "accommodation," two things need to be shown: first, that the Apostles did not share these views; and secondly, that they nevertheless accommodated their teaching to them. "Accommodation," properly so-called, cannot take place when the views in question are the proper views of the persons themselves.

3. A third type of procedure draws a distinction between the belief and the teaching of the New Testament writers: affirming that, although it is true that they did believe and hold a high doctrine of inspiration, yet they do not explicitly teach it, and that we are bound, not by their opinions, but only by their explicit teaching. Thus Archdeacon Farrar, speaking of Paul's attitude towards Scripture, says, "He shared, doubtless, in the views of the later Jewish schools on the nature of inspiration . . . but there is not a single passage in which any approach to it is dogmatically stated in the writings of St. Paul." No one would assert infallibility for the Apostles in aught else than in their official teaching. But can the distinction between private opinion and official teaching be established in the present matter? From what sources can we learn what Paul's opinions were, apart from and outside of his teachings? And are we to say that nothing is taught in the New Testament except what is stated dogmatically, in didactic form?

4. An effort may be made to justify our holding a lower doctrine of inspiration than that held by the writers of the New Testament, by appealing to the so-called phenomena of the Scriptures, and opposing these to the doctrine of the Scriptures, with the expectation, apparently, of justifying a modification of the doctrine taught by the Scriptures by the facts embedded in the Scriptures. Every attempt to determine or modify the Biblical doctrine of inspiration by an appeal to the actual characteristics of the Bible must proceed on an identical principle. Thus Dr. Marvin R. Vincent says, "Our only safe principle is that inspiration is consistent with the phenomena of Scripture." But under whatever safeguards this effort to modify the teaching of Scripture as to its own inspiration by an appeal to the observed characteristics of Scripture is made, it is an attempt, not to obtain a clearer knowledge of what the Scriptures teach, but to *correct* that teaching. And to *correct* the teaching of Scripture is to proclaim Scripture untrustworthy as a witness to doctrine.

The evidence for the truth of the doctrine of the plenary inspiration of Scripture is just the whole body of evidence which goes to show that the Apostles are trustworthy teachers of doctrine. It is the same evidence in amount and weight which is adduced in favour of any other Biblical doctrine. If the Biblical doctrine of inspiration is rejected, our freedom from its trammels is bought, logically, at the somewhat serious cost of discrediting the evidence which goes to show that the Biblical writers are trustworthy as teachers of doctrine. In this sense, the fortunes of distinctive Christianity are bound up with those of the Biblical doctrine of inspiration. This is even an understatement rather than overstatement of the matter. "For if we trust the New Testament writers at all, we will trust them in the account they give of the person, and in the report they give of the teaching, of Christ: whereupon, as they report Him as teaching the same doctrine of Scripture that they teach, we are brought face to face with Divine testimony to this doctrine of inspiration."

It is not on some shadowy and doubtful evidence that the doctrine of verbal inspiration is based—not on an *à priori* conception of what inspiration ought to be, not on a "tradition" of doctrine in the Church, though all the *à priori* considerations and the whole tradition of doctrine in the Church are also thrown in the scale for, and not in that against, this doctrine; but first on the confidence which we have in the writers of the New Testament as doctrinal guides, and ultimately on whatever evidence of whatever kind and force exists to justify that confidence.

The state of the case being as we have found it, we approach the study of the so-called "phenomena" of the Scriptures with a very strong presumption that these Scriptures contain no error, and that any "phenomena" apparently inconsistent with their inerrancy are so in appearance only; a presumption the measure of which is just the whole amount and weight of evidence that the New Testament writers are trustworthy teachers of doctrine. The real problem brought before the Churches by the present debate ought now to be sufficiently plain. In its deepest essence it is whether we can still trust the Bible as a guide in doctrine, as a teacher of truth. It is not simply whether we can explain away the Biblical doctrine of inspiration, so as to allow us to take a different view from what has been common of the structure and characteristics of the Bible. Nor, on the other hand, is it simply whether we may easily explain the facts, established as facts, embedded in Scripture, consistently with the teaching of Scripture as to the nature, extent, and effects of inspiration. It is specifically whether the results proclaimed by a special school of Biblical criticism—which are of such a character, now admitted by all, as to necessitate, if adopted, a new view of the Bible and of its inspiration—rest on a basis of evidence

strong enough to meet and overcome the weight of evidence, whatever that may be in kind or amount, which goes to show that the Biblical writers are trustworthy as teachers of doctrine.

LUTHER'S DOCTRINE OF INSPIRATION. By Professor FRANCIS PIEPER, Concordia College, St. Louis, Mo. (*The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*).—In a recent number of *THE THINKER*, Calvin's position in relation to inspiration was reviewed. Luther is claimed by the German opposers of plenary inspiration as siding with them, and the truth of this claim may now be considered. Professor Pieper affirms that the statement now in vogue, that Luther held the more liberal view concerning Holy Scripture, is at variance with historical truth. This article discusses three points: (1) Such declarations of Luther, taken from all periods of his public career, as contain direct statements concerning the inspiration of Holy Scripture; (2) Luther's way of dealing with the seeming contradictions in Holy Writ, this being the ultimate test as to how one views the Scriptures; and (3) the writer critically examines such passages from Luther as have been commonly cited in proof of the reformer's alleged liberal position.

Luther simply *identifies* the words of Scripture and the words of God. Is he, then, entirely unaware of the human side of Scripture? By no means. He teaches, as Christ is the Son of the living God veiled in humanity, even so Scripture is the very Word of God, clad in human speech. He noticed, also, fully the difference of style in the holy writers. "Every Apostle has his peculiar way of speaking, as has every prophet also." But what Isaiah, St. Paul, &c., speak, each in their particular style, is not the word of these fallible men, but the Word of God Most High. He draws a sharp distinction between illumination and inspiration; between the general and common operation of God in all believers, and in all believing teachers of the Church, and the peculiar operation of God in the holy penmen through whom He gave the Scriptures. To him the distinction between illumination and inspiration is not one of degree, but of kind. What the *inspired* teacher taught is the Word of God, *eo ipso*, because the Holy Ghost put the Word in their mouths.

It is conceded that Luther affirmed the Divinity of Scripture taken as a whole. It is claimed, however, that the Reformer did not care to define *to what extent* the Scriptures are the very Word of God, and consequently exempt from error. Professor Pieper tries to show that, according to Luther, Scripture is the very Word of God in all its parts, even in those very parts to which the modern critics of Scripture point as an obvious refutation of the doctrine of plenary inspiration. There is, according to Luther, nothing *useless or casual* in Holy Scripture. "Not even one letter in Holy Scripture stands in vain." He regards inspiration as extending to the chronological, historical, and scientific matters that are contained in Scripture.

The question of the inerrancy of Scripture is the ultimate test as to whether one accepts inspiration in its full sense or not. Whosoever admits errors in minor topics no longer treats the Scriptures as the Word of God. He may hold that it *contains* the Word, he denies that it *is* the Word. Luther declares that errors do not occur, and cannot occur, in Holy Scripture. The absolute infallibility of Scripture he proclaims both at the beginning and at the end of his public career. This principle he follows out in harmonizing those passages of Scripture which seem to imply a contradiction, either with other passages of Scripture, or with the results of human research. Scripture, to him, is absolutely free from error in all chronological, historical, and scientific details. Whenever there is a conflict between Scripture and the historical or scientific statements of human writers, it is Scripture that is always right. Luther affirms also that there is no misquoting of the Old Testament

to be found in the New Testament writers. The interpretations of the Old Testament passages given by the New Testament writers are authentic and infallible, for the very reason that they are the interpretation of the Holy Ghost, who shows by the Apostles the fulfilling of His own Word. Even all seeming incoherency of speech and disorder of thought met with in Holy Writ, Luther ascribes directly to the Holy Spirit. "To give a brief summary of what has been stated thus far: Luther most unreservedly asserts the inspiration of all Scripture, the inspiration extending equally to all parts of Scripture, whether they contain articles of faith, or chronological, historical, scientific, &c., matters. The 'human element' of Scripture consists in God's speaking *through* men, in human language, even in the language and peculiar style of the respective writers. All is *through* man, but not *of* man. The phraseology, the sequence of thought, the mode of argument, &c., is to be ascribed to the Holy Spirit. This Scripture is, in its every word, the Word of God, and, consequently, of absolute infallibility. All contradictions which seem to occur in Scripture are only seeming ones. Man may try to solve them, but if this prove impossible he must not charge Holy Scripture with error, but himself with ignorance. In all cases of conflict between Scripture and the statements of human research, Scripture is always in the right."

What can be said about the passages from Luther which seem to imply that the Reformer really entertained a "more liberal" view concerning Scripture. The most important passage is this: "There can be no doubt that the prophets studied in Moses, and the later prophets in the earlier ones, and that they wrote down in a book their good thoughts with which the Holy Spirit inspired them. Though even in the case of these good faithful teachers and searchers of Holy Writ, sometimes hay, straw, and stubble happened to creep in; and though they did not build only silver, gold, and precious stones, yet the foundation remains—the rest is consumed by the fire." Professor Pieper contends that this does not refer to the writing of Holy Scriptures, but to the writing of these prophets, apart from the state of inspiration.

Luther held the position of a critic in relation to the Epistle of St. James. But he did so on the supposition that it was not to be numbered among the canonical books of the New Testament. His judgment on it concerns its canonicity, not its inspiration, "I deem it not to be the book of an Apostle."

COSMOPOLITAN RELIGION. By C. A. BARTOL (*The New World*).—There is a point in which all denominations, Christian and Pagan, meet. Even their peculiarities, like rivers with the sea, run from and into the common human heart. To discern and establish this fact is the tendency of our time. While science reveals the reign of physical law in all the colours and shapes of the universe, it is matched by conscience. As Cicero says, duty in Athens or Rome is the same. How far this trend of thought will lead us we may not foretell. Orthodoxy, Episcopacy, the Presbytery, and Catholicity, so-called, cannot withstand the intellectual flow by which they are all shaken and rent. Many devout persons will not bear the Christian name, because of its seeming to affront history, and separate them from their kind. The late Dr. F. H. Hedge, a ripe scholar, declared that it was one identical temper of love and self-sacrifice that he saw in Sakya Mouni and in Jesus Christ. His "sympathy of religions," as it has been called, is everywhere, among intelligent people, sinking sectarian difference, and seeking concord, to herald the day of conflict only between truth and error, evil and good, and to predict the triumph among all nations of righteousness and peace. Channing's declaration that we worship no arbitrary person, but infinite Goodness, Rectitude, and Purity, Hedge condenses into the sentence that, "God is

the Moral Supreme." Emerson defines religion in like ethical wise as the "doing of all good, and for its sake suffering all evil."

To be cosmopolitan is to be human. In religion such we must be, else we are not truly religious at all. A sect cannot confine the members of its house unless its premises are defined; and none of its definitions any longer hold. In every denomination the old lines are altered, rubbed out, or taken up. No two expositors of any system can agree. Not to exclude, but include, is our cry and call. The spirit enlivens, but the letter kills—and the spirit is ubiquitous, as conduct, not tenet; an attribute, not a circumstance; a life, not a profession; the character, and not the costume. For miracle and inspiration, in some former period or distant spot, we put in nature the supernatural mind; aught less is frail, fleeting, and in vain. But God is one, and man is one. We do not part secular from sacred, or restrict Holy Writ to the Bible, or separate male from female, or banish the evil from the good. There is a love and a reverence, a humility and a humanity, which embraces all things, and leaves no creature out. "The spirit in which we act is the highest matter," Goethe said. Ecclesiastical and statistical religion can claim but part of the credit of social progress in any reform.

When Humboldt said, "I am of the religion of all men of science," he meant no repudiation of worship, but a retreat from untenable assumptions, and procedures to ideas that could be maintained. Uniformity is impossible, however claimed at the Vatican. A ritual must be local, and fixed in some spot, or carried about with the vessels through which it is performed. The feeling alone abides and spreads without bound. Love, like gravitation, rests in its object, and does not travel. Veneration co-extends with the bending sky. Conscience beats in every breast. Said a pious woman, "If the bread and wine be taken away, what is left?" Whatever is precious still lives in the consciousness of duty, expectance of immortality, and fellowship with deity in the sanctuary not made with hands.

There is mischief in logical multiplication for doubtful disputations. No theory is useful that cannot be applied. Prayer loses fervour when it is long, and manifold persuasions, like fountain-jets, are dissipation of faith. There were scores of arguments against slavery. But its inhumanity was the crowning and intolerable crime. Property in human flesh and blood was the worst kind of theft.

Truth is a vision, but we are visionaries until we transform it into life. We have no right of access to the moral strength we do not apply. "Service" in a church avails not without service on the earth. Let us have the most of spirit and the least of form. Ceremonials are not essentials or ends, but only means. Bishop Butler says if the conscience had power equal to its authority it would govern the world.

Total depravity is not the true anthropology. There is a cosmopolite religion that grows in the remotest regions of the ever-rising human race. Goodness cannot be a monopoly of any nation or tribe. When peculiarities of caste, sect, and blood are eliminated, instead of a cipher for the remainder, we shall have an extract of righteousness to sweeten and hallow the globe. The tokens multiply that a purging process in all denominations and establishments is swiftly going on. But this cosmopolitan religion is not in the future alone to be seen and sought. It exists, and exalts the past from ages long ago. Our circumstances differ, but the Gospel of love and mercy we have to preach has not changed. It abides here below, and reaches to the communion Paul foretells, where prophecies shall fail and tongues cease, and knowledge vanish away. It is a moral trinity Paul preaches, of qualities, not persons; not of dogmas, but of dispositions and deeds. He postponed to charity all the rolls of parchment in the temple-crypts.

Life incarnates truth. As an unexecuted law is a state hypocrisy, so is doctrine apart from deed. Goodness does not consist in show, or exist by ecclesiastical decree. No inclosed space, but all out-of-doors, is the realm of love and shrine of prayer, the church broad as the world, the creation a parental roof. The old tabernacle was a small structure, and the ark was portable. In the new dispensation we are everywhere at home, as is the cage-bird on his perch, the sand-bird on the beach, and the cattle on a thousand hills. Not in geographical nearness, but in fellowship of souls is the communion of saints.

[Dr. Bartol's style is so abrupt and antithetical, and his ideas are so crowded together, and so overlaid with illustration and extract, that it is difficult to present in brief outline his main points. The above sketch may be regarded rather as *suggestive* than as complete.—ED. T.]

SOME NEW THING. By Rev. ARTHUR J. BROWN, D.D., Portland, Oregon (*Christian Thought*).—Of Athens St. Paul says, or rather Luke says for him, as giving his impressions, "All the Athenians and strangers which were there spent their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing." A manifest physical, intellectual, and moral weakness was strangely blended with an intense eagerness for novelty. We ordinarily associate a desire for new things with progress, but here that desire is associated with that which is the reverse of progress. A desire for something new is not necessarily indicative of progress. It may be indicative of regress. It may be a mere restless, uneasy craving for change. Legitimate desire for progress should not be disparaged. There is yet more truth to be discovered in the realms of nature and of mind. Our own age has made invaluable contributions to the stock of the world's knowledge, and succeeding ages will doubtless make other contributions equally valuable. Let reverent investigation go on. Let it be accorded the widest liberty. To hinder it were intellectual and moral treason. But progress and restlessness are not synonymous terms. It is not the seeking of "some new thing" which is wrong, but the "doing nothing else but either to tell, or to hear, some new thing." That indicates a fevered condition of the system—an unhealthy and morbid state. It leads to superficial ideas and modes of thinking. It often dupes men into the acceptance of old errors. It not unfrequently happens that the so-called new idea is simply an old error revived. Materialism is now spoken of as the most formidable of modern foes to Christianity. But the materialists of our day have not advanced a step upon the system of Epicurus, who lived three hundred years before Christ. There is hardly a modern objection to miracles which has not been anticipated by Celsus, who lived in the second century. Similar instances might be indefinitely multiplied.

The old and established ideas are not always true. But the accumulated wisdom of ages is more likely to be of value than the wisdom of a single generation. All history teaches us that progress is as likely to consist in getting back to old standards as in creating new ones. The craving for the new is seen in literature, in the demand for new books, and in the neglect of old ones of tried value. It is seen in science, in the haste in which new theories are accepted and promulgated as facts. Indeed, no matter how wild a theory is, there are always multitudes who are ready to seize it, and to proclaim that all existing institutions must be reorganized in harmony with it. It is sometimes said that the majority of scientific men are not Christians. They are. The greatest scientists of the world have been disciples of Christ. Witness Copernicus, Kepler, Newton, Bayle, Cuvier, Faraday, Herschell, Brewster, Maxwell, and many others. Gladstone has said that of the sixty master minds with whom he has come

in contact during his long public life, and who have moulded the affairs of the modern world, all but five were Christians. There is no conflict between science and religion. Christianity has been the mother of all the science there is; has founded and maintained the institutions in which science is taught; and has furnished, and is to-day furnishing, the men who preside over those institutions.

We see this same craving for new things in every-day life, in the restless moving of people from place to place, in the frequency of business changes, in the small talk of society, in the rage of speculation. We see it especially in religion. Many people do not like the old ideas of sin and atonement, of regeneration and sovereignty. They want something new. Their religious convictions are those of the last book they have read or the last person they have talked with. People speak about the credulity of faith, but they might more profitably talk about the credulity of scepticism.

A disposition to undervalue established ideas or institutions is a sign of a weak mind. Some say that they will not accept anything which they have not personally investigated and found to be true; and they pride themselves upon that position, and deem it an evidence of intellectual strength and independence. As a matter of fact, it is simply an evidence of intellectual conceit and moral debility. Belief is normal to sense and health, unbelief is abnormal to both. Christianity does not demand blind faith. It is not afraid of examination. It has stood the questionings of nineteen hundred years; and it can probably stand the new questioning. Pending such investigation, it would be well to assume the truthfulness of that which the world has long held to be true. "A sensible man will no more refuse to become a Christian because he has not had time to investigate for himself the history and claims of Christianity, than he will refuse to become a citizen of the country in which he was born and reared until he has satisfied himself by years of study that the institutions of that country are better than the institutions of other countries."

In this restless age we need a progressive conservatism; a willingness to accept the new when it is true, but a holding fast to the old which has demonstrated its right to be. The sublimest truths of the world are old. The sovereignty and fatherhood of God, the inspiration of the Bible, the redeeming work of Jesus Christ, these and kindred truths are not new. The Gospel which we preach, and in which lies the hope of the race, is not a new Gospel. It is the solution, and the only solution, of the problems of society and government; it is the adequate instrument for the regeneration of the world; it is the sure salvation of all those who put their trust in it.

THE PERSONAL FACTOR IN BIBLICAL INSPIRATION. By MARVIN R. VINCENT, Union Theological Seminary, New York (*The New World*).—Consciously or unconsciously, the distinction has been overlooked or ignored between the revelation and the record; and it has been an assumed postulate that a Divine revelation implies and involves an immaculate record. Practically this has resulted in the additional assumption that the purpose of Divine revelation culminates in the making of a faultless book. The discussions, therefore, have very commonly turned on the vehicle and medium of the revelation, rather than upon its character and contents. Thus Dr. Charles Hodge asserts that "inspiration extends to all the contents of the several books, whether religious, scientific, historical, or geographical." Our knowledge of the essential character of its inspiration must be derived from the book itself, and the book is silent concerning itself as a whole, as is inevitable in the case of a variety of documents collected under a canon only after the lapse of centuries. The

phrase, "Word of God," applied to Scripture as a whole, tends to perpetuate the confusion of the revelation with the record. It is never used for the Bible as a whole. There was a Word of God before the Bible was begun. There was a creative word before the morning stars sang together; a Divine Logos in the world before the Pentateuch; an Incarnate Logos before the Epistles and Gospels; and there has been a Word of God lived and preached in the Church of all the Christian ages down to the present. The Apostolic writers do not contemplate the making of a book as a prominent feature of Divine revelation. Neither Paul nor the other Apostles ever dreamed of making Scripture. They would have been the first to resent as sacrilegious any attempt to rank their Epistles with the Law and the Prophets.

The essential quality of Biblical inspiration can be only an induction from the phenomena of Scripture itself, and the conception and the definition of inspiration, whatever these be, must include all the phenomena. To begin by assuming that, in the nature of the case, an inspired Bible must be inspired in a particular way, is to beg the whole question. Inspiration must be what the facts, properly interpreted, show it to be; and it can be nothing else. As to the supposed inerrancy of the original autographs, it is sufficient to say that what has no existence can have no place in a basis of inductive reasoning. The word "inspiration" has no moral significance in the Latin. It expresses, under the figure of in-breathing, merely the communication of energy, moral, intellectual, spiritual. The Greek word, "theopneustia," carries the same figure and implies the personality of the inspiring force; but it also defines the personality, and therefore the moral quality of the energy which it imparts. It is God that breathes. Both the Latin and the Greek terms carry the truth that inspiration involves personality alike in the inspirer and in the inspired. The element of Divine personality is salient in Scripture. The direct, sharply-defined, emphasized energy of the personal God pervades it. Scripture treats history, not as an evolution of physical and psychological laws, but as an evolution of the direct contact of God with humanity. Its dominant idea is God working directly upon man in order to make him godlike. All Scripture history illustrates, and is designed to illustrate, God's dealing with man in selection, in guidance, in pardon and punishment, in spiritual education, in national glory and triumph, in national disaster and humiliation, in redemption and restoration. The Hebrew Scriptures are alive with the presence and activity of the personal Jehovah. Where modern thought would put second causes, the Old Testament puts the first cause. No sense of the transcendent majesty of God is suffered to run into a sense of His remoteness.

But while the direct and habitual action of the Divine personality is thus emphasized, a corresponding emphasis upon human personality appears. The main thrust of the Divine energy is upon man, upon human character, not upon documents. Men constitute the fibre of God's Bible. In them, as informed with the Divine breath, lies the peculiar quality of its inspiration. Through the entire history there runs a line of representative men, chosen organs of the inspiration of the Almighty, guided and kindled by His Spirit. It is through the power of that Divine in-breathing that these men transcend the limitations of their own age, and appeal to all the ages as teachers and examples. The power and the inspiration of the Bible are not in naked precept, though the precept be Divine, but in the incarnation of precept in heroic and holy lives; not in the minute correspondence of events with prophetic details, but in the penetrating moral insight of divinely-enlightened men into the moral tendencies of their age, and their persistent pointing to the Divine ideals of conduct and life.

But the movement of this Divine personal energy in Scripture is affected and modified by the human media through which it operates. The Divine force recognizes and accepts, and, to a very considerable extent, accommodates itself to these limitations. Divine inspiration is content to work through such men as it finds. It does not wait for a perfect man. Inspiration consents to ally itself with that which is morally inferior to its own quality, with a human element which it uses and lifts and guides, but which it refuses to suppress or to crush. And what is true of the men is also true of their utterances. The writings reflect the spiritual and moral limitations of their authors. No forcing process, however vigorous or ingenious, can ever wrench the imprecatory Psalms into harmony with the Sermon on the Mount. We must recognize the "historic consciousness in Scripture, and the sharp distinction between the merely historic and the preceptive; between what is fixed and what is in movement towards fixedness: between external, immutable, Divine canons, and the education of wayward human wills; between wayside landmarks in the history of moral and spiritual development, and ultimate standards of character; above all, in the perception of the human personality of Scripture, working beside the Divine, and at once tolerated, employed, and trained in its contact with the Divine."

Inspiration, in committing itself to men, commits itself to their ordinary individual methods and agencies. The Bible comes to us through the medium of human speech. Its utterances obey the ordinary laws of language. The imagery of Scripture is drawn from the familiar facts of nature and of human life; its scientific statements are conditioned by the limitations of contemporary knowledge. The truth is cast in the mould of its own age, is coloured by its local and temporary traits, and is expounded according to its literary methods. Over and past all so-called "errancies" we are carried "by the irresistible sense of God in the men; as we see and feel how they are dominated and swept onward by the power of the world to come; how sharply they discern its facts and principles as the only eternal verities; how they are possessed and burdened with its Divine themes, goaded by its Divine impulses, until human words and symbols are strained to the breaking-point. This is the characteristic of prophecy: 'Men spake from God, being borne along by the Holy Spirit.' The great gulf-stream of prophecy is the Messianic current; the growing ideal of the Messiah King, His work and kingdom."

The phenomena of inspiration all fall into a common movement towards a consummate expression, which shall exhibit inspiration as still the Divine impress on human personality, but at its full power, unfettered by the intellectual crudity and moral infirmity with which it has all along struggled. The Spirit of God tolerates and uses imperfect media, but always with a forward look towards a higher expression in the perfect manhood of Jesus Christ. The entire history of "men moved by the Holy Ghost" culminates in the "Word made flesh." Here we hold the key to the inspiration of Scripture. Jesus represents at once the Divine energy and the consummate result of inspiration. It becomes increasingly evident, as we study the New Testament, that the personality of Christ is so woven into its fibre that it cannot be detached without the utter ruin of the New Testament regarded as a document. Christ's words are comparatively impotent without Him. Incarnation is an essential necessity of a Divine revelation of moral and spiritual truth. The ideas of such a revelation refuse to be divorced from personality.

As we take our stand beside Christ and look backward, we now, for the first time, apprehend the continuity of the Scripture revelation, and grasp the clue to it in His person. That which makes prophecy the living reflection of the mind of God is the

testimony of Jesus. This fact does not receive its final emphasis in the human personality of Jesus. That emphasis comes from His withdrawal from earthly conditions. Thus only can personality, finally and fully, enter into Biblical inspiration as its prime factor. The ministry of the Holy Spirit was announced by Jesus as far larger, richer, and mightier than His ministry in the flesh, but none the less as His own ministry. The personality of Jesus, though withdrawn from sight and touch, now, for the first time, displays its untrammelled energy in the speech and writings of His disciples. He is not only the theme, but the inspiring force of their preaching. This must be the starting-point of any conception of Biblical inspiration that is at once to interpret its nature, and to include all its phenomena; the fact of the Spirit of Jesus, speaking in the Scriptures of both dispensations, and imparting to them their searching spiritual analysis, their power over the conscience, their profound insight into the eternal verities of the kingdom of God, their Divine quality of instruction, comfort, and moral stimulus.

It may be said that this conception is indefinite. It is so only in contrast with the artificial and superficial precision of scholastic definitions. If the personal Christ can be apprehended, so also can the inspiration of Scripture as an expression of His Divine personality. If the fact and the quality of inspiration be identified with a personal power and a personal testimony in Scripture, if men be taught to discern in Scripture a Divine witness to faith and love and holiness, gathering itself from every part into the perfect manhood of Jesus—then the doctrine of inspiration can be taught, not only so as to appeal to the average intelligence, but also with a power to kindle the spiritual consciousness and to evoke its sympathetic response.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE IMAGINATION. By Professor M. J. Cramer, D.D., East Orange, N. J. (*Christian Thought*).—Lord Bacon says, "I understand imagination to be the representation of an individual thought." Sir William Hamilton says, "The faculty of representation, or imagination proper, consists in the greater or less power of holding up an ideal object in the light of consciousness." Imagination is a distinct faculty of mind, and as such exerts a great influence upon the character and life of man. "It may not only determine to a great extent his joys and sorrows, but may also enlighten or confuse his understanding, purify or pollute his heart, and accelerate or retard its activity." It is important to know how to regulate and govern it. This knowledge will contribute largely toward the harmonious development of the intellectual faculties, the formation of an evenly-balanced character, and the happiness of the present life.

The imagination should not be weakened or suppressed for the sake of benefiting the other faculties of the mind. In the development of man, nature is greatly assisted by this faculty. It furnishes the intellect for most of its materials for forming ideas and judgments. True, it derives most, if not all, images from the external world through the senses; yet much of what is presented to the senses would be lost if it had not the power of holding up in the light of consciousness the very image of the things after they had been removed from them. A description is merely an outline of an object; the imagination must aid us in apprehending and filling it up in order to give it a resemblance to reality. It leads the intellect from thought to thought; and from this train of associated thought it forms enchanting combinations. Persons of refined sensibilities are invested with additional charms by a well-regulated imagination. By the imagination we hold fast the high aim and destiny of life; by it we discover the means necessary for attaining to that aim. And to it belongs, in great measure, that enthusiasm with which we must be filled in order to undertake the great and difficult, to brave dangers and to overcome obstacles

and prejudices. If the higher things, which lie beyond the boundary of the visible world, shall have a significance at all, the imagination must present them in symbols. If your ideas are to influence our actions they must be dressed in the pleasing garment of fancy. And what are the works of art but the perfect realization of the ideals of the imagination? The imagination widens the narrow and contracted views of life, comforts the distressed, enlightens the unenlightened, sweetens the bitter cup of sorrow and disappointment.

Care must be taken to enrich our imagination with none but true, beautiful, and good images. They should be true to nature. From the true the beautiful is produced; but the true must first enter our minds undimmed before the imagination can reproduce it in its truthfulness and beauty. Neither predilection nor prejudice should be allowed to dispose the imagination either to magnify or diminish the real nature of things. In perfect harmony, however, with the fidelity to nature of each image is the endeavour to enrich the imagination with noble, good, and pleasing images. Much of our happiness or misery depends upon the particular character, and the relative kind and intensity, of our imagination. The imagination, filled with pleasant, noble, and good pictures, cannot fail to produce a serene and cheerful frame of life. Those to whom the education of the young is entrusted should endeavour to enrich the imagination of their pupils with true, pleasing, and noble pictures.

It is one thing to enrich the imagination, and another thing to enrich the memory. The imagination seizes an object in its natural living reality, and interweaves the picture with its own innermost life; memory, on the other hand, receives and retains it in its cold, shadowy outline. A rich fancy produces new arrangements, forms, and combinations of the pictures of objects furnished to it by the senses, while a strong memory conserves or retains only the outlines or forms of these objects. The imagination may be enriched by an independent and varied study of the world; but this should be done, not so much with a desire of merely enriching our stock of knowledge, but with all the intensity of the mind, for the purpose of forming new arrangements and combinations.

Next to the enrichment of the imagination, our attention is drawn to the manner of its activity. Consider its excitability and flexibility, its vivacity and fire, its power and boldness. It is excitable when it is easily incited to activity; it is flexible when it quickly enters upon, and perseverance continues, the incited activity. The excited imagination immediately forms a picture of whatever is perceived by the mind, and holds it up in the light of consciousness, while the flexible imagination passes rapidly from one picture to another, forms continually new combinations, and can with difficulty only be led back to the object of thought. When excitability and flexibility transcend their proper limits they become injurious to the mind. Then all mental efforts will be characterized by superficiality; little or nothing great will ever be accomplished, and firmness of character cannot be secured. A vivacious imagination represents ideal objects in their definite individuality and relation; a fiery, in grand outlines and striking proportions. Generally, a fiery fancy is not without danger to the intellectual and moral character of its possessor. It may prevent calm reflection, or be satisfied with superficiality, where profound knowledge is both possible and necessary. It may substitute the mere glitter for the substance of things. It may be kindled either by the temperament, or by one of the passions, or by a great idea. In the first instance it acts more uniformly, and possesses the power of self-restraint; in the second, it falls back upon the passion, and goads it on beyond control; and in the third it throws its possessor into a

momentary transport of delight, and leads him to form grand but often chimerical plans, the execution of which becomes almost impossible. Hence the intrinsic worth of that idea is to be sought in order to guard against error and bring it into harmony with the grand purpose of life. A fiery fancy is never to be guarded with greater watchfulness than during the period of youth.

A strong imagination needs little assistance from without. It forms its own world, and moves firmly and freely in it. Men of strong imagination are able to grasp, and consider from all sides, great ideas, and apply them to the grand purposes of life. But at the same time the other faculties of the mind should be equally well developed. Without this a strong imagination leads to empty speculations or fantastic dreams. A bold imagination may either lacerate the heart through a gloomy disposition, or elevate the spirit by a cheerful frame of mind.

The following rules may be given for the government of the imagination. Take care not to allow the imagination to exercise too great an influence over the affairs of life. It should be kept under the strict control both of reason and virtue. In the region of thought and reflection the imagination should sustain only a co-ordinate, if not subordinate relation. It is the business of the intellect to discover and elaborate truth, so as to become a part of the furniture of the mind. It is the business of the imagination to arrange, combine, and reproduce in true pictures what the intellect furnishes. If in the process of thought we allow the imagination to be supreme, instead of clear conceptions, we shall have only indistinct images, confused impressions, and dim outlines of things. And we should carefully avoid reverie or castle-building: also every one-sided tendency of the imagination. Finally, the imagination should be kept strictly pure from whatever is immoral and polluting. Whoever desires to preserve a pure heart must carefully watch the workings of his imagination and quickly suppress what conscience condemns.

IGNIS ÆTERNUS. By Very Rev. AUGUSTINE F. HEWIT (*Catholic World*).—Many Christians who believe there is to be an everlasting punishment for sin, and that this is designated in Holy Scripture by the term *fire*, nevertheless regard the term "fire" as purely metaphorical. They explain it as denoting only mental and moral suffering, remorse, disappointment, unappeased longing after happiness, the melancholy of a rational being who has failed of attaining the end to which he was destined, the good which he desires by a necessary law of his nature. But is this "eternal fire" merely and only metaphorical? It may have a literal signification, as the name of some objective, physical, material reality, an element or sphere, which is the habitation of those who are sentenced to perpetual exile from heaven, on account of their transgressions of the laws of God. The reason why the metaphorical sense has been resorted to is, that the idea of unending torment by fire affects the imagination and the feelings with a special horror, and seems to imply an excessive severity in the infliction of penalty for sin, which obscures the fundamental truth of the Divine goodness. Universalists and rationalists have done their utmost to make the Christian doctrine appear repugnant to reason and the moral sense.

The thesis of this Catholic writer is, that the demons, and those men who, having wilfully and grievously sinned during the period of a fair probation on the earth, pass into eternity unreconciled to God, will go into the *Ignis Æternus*, in the *Infernus*, where they will suffer a punishment proportioned to their guilt, and where they will continue to exist for ever. The Athanasian Creed sums it all up in the sentence, "*Qui vero mala in ignem æternum*"—"Those who have done evil into eternal fire." It is obvious at first sight that the effect of any physical, material entity, which is properly called fire, on the subjects of its action, depends not only

upon the nature of the active agent, but also upon the nature of the passive recipient, and their mutual relations. The heat of a furnace or of the sun cannot burn a pure spirit. The demons are pure spirits, but it was for them the *Ignis Æternus* was primarily intended. They cannot be, like material substances, vaporized in the intense heat of the sun. And the bodies of men who go into the *Ignis Æternus* have a modified nature, and different qualities from our present bodies. They are immortal, incorruptible, not liable to any destructive effect of material forces, and therefore the analogy from the burning alive of mortal human bodies is totally inadequate to represent the effect of fire, whatever its specific nature and activity may be, upon *these* bodies, much less upon the souls which animate them. The primary question is, therefore, concerning the nature and action of this fire in relation to purely spiritual beings. The following suggestions have been made. That the fire is a different essence from that fire which was supposed to be one of the four primary elements of earthly bodies, an essence specially created for its purpose. That it is not a different essence, but has superadded qualities, by virtue of which it can act on spiritual substances. That a kind of union exists between condemned spirits and the element of fire, somewhat analagous to that which exists between human souls and bodies, so that the sensation of pain was caused by their combined quasi-organic action. That the punishment of demons through the instrumentality of fire consisted in their detention within its sphere, under a compelling force which hindered their natural liberty of movement and activity in the universe, and kept them in confinement. It is not unreasonable to suppose that, in addition to the essential suffering of the soul, there is another torment of the senses more keen and unsupportable than any mental or moral pain, analagous to burning alive in a furnace.

What we call fire is matter in a state of incandescence, and by combustion giving out heat, in a process which acts on the subject-matter so as to produce various changes in its mode of existence. There is no such separate and substantial essence as fire. Heat is a mode of motion. It is evolved and given out by the vibration of the molecules of bodies, and increases in intensity in proportion to the rapidity of this vibration. In one sense we may say that the whole material universe is fire, and that heat is universal. All bodies are fuel, their molecules are always vibrating, and, therefore, there is at least latent heat; there is that which is capable of becoming incandescent in the very nature of matter. According to the nebular theory, the whole material universe has its origin in a fire-birth. Our sun, and the multitude of similar bodies in the stellar spaces, are in a state of incandescence. If this present course of nature should continue for ever, then there would be an *Ignis Æternus*. It does not seem to be incredible that somewhere in this universe, when transformed, the *Infernus* must have a place, the *Ignis Æternus* must have a sphere. This may be a region where the same process which has been going on so long in the present system may go on in one perpetual, re-entering cycle, or in a series of cycles, succeeding each other without end.

The author, however, evidently prefers to regard future punishment as the deprivation of Divine privileges. He says, "The sin of despising his last end recoils on the sinner by the doom of perpetual exile. The sin of abusing the natural gifts of God recoils on him, by his subjection to the irresistible dominion of the laws of nature, in the re-established, imperturbable order. He is compelled to recognize his folly, and to suffer remorse for it. He has no more capacity or opportunity for immortal enjoyment. His nature remains essentially good, the natural order in which he lives is one in which a multitude of human beings find a perfect felicity; the obstacle to his happiness and the cause of his misery is subjective—it is a moral disorder, alienation of the will from God, the internal disorgan of sin."

CURRENT CANADIAN THOUGHT.

LIBERALISM IN THEOLOGY—ITS HISTORY, TENDENCIES, AND LESSONS. By Rev. W. J. SHAW, LL.D. (*The Canadian Methodist Quarterly*).—Liberalism implies a demand for liberation. Its merits depend altogether upon the degree of injustice or error attaching to existing restrictions. Liberalism, whether political, social, philosophical, ecclesiastical, or theological, will be a curse or a blessing according to its aims and its impulses. Temperament, environment, and heredity all affect the question of the character and degree of a man's liberalism. Liberalism in theology may be a vice or a virtue according to what it antagonizes. It is a vice if it opposes God and Divine authority. It is a virtue when it opposes such elements in religion as are erroneous and indefensible. The liberalism dealt with in this article is dogmatic laxity, looseness of adherence to theological symbols.

The faith of the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic Church was the simple acceptance with the heart of Christ as the long-desired Saviour. Cardinal Newman says, "Freedom from symbols is abstractedly the highest state of Christian communion, and the peculiar privilege of the primitive Church." Theological liberalism began in the form of Gnosticism, either Judaizing or anti-Judaizing, which, in an eclectic spirit, sought to combine Christian elements with Eastern theosophy and Neo-Platonism. In the third century lax views in theology manifested themselves in Alexandria. The place was suitable by reason of its strange mixture of all kinds of faiths and philosophies—Parseeism, Judaism, Christianity, Gnosticism, Platonism, Neo-Platonism, Aristotelianism. But the Alexandrine Fathers were for the most part loyal to truth, Origen being a possible exception. The Arian controversy arose in the fourth century. It came at a transitional period when the old, simple heart-trust of Apostolic times was declining, and when no dogmatic tribunal had yet appeared, like that of the Papacy, to compel submission to authority. In the scholasticism of the twelfth century we have the next appearance of restlessness under doctrinal restraint. Abelard announced the rationalistic principle, *Nihil credendum nisi prius intellectum*. Among mediæval Romanists, John Duns Scotus rejected the errors of Augustine, and initiated a more liberal theological party. Then the Renaissance in arts and humanism in literature made men think, and gave them new aspirations. Theological liberalism had but little place in the Protestant Churches of the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century theological laxity was a recoil from dead orthodoxy. From 1600 A.D. to shortly before the Wesleyan revival is called the *systematizing* period, when the entire attention of Protestantism was given to the structure of creeds, and the importance of doctrinal definition was exaggerated. This involved the increase in the number of sects. The Wesleyan revival teaches three somewhat different principles:—(1) that dead orthodoxy is spiritually powerless; (2) that spiritual life is better than a correct creed; (3) that catholicity in the recognition of spiritual life, even when associated with erroneous opinions, is compatible with most conservative orthodoxy. The best guarantee for orthodoxy is piety. The best antidote to heresy is earnest consecration. To-day there is some sign of theological latitudinarianism in Methodism, and considerable sign in the Broad Church party of Anglicanism, and in the Presbyterian and Congregational bodies. The points in which latitudinarianism shows itself are—lax views of the inspiration of the Scriptures and of the construction of the Old Testa-

ment Canon, substitution of the will-o'-the-wisp Christian consciousness for revealed teaching, Pantheism, modalistic views of the Trinity, modified views of man's depravity and guilt, views of the atonement confined to the moral influence theory, or at best, the Grotian theory, depreciation of Divine justice by plausibly emphasizing Divine love, lax views of Church order, and of the institution of the ministry, and notions of restorationism, conditional immortality, or, in its mildest form, post-mortem probation.

The most conspicuous feature of modern liberalism is its growing tendency to ignore authority. The age is one of revolt against authority. But in all emancipation there is peril. We need to beware lest, after throwing off the yoke of mediæval oppression, we should rashly despise all authority. Here is the greatest danger of the hour, imperilling all human relations, and our personal relations to the Divine. Another tendency of the age is to supersede evangelical faith with Deism. The world is recovering from the dangers of materialism; agnosticism is an unsatisfactory resting-place, and this writer thinks it is giving way to Deism as an ultimate compromise. Untrammelled by ecclesiastical or dogmatic restraints, men may, it is thought, reject the miraculous and yet believe in God. A third tendency is to belittle creeds as antiquated, obsolete, and useless. And a fourth tendency is to throw into the background, or out of sight altogether, the doctrine of retribution. But leave God and justice out of the reckoning, and swift and sure is our return, at first, it may be, to cultured atheism, but ultimately to degraded barbarism.

Theological liberalism cannot meet the spiritual and moral needs of men. Those Churches and those preachers have certainly been the most mighty in influencing men and drawing them to Christ who have had the most sturdy faith and decided adherence to revealed truth. We must not, indeed, be hasty in our judgment on pending questions. It ought to be characteristic only of youth to settle all questions off hand. There is danger of the hasty adoption of hypotheses, more or less plausible, on very scanty evidence. This weakness of humanity is especially dangerous where religion is concerned; and all the skeletons of defunct theories which line the paths of criticism do not prevent new and hasty theorists from finding ever new dupes. God has many ways of teaching His Church. He often leads us to a greater security of faith, and a richer inheritance of truth by a temporary disturbance of our peace and accustomed habits of thought. We should avail ourselves of whatever contributions of Christian scholarship our theological opponents may bring. In Biblical criticism if Kuenen, Graff, Wellhausen, Driver, and Briggs can teach us anything, we should be prepared to accept the verified results of their recognized scholarship. Baur's examination of the teaching of the early Church has enriched our knowledge of it. His theories have perished, but the flood of Baurian speculation has left a fertilizing layer of soil upon the fields, for which all Bible students may be thankful. Let us guard against uncharitableness. Wesley, in his sermon on a Catholic Spirit, says, "All the children of God should be united in love notwithstanding differences of opinion." But let us stand firm in our determined resistance to the encroachments of any type of liberalism which may be designated as rationalism. A good man may have a very bad creed, but his goodness does not compel me to be silent about his errors.

THE NATURE OF CHRIST'S ATONEMENT. PENALTY AND PUNISHMENT. By Rev. W. JACKSON, Perth, Ont. (*The Canadian Methodist Quarterly*).—Law must have its sanctions. These sanctions are to the subject motives to obedience. No doubt a man is "to pursue the right because of its rightness rather than because of the penal consequences attached to wrong-doing." But men have to be actually dealt with on

a lower level than this, and penal sanctions are necessary. Penalty is "suffering inflicted by the Lawgiver upon the sinner, proportioned by the degree of his sinfulness, and to express the Lawgiver's hatred of sin and estimate of its intrinsic ill-desert." Such writers as Dr. A. A. Hodge infer that, because penalty is measured by the intrinsic demerit of sin, God is compelled to inflict the penalty on the sinner or his substitute—an inference which Mr. Jackson deems most unwarranted by the premises, and flagrantly opposed to the facts. The sinner deserves to be punished, but God is under no absolute *necessity* to inflict the penalty attached to the transgression of the law. We cannot conceive of penalty without including in the idea the promotion of the ends of government. The complete view of penalty is to be found in the union of the personal demerit of the sinner and the rectoral ends which penalty is intended to promote: the former is the ground on which alone penalty can be justly inflicted; the latter is the object with which penalty is enforced. But the ground and object of penalty, while distinct from one another, must be conceived as perfectly harmonious. While not minifying the ill-desert of sin, the rectoral ends subserved by penalty should be regarded as of the first importance. The chief function of penalty in the Divine administration is to uphold the order God has established in the world, and to maintain His supremacy therein. It is only when thus viewed that the penalty attached to law leaves room for atonement. "It seems to us logically inconsistent to impose an obligation on the Divine Being to inflict penalty on the sole ground of personal demerit, and then transfer it to one who is innocent: but once admit the rectoral purposes penalty is intended to serve, and the suffering of the innocent for the guilty is easy alike to understand and to defend."

Sin having been committed, we are compelled to inquire, What is the punishment which follows in the wake of sin? The chief idea conveyed to our minds by the word punishment is suffering inflicted by the Lawgiver on account of personal blameworthiness, as an expression of His displeasure at the sinner's wrong-doing. Dr. Miley well says, "We emphasize the principle that, in moral government, personal demerit is the only source of guilt, and the only ground of just punishment. If there be anything valid in the imputation of another's sin, it must transfer the demerit before guilt can arise or the punishment be just. And whatever in the providence of God, whether from the constitution of things or by immediate interposition, transcends the limit of demerit, ceases to be punishment. Without such a principle, punishment has no possible rationale."

Sin having been committed, must the threatened penalty be of necessity inflicted? Dr. A. A. Hodge says, "The penalty, when once incurred, can be preserved inviolate only by being executed." Had no Redeemer been appointed, this statement would have been absolutely correct; but then Adam would have been the last of his kind. This statement will be ultimately true of all who reject the redemption which is in Christ Jesus. But the fact of penalty must be interpreted in the light of that other great fact which is in Scripture placed alongside of it—the advent of Jesus Christ as the Redeemer of mankind. The writer is not prepared to accept either the theory of the ultra-Calvinists, that Christ suffered the actual penalty due to human sin, or that of Dr. John Young, who explains the penalty by "self-acting" spiritual laws. The idea that penalty is irremissible leaves no place for the exercise of prerogative or of mercy. But whence does this iron necessity arise? Is it in the character of God? Is He not gracious as well as just? Surely the sufferings and death of Christ are the ground on which the Scriptures justify the forgiveness of sin, and harmonize it with the infinite perfection of Deity.

The sufferings of Christ were not penal. If the sufferings of Christ were penal,

and His merit adequate for the entire human race, then the doctrine of universal salvation would follow as the necessary logical consequence. This idea that the sufferings of Christ were penal lies at the root, and is fundamental to all theories which limit the extent of the atonement. Some say that Christ suffered the identical penalty due to the sins of those whose salvation He came to procure. Luther even conceived the idea that Christ became actually guilty of all the sins of all men, and suffered the punishment due thereto. But if Christ suffered the identical penalty due to transgressors, pardon is not of grace, but of debt. If the penalty has been inflicted on the substitute, it is manifestly unjust to inflict it again on the offender himself.

The other view is, that though our Lord's sufferings were not the identical penalty due to sinful man, they were fully equivalent to it: "A quantitative equivalent for the sins of the elect." But from this idea the soul instinctively recoils. "Before us in the cross is a sum in arithmetic instead of a wondrous mystery of love." The source of this mistake is to be found in the attempt to interpret the atonement by the course its advocates suppose the Deity ought to pursue. They form their own notions of law, of justice, and of man's relation to these; and then say that God is shut up to the course they have indicated.

Christ's sufferings were not penal, because personal demerit is not transferable. Guilt and penalty are never charged upon a person known to be innocent, although in a hundred ways that person may suffer for the guilt of others. The error grows out of confounding punishment for sin with the satisfaction for sin which has been made by Jesus Christ. The distinction between these two shows how the death of Christ becomes a substitute for penalty in the case of mankind. He does for us what we could not do for ourselves. His act is not ours, but a substitute for it. The innocent is the substitute for the wrong-doer, not in guilt, not in desert, not even strictly in punishment, but only in suffering. He voluntarily undergoes a simple suffering that another man may not undergo punishment. Our Lord's vicarious sacrifice has made the pardon of the penitent sinner consistent with the majesty of law, and the honour and prerogatives of the eternal Lawgiver.

THE GUIDANCE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. By Rev. J. W. COOLEY (*The Canadian Methodist Quarterly*).—The intervention of the Almighty in human affairs, to control them after His own purpose, constitutes Divine guidance in the broadest sense. Such guidance is, therefore, a fact and a truth undeniable by any believer in revealed religion. The general fact of Divine guidance finds its perfect development, its most complete exemplification, and its widest application, in the guidance of the Holy Spirit, as that is disclosed in the New Testament Scriptures. The Holy Spirit is the administrator of redemption, and as such His office is to let us "know the things which are freely given to us of God." Whatever guidance we know as a Christian privilege, we know it as the guidance of the Spirit. Dr. Pope says, "The offices of the Holy Ghost have been obscured by exaggerations of sacramental efficacy, and His personal relations to the believer have been undervalued in many systems." To deny or ignore the guidance of the Spirit is to reduce religion largely to mechanical forms and ceremonies, and dispense with the living power and joy of godliness. The true conception of the guidance of the Holy Spirit when put into force and practice will result in a true religion, a devout and exemplary conduct and spirit. But everything depends on our interpretation of the "guidance of the Spirit." Dr. Pope defines it as a special prerogative of the adoption. "He who testifies within them that they are children is given to them as a never-absent guide; their religion is a life, a walk, a conversation, in the Spirit. He is at all points, under all circumstances, and in the whole economy of life, down to its minutest detail, the

Monitor of the children of God." As to the method of guidance, Dr. Steele says, "We believe that the Holy Spirit animates and informs the whole man, using his common-sense, his stores of knowledge, his reason, judgment, spiritual aspiration and aptitude, deference to the advice of holy people, providential events, and the Holy Scriptures, in determining any particular question of duty." Answering the question, "How shall we know what is the will of God in a particular case?" Wesley says, "This is to be determined partly by reason and partly by experience. Meantime, the assistance of the Spirit is supposed during the whole process of the inquiry. Indeed, it is not easy to say in how many ways that assistance is conveyed."

Some indeed urge that the guidance of the Spirit is always immediate and direct, and consciously recognized as such by the man who is guided. This extreme view of guidance has as its groundwork a very literal interpretation of the words, "He shall teach you all things," with an absolutely universal application of it to every member of the household of faith, as a personal privilege. The writer of this article would limit our Lord's teachings on the Spirit, given in the upper room, to the Apostles. The Comforter was the Spirit to guide the Apostles, and through them the Church, into all truth. If by "all truth" is meant all truth without limitation as to time, place, or quantity, and the language applies to all individuals for all things and for all time, it is easy enough to show that such a guidance of the Spirit never has been realized and never can be. What, then, is the simple, natural, rational interpretation put upon the promises of our Lord by the devout, and by the accepted scholarship of our times?

The disciples were seekers of truth. But the "truth" of the mission of Christ is spiritual truth, connected directly and essentially with salvation. Truth concerning mere natural life and development needed not a revelation for its disclosure. God leaves all ordinary discoveries to be found out by the industry, thought, and genius of the natural mind. The knowledge of saving truth was impossible without Divine revelation. Christ came to make that revelation. His life-work was a guiding into the truth. The work of the Spirit is the maintenance of the truth which Jesus had revealed. "The Comforter shall . . . bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you." He was to make clear all that the Apostles did not understand, and remind them of all they had forgotten in the words of Jesus. Within their Apostolic prerogative they should be enabled, by the Spirit impregnating the words of Jesus, fully and truly to expound His doctrine. They should be able respectively to preach, to record, and to transmit to posterity the true system of His religion, without any deficiency or error. The Spirit's work as Teacher and Guide is supplementary to Christ's as Teacher. The "all things" which He is to teach, and "all the truth" into which He is to guide, are clearly and simply the same "all things" and "truth" Christ taught.

Another feature of the promised guidance is indicated in John xii. 49, 50. Although essentially Father, Son, and Spirit are equal, economically the Son is subordinate to and obeys the Father, while the Son is economically greater than the Spirit, and exercises authority over Him. He is sent in the name of Christ. Failure to accept the extreme theory as to the scope of the work of the Holy Spirit as a guide has been met with the accusation that it is a limiting of the Holy Spirit, and so a great dishonouring of Him. But the promise itself contains an absolute statement of an economical limitation to the Spirit's work.

It appears plain that our Lord's promises simply declare infallible guidance of the Spirit, as to memory and understanding of the "truth as it is in Jesus," to the Apostolate. Through the inspired records left us, we may be guided by the Spirit

into the truth in its completeness. Those who would find in these promises basis for the extreme theory of direct, immediate, personal guidance in all the petty details of the visible life, must find other ground or authorization for their theory, must find other statements or promises, for these do not furnish an atom of foundation for such a claim or interpretation, without a manifest "wresting of the Scriptures."

CURRENT GERMAN THOUGHT.

THE MESSIANIC HOPE IN THE PSALTER. By Dr. BERNHARD STADE, Giessen (*Zeitschr. für Theol. u. Kirche*, 1892, No. 5). (*Concluded.*)

4. The writer now passes to "the psalms which transport themselves directly into the Messianic age, showing very plainly how religious thought was ruled by the Messianic idea. That which fills the devout heart appears before the poet's soul as in course of fulfilment or already fulfilled." Deutero-Isaiah often takes this course. "Since the Messianic kingdom was not yet come. this clothing of the ideas became unintelligible to the Jewish traditionalists, and led to corrections of the text and wrong punctuation. Jer. xxx. 5 ff. is a very plain example of this style. Among the later writers it meets us frequently. Even the use of the prophetic perfect, which grew into a mere mannerism, rests on transposition into the future." The psalms belonging to this class view the future on different sides. Some depict the appearance of the Judge, others the execution of the judgment; others, again, the entrance of Jehovah into the Temple after the judgment or the state introduced thereby.

Psalms dealing with the first point are xxix., xcvi., xcix. In Psalm xxix. Jehovah quits heaven, where He is the object of angelic praise, to reveal His glory on earth. His appearing is described under the figure of a storm sweeping over the Holy Land (vers. 3-9). The judgment is compared to the Flood (ver. 10). God assumes the government for ever (ver. 10). Hence the Psalmist's confidence (ver. 11). Here the poet returns from the contemplation of the future to the circumstances of the present. In Psalm xcvi. Jehovah's taking the government is the ground of the exhortation to continue in observance of the law, in hope and of the summons to praise Jehovah. The prophetic parallel to ver. 11 is Isa. ix. 1-6. "I have adduced these psalms here because they depict the appearing of God for judgment. As they conclude with 'Jehovah is King,' they are akin to the next psalms to be considered, which describe subsequent events."

The psalms describing the judgment itself are lviii., lxxxi., xviii. A peculiarity in the first two is that the judgment on the heathen takes the form of a judgment on their guardian angels. "To the popular notions of post-Exilic days the gods of the heathen had become celestial patrons subordinate to Jehovah. They were thus included in the angelic hosts that serve God. To them Jehovah has committed the government over the nations. Israel's being subject to them means that they have abused their power to subjugate Israel. For this they are called to account by Jehovah." How far such a view endangers the unity of the world's government—which is a postulate of monotheism—the writer casts out of account. He assumes it as certain that the view had entered into post-Exilic Judaism, pointing, in further

proof, to Psalm lxxxii. The context shows that "the gods" of ver. 1 are the guardian angels of the heathen nations. These rulers are reproached with having favoured the unrighteous—i.e., the heathen—and refused justice to the oppressed—i.e., Israel. Thus all order is overthrown in the world. As a punishment, the angels are dethroned (ver. 6). "But at the close the poet abandons the imaginary situation, and returns to the actual position, for the prayer follows that God would arise and judge the world. It is a proof of this, that the vision is the clothing of an article of faith." In Psalm lviii., also, God addresses the gods (R. V., margin). Ver. 5 describes the conduct of the unrighteous; vers. 7-10 prays for their punishment. The conclusion expresses confidence in the justification of the Church at the final judgment. "Here, also, the actual situation at the close shows that we have to do with poetic creations."

Psalms which describe the state of things after the judgment are xli., xlviii., ii., xlvii., xciii., xxiv., lxxvi., cx. In Psalm xli. 5, "the dawn of the morning" is the beginning of Messiah's kingdom, which is thus regarded as future (see xlix. 14). In ver. 6 the time of fulfilment is set directly before us. "The poet is not glancing back at some past event, such as some peril to which Jerusalem was exposed; but the final catastrophe, in which God appears as the Saviour of His people, rises so vividly before his soul that he views it as past. And, indeed, he is probably thinking of that last assault of the heathen, which post-Exilic faith, in the train of Ezekiel's prophecy of Gog and Magog, expected from the beginning of the Messianic kingdom (cf. Zech. xii. 14; Joel iv.; Isa. lxvi.). Haggai ii. 22 ff. also favours the reference to the final judgment. Only thus is it explicable that the poet expects the cessation of war and the dawn of eternal peace as the consequence of Jehovah's appearing. The Messianic kingdom as one of eternal peace is a standing feature in the post-Exilic Messianic hope." Ver. 9 b shows that the kingdom is still future. Dr. Stade also explains Psalms ii. and cx. of the Messianic age, especially of the last heathen assault and its defeat.

A good type of this class is Psalm xlvii. "The poet transports himself to the moment when Jehovah has entered on His reign, i.e., in lyrical dress, when He has mounted His throne after the heathen have been overcome. All nations surround His throne as an earthly people the throne of its ruler. The poet calls on them to salute Jehovah as King (1, 2, 7, f.). Since Jehovah is already King, and the heathen stand around and do homage, it is not well to take ver. 8 f. as expressing the hope that Israel will subdue the nations. The imperfect form, as elsewhere, is to be taken as an ellipsis for the imperfect, with *vav* consecutive, and to be rendered: 'He subdued the nations under us, nations under our feet, chose our inheritance for us, the glory of Jacob, whom He loves.'"

"To post-Exilic faith the dawn of the Messianic kingdom and the entrance of Yahveh into His temple are the same thing." This explains Psalm xxiv. At first sight there seems to be no connection between the subject of vers. 1-6 and that of vers. 7-10. Jehovah is pictured as returning from victory over the world-power, upon which He has held judgment. The gates of Zion are summoned to open to Him. A prophetic parallel is Isaiah lxiii. 1. The description of those worthy to dwell near Jehovah applies to the ideal Israel, as in Isaiah xxxiii. 15 f. "The psalm is a festal song, designed to be sung at a feast, at which all Israel appears, in the temple. And it is a song of praise. The Church praises its God as Creator and Lord of the world." The psalm in Hab. iii., which might just as well stand in the Psalter, is in a similar strain, beginning with prayer for the carrying out of the Messianic judgment, describing the appearance of God for judgment, next complaint, lastly, praise of

God. An analysis of Psalm lxxvi. yields similar results—conquest over the heathen (vers. 8, 5), a challenge to Israel to praise God and to the heathen to do Him homage."

We are at the end of our inquiry. Let us look backwards. Whereas the Messianic references threatened to vanish under our hands when we studied the psalms under the heading 'Prophecy and Fulfilment,' on our mode of inquiry the Psalm-book is seen to be filled with them. The devout feeling expressed in the Psalms was thoroughly saturated with the hope of God's future kingdom, and is only to be understood in its peculiar character when this is considered. But this state of the case is of decisive importance for the right understanding of post-Exilic piety. The continuance of the Messianic hope in the centuries between the Restoration and the time of apocalyptic literature may also be confirmed by the later portions of the prophetic canon. And these make it clear that we have not here to do with a literary, theoretical interest of individual believers, who had nourished their faith on the predictions of the old prophets. But from the importance belonging to the Messianic hope in the songs of the hymnary of the Church, it appears that it was the ruling idea of the Church's faith, which drew from it world-conquering power, and rose triumphant above the doubt which would have assailed that faith on a sober view of the state of the nation and its social conditions."

"On three sides the faith of the Jewish Church rises above all the intellectual and religious possessions of the heathen peoples, and prepares the way specifically for Christianity. First, in the conviction that the God of the Church is the only God and the ultimate ground of all things. Secondly, in this, that it is faith in a moral law absolutely binding on men, and made known to Israel by a historical revelation of this its God, that it might obtain life. Thirdly, by the hope of a kingdom of this God, to which all men are called, and in which everything in heaven and on earth will be found in harmony with God's will. This third is the greatest of the three, and sustains the other two."

"Even considered purely as an intellectual idea, the Messianic hope represents a possession, beside which the heathen nations—the nations of culture and universal power—had nothing to place even approximately equal. In it the idea emerged that there is a history of humanity in which the several peoples figure as members, and that the growth of the several nations represents a process with ethical aims. It leads on, in a kingdom of eternal peace, to a kingdom of the good and the vanquishing of evil. Nay, there is nothing in heaven and on earth which is not affected by the final judgment. It creates a new heaven and a new earth, a glorified and transformed Holy Land, a glorified Israel. Even Nature serves ethical aims. Thus the Messianic hope represents the grand idea of a process perfective of creation, and it contains a theodicy. At the 'end of the days' God will transform the world which He created in the 'beginning' into a place in which His holy and gracious will shall eternally rule."

"That a certain likeness exists between the Messianic hope of the Jewish Church and the idea of a golden age in classical authors has long been felt. But what unlikeness! On a careful comparison the utter contrast between the unbroken religious faith of the Jewish Church and the philosophical speculations springing up on the soil of a dissolving religious faith comes plainly out. Here a religious aim that strengthens faith and enhances moral strength, there a treasure irrecoverably lost through the progress of mankind. Here the optimism of world-conquering faith, there the pessimistic resignation which springs from faith in decline. Here the religion of the future, there the religion of the grave. Thus, regarded even from

the standpoint of the history of religion, the Messianic hope of the Church signifies—*in hoc signo vinces.*"

MY KINGDOM IS NOT OF THIS WORLD. By Dr. VON BUCHRUCKER, München (*Neue Kirchl. Zeitschr.*, 1898, No. 1).—Christianity resembles the Roman Empire in one respect, namely, in its aim at universal power, its intolerance of all rivals—differing from it as completely in the nature of its rule and the methods it uses. The first three centuries tell the story of the conflict between the two powers, the worldly and the spiritual, the issue of which was the victory of Constantine. Christ is the only one who has ever formed the conception of a purely spiritual empire, spiritual alike in its means and ends. His own followers have not yet risen to the greatness of His idea. "The kingdom of Christ has no other end than the sole supremacy of the truth; and the truth is bound to the person of Christ and the supernatural world, from which He came into this world and into which He returned from this world, in order finally to wed both together. The supernatural, the super-human, is the secret of our strength. If we disparage this, or get rid of it, the strength of Christianity is gone." The writer then reviews the different stages in the growth of this kingdom, and the different conceptions formed by Christian writers of its nature.

Christianity had, first of all, to reckon with Greek philosophy, the noblest product of human thought and effort. Platonism, Neo-Platonism, and Stoicism represented the high water-mark of heathen morals and religion. The variegated system of Gnosticism was an attempt to amalgamate Christianity with Greek ideas and Oriental speculations. No doubt there were nobler spirits among the Gnostics; but the system as a whole soon fell very low. Its most conspicuous influence was on Christian writers like Clement and Origen, in whom the intellectual element predominated. Their tendency was to make Christianity a philosophy. "If we do not say directly with Harnack that for them Christ is nothing but a Teacher, still, in the Christianity of Origen, faith in the historical Christ forms the preparation for the knowledge of the eternal Logos. In his Commentary on John, he distinguishes the crucified Christ as the Christ of faith from the Christ dwelling in us as the Christ of the perfect. He acknowledges a historical revelation, which advances through different stages to the incarnation of the Logos, and ends in the work of the Holy Spirit. He acknowledges a redemption by Christ, and especially the redeeming power of His death, which is a ransom to Satan and a sacrifice to God, and confers on Christ a mediatorial position; but all saving acts and achievements of the Logos in the flesh, which the beginner in Christianity has to accept, in the last resort only remove out of the way hindrances opposing the pure and perfect working of the Logos. This latter consists in this, that He reveals Himself to the perfect, who no longer walk in the flesh, as He who was from the beginning with the Father. Only the perfect man apprehends the most glorious aspect of His work; therefore he is to be envied who no longer needs the Son as Physician, Shepherd, and Redeemer." Thus, faith is a lower, knowledge a higher stage of Christianity.

It was Athanasius, mainly, who rescued Christianity from the peril of intellectualism. His Christology and theology are penetrated with the thought of redemption. The writer quotes with approval the following from Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*: "The importance of Athanasius lies, not in the way in which he defended the faith philosophically, but in the victorious steadfastness of faith itself. . . . The whole faith, everything for which Athanasius pledged his life, is described in the one sentence: *God Himself has entered into humanity*. The theology and Christology of Athanasius are rooted in the thought of redemption; no secondary ends influenced

him. . . . Heathenism and Judaism did not bring men into fellowship with God, which is the essential point. Christ could not have brought us this gift if He Himself had only possessed it as a gift *secundum participationem*; for then He had only had as much as He Himself needed, and could not give what was not His own. Thus must Christ be of the nature of God, and one with us." The idea of the Logos was replaced by the Son. Redemption, not merely revelation, is Christ's work.

Augustine was the first to discern and depict the spiritual significance of the entire history of the world in his masterpiece, *De Civitate Dei*. The conception is a magnificent one, and is adequately worked out. Originally designed to meet the heathen objection that the ruin of Rome was due to Christianity, the work expanded into a religious history of the world. Augustine saw in history two rival principles or powers contending for the mastery—the kingdom of God, of the spirit, of truth and light, and the kingdom of the world and flesh. Cain and Abel begin the conflict, which has never ceased since. "One cannot avoid the feeling that the *regnum Dei* is too narrowly conceived as *civitas Dei*, and so is identified with the Church, but any mingling of God's kingdom with the world has no support in Augustine. The value of the earthly State is not overlooked, its benefits are real gifts of God; and from the temporal peace, which the earthly State secures, the Divine State draws help for its higher ends. But those benefits are still only relative; if they are sought to the loss of the absolute ones, new evils must follow and the old ones be aggravated. Moreover, in it the enmity of the flesh to the spirit abides, so that the path of the Church lies ever between the persecutions of the world and the consolations of God. But whereas the world perishes with its glory and pleasure, the Divine State ensures its future glory by its present humiliation. Its essential good cannot be taken away from it, for it is 'peace in eternal life and eternal life in peace.' Its King and Lord is Christ." "Augustine is the mighty interpreter of the entire previous development, inwardly and outwardly. The fall of Rome lies before our eyes—and what brought it about was its idolatry and moral corruption, the nature of the world-kingdom, which was revealed first in the Assyrian and then in the Roman empire; but the positive impulse was the kingdom of the eternal King, Christ—the coming of the spiritual, supernatural world into the sinful, decaying world of visibility, a supernatural world which thus shows its superior reality."

Both the strength and the weakness of the Middle Ages lay in their effort to justify Christian doctrine to the reason. "If Christian faith and life could have been preserved by a scientific proof of correct doctrine, mediæval scholasticism would have done it. The security of the supernatural in theology for all time would have been the fit reward for the immense expenditure of learning and constructive skill, of force of character and courage, which corresponded with the chivalrous spirit and architectural genius of the age." But the intellectual tendency was too exclusive and one-sided, and provoked protest and reaction. "Dogma was accepted as settled, method was everything." The effort was not to show that Christian doctrine met the needs of the soul, or was contained in Scripture, but that it satisfied the reason. Mere delight in thought and speculation, not any practical end, was the motive. In consequence, orthodox Rationalism was met by the sceptical Rationalism of an Abelard and Roger Bacon. Reuter, in his *History of Religious Illuminism in the Middle Ages*, says: "To preserve the faith of the Church in revelation was the task which this theology had set itself. But the manner of the defence imperilled the cause. Scholastic apologetics, while seeking to get rid of all Rationalism, was itself moved by Rationalistic tendencies. The very attempt to discover all possible arguments which seemed adapted to render supernatural dogma

more acceptable, led to the founding of a *natural theology*, which tended to weaken the supernatural. . . . The cardinal questions of the relation of knowledge to faith, of reason to revelation, received answers of doubtful import."

The essay proceeds: "The religious ideal of Rationalism is and remains natural religion. So we see in the Middle Ages, in the Deists of England, in the Encyclopædists of France, in Rousseau, Basedow, and the entire theology of Rationalism. Rousseau says this in the most original way. True culture consists in return to nature; to nature must religion also return. Deism is the creed of the Philistine of modern culture. The man of high culture tries to give it an air of poetry and feeling by pantheistic modifications. But here the incarnate Redeemer always remains the stone of offence."

The writer holds that nothing less than the reality of the supernatural is at stake in the conflict with Ritschlian teaching, which he regards as the newest fashion in Christian and religious Rationalism. His lengthy account is worth quoting, as the view of a Lutheran divine of ability and influence. "It takes as its primary task the work of carrying out consistently the long-demanded and partially-attempted severance of philosophy and theology. The infusion of Gnostic elements into Christianity, which took place so early, must be got rid of in every form. It has also, as its advocates maintain, brought to an end the illusion of a natural religion, derived saving truth from the revelation of Holy Writ alone, and so given Christianity, in all its utterances, the right expression. From this standpoint, then, the kingdom of God is set up as the dominant idea; everything tends to this, by this everything that precedes is understood. The kingdom of God is God's highest end, the goal of all revelation. But in what, then, does it really consist? It is to be viewed as the union of all men without distinction of national peculiarities, in which the entire life and all action of individuals spring from the motive of love; in which the manifold suffering of life is regarded as a discipline of character; in which, finally, earthly calling is exercised as rule over nature for the preserving, ordering, and improving even of the physical side of existence. We see that there is no trace here of the kingdom of God as supernatural, unless the supernatural is the same as morality. It is a kingdom in the world and for the world, as the kingdom of Christ; but the predicate 'not of this world' does not belong to it. Consequently it has no eschatological issue. What, then, is meant by rule over nature? We shall understand this by calling to our help the idea of religion. Man as a spiritual being claims to be worth more than the entire system of nature, and yet feels himself, as a part of nature, to be subject to nature and fettered by it. Religion is the effort, by the support of higher powers, to become master of the hindrances of this life. In this conflict man betakes himself to the spiritual Author of spirit and nature, and the Controller of its system. In lordship over the world the Christian finds his blessedness. But how does he arrive at this lofty feeling and the motive of love? Through Christ; this is certain, else the Christian character of the system would be altogether gone. But who is Christ? And what about sin? By sin rule over the world is fettered; but it is not the worst evil that can stir man's heart, and that is accompanied by terrors of conscience. We must get rid of the prejudice that a state of righteousness—a *justitia originalis*—preceded the entrance of sin into the world; original sin is out of the question. The nature of sin is ignorance, which needs no expiation. The simple Christian, indeed, here is told of reconciliation and justification; but any satisfaction of a Mediator is not to be thought of. The thought of the kingdom of God is strong enough to counteract everything that opposes. God forgives because the establishing of this kingdom is His end, and for this forgiveness

is necessary. For this end the love of God is made the starting-point of the whole, and every further definition is made dependent thereon. But what, then, about reconciliation and justification? These belong to the Church—they come to the individual so far as he is included in it. About the justification of the individual, all that can be said is that it is obtained in the Church when, by its ministry, faith in Christ and trust in God the Father are awakened in him. How this effect is brought about is hidden from all observation, as with the growth of moral life generally.

“ But Christ—He is yet the Son of God if He and God the Father are thus placed side by side. Ritschl starts from the Melancthon saying: To know Christ is to know His benefits. But in what do these benefits consist? After the above definition of sin we shall not expect anything superhuman. The ‘Godhead’ of Christ is not denied, but this predicate embraces only the two elements of the perfect Revealer and the revealed Pattern of the Ruler of the world. Eternal life is preserving the personal end of man. In it man is inspired with the thought that the whole world does not equal his personal value, and that in moral rule over it he fulfils his destiny. This religious destiny of the members of the Church is not merely prefigured by Christ, but also founded in order to continuous power of imitation. This is their redemption. As Head and Lord of the kingdom of God, which is eternally the object of God’s love, Christ is also eternally the object of God’s love, and so far pre-existent; otherwise not. So far, therefore, one may speak of a Godhead of Christ; for really the doctrine on this subject first arose within the Church, and expresses a judgment of worth, not of existence (*Werturtheil* not *Seinsurtheil*), which distinction is an invention of the theory of knowledge adopted by this theology. But in this way it mixes itself up with philosophy, from which it departs in estimating substances despite its utter renunciation of philosophy, and comes to a conclusion which is truly pitiable. For in order to give greater scope to preaching and higher teaching it has abolished the offence of the cross, and in connection therewith everything supernatural which has been ridiculed by the earliest opponents as metaphysics. What cannot be experienced does not exist. So we have at last not merely a purely natural treatment of Holy Scripture, but also a purely earthly kingdom of God. Man comes into account before and after he has come under God’s influence in Christ only in his attitude to the world, and so only in his distinction as ego and nature. As there is nothing to be appropriated through the Holy Spirit, so there is no order of salvation outside the natural process of thought. Before he comes under God’s influence he is subject to the hindrances which the world presents to him through his connection with nature; after this he is enabled to confidently defy these hindrances or endure them patiently by the elevating thought that the whole world does not equal the worth of his ego. This is the ground-thought of Christianity. The supernatural is identified with the moral; between the natural world and the supernatural stands the world of the spiritual and moral as the truly real world which has driven out the supernatural. Decades ago Dr. Schenkel came to the same result, finding the specific novelty of the Christian message in this—that the Father in heaven makes His sun to rise on the good and the evil, and sends rain on the just and the unjust.”

LUTHER’S OPINION ABOUT THE EPISTLE OF ST. JAMES. By Dr. W. WALTHER, Cuxhaven (*Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1898, No. 8).—“ It was in defence of the possession of faith that Luther refused to reckon the Epistle of James ‘among the really leading writings of the Bible.’ Every one in his day misunderstood the meaning of this epistle. Law, faith, works, justification were understood in James as in Paul. Romish opponents used James, thus wrongly understood, against Paul. And yet

what Paul taught, was Luther's own experience, his possession as a Christian. So he was forced to reject the ostensible James.

"But it is noteworthy how on one side he seeks to support his judgment on this epistle—as if he were not quite sure of his cause—by reasons not taken from its contents, alluding therefore to the fact that it was 'rejected by the ancients,' and on the other how he never ventures to utter in public and completely his inner thought about it. In publishing his New Testament he is certainly not silent as to the difference in his view between James and Paul—how else could he guard against an abuse of James's epistle?—but he begins by saying, 'although the epistle was rejected by the ancients, he yet praises it and thinks it good,' and believes there are 'many good sayings' in it. And later, in the prefaces to his New Testament, he let slip the passage which calls the epistle 'an epistle of straw' in comparison with other New Testament books. Also, from time to time he utters brief sayings to the effect that the epistle is 'not quite in accord with pure doctrine.' Nay, before his own students he says openly, 'Male concludit Jacobus, quod nunc demum (Abraham) justificatus sit post istam obedientium. . . . Non sequitur, ut Jacobus delirat: Igitur fructus justificant. . . . Facessant itaque e medio adversarii cum suo Jacobo, quem toties nobis objiciunt (Erlanger Ausg.).' Yet such sayings are so rare, and, so to speak, occasional, that the possibility is not precluded that the Reformer did not retain his unfavourable opinion to the end.

"But another fact quite certainly teaches us better. And, since it has not been referred to in recent works about Luther's attitude to the Bible, it may be permitted to recall it.

"Luther's son, Paul, possessed a copy of the German New Testament, printed in 1530, by Hans Lufft, at Wittemberg. This book the Reformer must have used diligently, for he marked it with many marginal notes. These notes were copied in 1578 by some one in Dresden, and Dr. Paulus Luther attested, in his own writing, that they came from the hand of his father, and that he still had in his possession the copy in question. What has become of this copy is now unknown. It is to be hoped that it may be found again. But the copy of the annotations was printed in 1781 by G. G. Richter, under the title 'Des hocheleuchteten Mannes Gottes D. Martini Lutheri Licht in Licht,' &c. Walch reprinted these notes in Vol. IX. of his edition of Luther's works, translated into German. The importance of the notes in question consists in this, that the Reformer here gives full expression to his views on the Epistle of James. We give a few samples. On i. 6. (But let him ask in faith) it is said, 'This is the only and best passage in the whole epistle'; and on v. 16 (The prayer of the righteous man availeth much): 'This is one of the best sayings in the whole book, especially the example of Elijah praying.' On i. 21 (which is planted in you): 'Thus others planted it, not James.' On i. 25 (but he that looks into the perfect law): 'Behold, he teaches nothing of faith, but only of simple law.' On ii. 2 (there come into your assembly): 'Why should this wrong be done to show outward honour to a tyrant?' On ii. 12: 'Oh, what a chaos!' On ii. 19 (that there is one God): 'And not much of Christ.' On ii. 21 (was not Abraham by works): 'Where is this written?' On ii. 24 (that man is justified by works): 'This is wrong.' On ii. 25: 'Heb. xi. speaks differently.' On ii. 26 (as the body without the spirit is dead): 'A beautiful parable—attend, O freedom! (so also faith without works): 'So are works dead without faith.' On iii. 1 (let not every one attempt): 'O that thou hadst observed it!' On iii. 18 (in gentleness and wisdom): 'Not in faith.'

"No wonder that Richter did not venture to publish these notes without notes

to excuse them, and that Walch openly says: 'Luther uses such expressions (of the Epistle of James) as are inconsistent with their Divine position, and are therefore suspicious.'

"But we have to face the question, why Luther cherished in his heart, so to speak, such sharp opinions about the epistle. So far as it was necessary to do it in order to guard the central doctrine of Holy Scripture, justification by faith alone, against attacks, he did not spare James in public. But, as the notes show, much which he had to object to him he kept to himself. We can only explain this by his principle of most strictly avoiding giving offence, and by the fear that his opinion about the epistle might perhaps be wrong; he might rob others of good, if he destroyed all their respect for this Biblical book. 'Although it was rejected by the ancients,' he begins his preface to it in 1522. That the ancients only, but not the Church of the following centuries, rejected the epistle, perhaps compelled him not to give up all doubt of his opinion about it, and even that which he was compelled to say against it, not to publish without the remark, 'without injury to any one,' and 'I will forbid no one taking and using it as he pleases.'"

THE INSPIRATION QUESTION. By Dr. R. KÜBEL, TÜBINGEN (*Neue Jahrb. f. Deutsche Theol.*, 1898, No. 1). We can only touch on some isolated points in this elaborate article, which is to be followed by a second.

1. First, utterances of the Old Testament on the Word of God and Inspiration are discussed. God is represented as *speaking* to men in three ways. (1) Directly, as one man to another, as in the case of the Decalogue. Here man has simply to listen and reproduce faithfully. (2) In vision, when He is seen in spirit. Here the hearer is put into a special state and made capable of seeing and hearing Him. Paul's visions (2 Cor. xii. 1) belong to this head. Heavenly things, which are in themselves unspeakable, can only be represented by the earthly image coming nearest to the Divine reality. "But what man so speaks is still God's Word, certainly in a modified sense from the former case, for it is simply a copy of an actual Divine impression; and this copy, as it is divinely caused in its origin, so is it always guided and controlled in its shaping by God's influence. Were it not so, it would be *fraus* for the prophets to say, God speaks. But this Divine Word has still kept the form in which it appears; else God could not speak through Isaiah in Isaiah's style," &c. "The content, that which is spoken, is spoken by God; only the echo, in which it is repeated, the form of the human reproduction, is human." Examples are frequent in the prophets, "the word of the Lord came to me," "the Lord showed me." (3) Most frequently the Word of God means, not what God Himself said directly, but what a man said in His name and authority.

Inspiration raises the question of the relation of God's Spirit to special revelation. In every Divine manifestation the Spirit acts on the entire man. If we consider the understanding alone, feeling and will must not be forgotten. Two modes of the Spirit's working are distinguished, one in which He seizes the prophet with overwhelming force, the second in which He simply abides in the man as an inner force whose intellectual result is *illumination*. The latter term is certainly not directly found in the Old Testament, but it is suggested by such expressions as the "light" of God, "knowledge of the Lord," &c. What, then, is the difference between the ordinary enlightenment of believers and that of a prophet? However difficult it may be to put the difference into words, there is one. No Old Testament believer would have dreamt of comparing any inspiration of his own with the prophetic. "In Deut. xviii. 18, &c., God puts the words into the prophet's mouth; the latter speaks what God makes him speak. The relation is that of a king to a herald." Another mode

is represented by the relation of teacher and scholar, Isa. l. 4. "The perfect teacher is he who gives a scholar not merely facts, but his own spirit. According to 2 Sam. xiii. 2, God's Spirit speaks 'in me' and 'through me.' According to Zech. vii. 12, Jehovah sent His Word through the prophets by His Spirit. The Word of Jehovah is on the tongue of the prophet because the Spirit of Jehovah rests on him (Isa. lxi. 1, cf. xi. 2) as a gift and controlling power. This 'on me' shows the same preponderance of the Divine principle, only in calmer form, as the descriptions of the beginning of inspiration. The Spirit or the hand of the Lord comes upon the prophet, clothes him," &c.

The next step is the transfer of the phrase "Word of God" from single sayings to a body of such sayings, of which we have frequent examples at the beginning of the prophetic books, Isa. i. 1, ii. 2; Joel i. 1, &c. We see this process of extension at work in Jer. xxx. 2, and xxxvi. 2, 4, 6, 8, 11. Here we see prophetic discourses in written form called by this name. "Book of the Lord" in Isa. xxxiv. 16 is explained by many as "the collection of Isaiah's prophecies." Passages like Ps. xl. 7 and cxix. seem to refer to the contents of the book of the law as Divine. Jer. xxxi. 81 ff. in speaking of a law written on the heart by God implies that the old covenant was written by God. The Hexateuch speaks often of the covenant and law of Jehovah as written, Exod. xxiv. 4 ff.; Deut. xxviii. 58, 61. The Decalogue was specially distinguished as written on tables of stone by the Lord Himself. In Isa. ii. 8 and xlii. 4, the "Word of God" is used in the comprehensive sense of "a Divine law, a complete expression of the counsel or will of God"; here the question of oral or written is indifferent. "Word of God is here God's revelation, such as is announced to men as God's declaration respecting their salvation and their duty. If this is right, the further step is justified in the use of 'Word of God,' that the entire Old Testament Word is so called. At the same time the Old Testament itself nowhere takes this step."

Again, does the Old Testament lay claim to infallibility? Of course, a prophet must claim for his sayings separately and in collected form that they are true. But what is meant by truth? Not mere subjective, personal truthfulness of speakers and writers. This, of course, is included. And it excludes the supposition of *pia fraus*. "Personally, I confess that I could not accept as canonical in the full sense a book which in my conviction was a mere intentional pseudonym; that I can only concede a *pia fraus* in a relative sense for a book which I regard as a part of God's Word, which the Old Testament as a whole was for Jesus and His Apostles. In the case, e.g. of Daniel, since beyond question this book was one of the chief sources of the most important truths and teachings of Jesus and His Apostles, I hold it simply impossible to make the whole originate in fraud (and still more of the Pentateuch); we must, at least, leave genuine oracles of Daniel as the basis of the present book." "It is beyond doubt that no single Old Testament writer claims for his writing complete inerrancy in contents, either as to history or doctrine. And yet is it all true? Verily but all in a qualitative, not quantitative, sense. The quantitative question, i.e., whether here and there inaccuracies occur alongside the majority of perfectly accurate oracles, occurs—*sic venia verbo*—to no Old Testament authors. They do not think in this pedantic way. They speak from the heart with the feeling: God's Spirit speaks through us, and therefore all we say is a word of truth; i.e., all springs out of life, has life in itself, and produces life. . . . Every word reproduces faithfully in matter and form the mind of the Divine revelation; it is the true copy and best instrument of God's will. The question, then, whether everything is in protocol form, down to the reproduction of the least circumstance, is idle. Everything answers its end in the best way."

2. The New Testament View of God's Word. The ruling sense of the phrase in the New Testament is the last of the three senses mentioned above, i.e., indirect Divine speech. The phrase is applied frequently to the Old Testament written Word in this sense, though not to the entire exclusion of the other two senses. The Old Testament Word, meaning by this either a single utterance or the entire body of Old Testament revelation, is treated as God's Word (see Matt. xix. 5; Mark vii. 18; Matt. xxii. 48, i. 22; of the Old Testament generally, Matt. xxi. 42, xxii. 29, &c.; Rom. iii. 2; Heb. i. 1; 2 Tim. iii. 16). Still more emphatic is the way in which Jesus and His Apostles confirm their teaching by the Old Testament. They do not, as modern theology teaches in the first or second line, prove the Divinity of their doctrine by the experience which their hearers had of it, but entirely by its agreement with the Old Testament. There are several ways in which it is sought to escape the inference from this fact. Kaftan says in those utterances of Christ and the Apostles the revelation handed down in the Holy Scriptures is identified with these writings themselves, and that is attributed to the latter which belongs only to the former. But this is asserted, not proved. Did Christ and the Apostles make the distinction suggested? There is no trace of this. But if it were so, it only proves what high authority Christ and the Apostles ascribed to the writings. These could not have been identified with revelation, if inspiration and revelation had been inconsistent with each other. We understand the position of those who say that what was true for Christ and the Apostles is not binding on us, but not the position of those who admit the first, and then try to evade it.

But what do the New Testament speakers and writers say about their Word? Do they put it forward, like that of the Old Testament prophets, as of Divine authority and of Divine origin? Theologians like Kaftan say decidedly, No. Theologians like Kübel say, Yes. "Not merely, as is self-evident, for Christ's own words (Matt. v. 21 ff.), but also for those of the Apostles, must even a higher degree of authority be claimed than for the Old Testament Word, inasmuch as Christ expressly ascribes the same force to the official teaching of His messengers as to His own (Luke x. 16), and as the New Testament idea of fulfilment implies that the fulfilling revelation absorbs the fulfilled one into itself as the higher."

Primarily the idea, "Word of God," describes the contents of the preaching and teaching, the doctrine taught. "The New Testament Word of God is the new Torah foretold by Isaiah, having the revelation of God in Christ for its contents." Word of God and Gospel are synonymous. The mere spirit or intention of the preacher is not the chief thing. In Phil. i., Paul rejoices that Christ is preached even in contention. Any teaching out of agreement with the Apostles' is a different Gospel—indeed, no Gospel (Gal. i. 7). The doctrines of the Cross and the Resurrection are central. How different this is from the modern assertion that the facts of the Gospel are unimportant! The Resurrection was as prominent in the teaching of the most primitive Church as in Paul (Acts i. 22). According to John, the confession of Christ is essential (1 John iv. 2, &c.). (See also Heb. iii. 1, iv. 14; 1 Tim. iii. 16; Heb. vi. 1.) "What Apostle would have acknowledged any one who attacked these doctrines as a teacher of God's Word?" But the phrase includes more than contents. The Apostles had special authority as eye and ear witnesses of Christ in a special sense. They were trained by His teaching and company to be His authoritative witnesses (John xv. 27, xxi. 24; 1 John i. 1 ff.; Acts i. 21). To the twelve Christ often gave special instruction (Acts i. 8 especially). Paul stands on the same ground. He bases his Apostolic authority on two grounds: first, that he has seen the Lord; and secondly, that he has received his Gospel by revelation direct from the Lord (1 Cor. xv. 8;

Gal. i. 12). While the Apostles do not ascribe a greater authority to their written than their oral teaching, they claim authority for both. No Apostle traces back his written testimony as such to direct revelation. Yet Paul often refers to Divine commands he has received (1 Cor. vii. 6, 12, 25, xi. 23; 1 Thess. iv. 15). And again, the Apostles cover the entire contents of their writings with Apostolic authority by prefixing their title of Apostles and servants of God and Christ, where servants must have an official meaning. In John's case, the allusion to his having been an eye-witness, &c., has the same force (1 John i. 1 ff.). What of the claim of modern "liberal," and some positive, theologians to ascribe primary dignity to Christ's teaching only? Where in the New Testament is there any warrant for such a distinction? Where do the Apostles suggest that their words have authority only so far as they agree with Christ's? "The possibility of their words not so agreeing could not occur to the Apostles; it is Christ Himself, who speaks in and through them. This is unquestionable fact, and we must reckon with it. And as the Church-member, so the theologian must understand that, in the Apostles' eyes, to reject their word is to reject Christ." The Epistle to the Hebrews, as not Apostolic, stands in a different position. The authority belonging to it is that due to a hearer and scholar of the first witnesses (ii. 8).

"What of the New Testament historical books? In John xxi. 24, the Church or its representative gives authority to the fourth Gospel; and in 1 John i. ff., John himself does the same, if we may regard the first epistle as an accompanying document. . . . The other Gospels do not expressly claim special authority, but self-evidently Mark's description of the contents as 'gospel' corresponds to the mind of all three; they are at any rate conscious—which Luke emphasizes, i. 1 ff.—of giving a faithful picture of the life and teachings of Jesus, and in so far of preaching the 'Word of God' as to substance. Further, if any ordinary author is inspired by the subject he describes, it is self-evident, and the impression of the writings confirms, that this Jesus they describe fills their heart and head, and guides their pen. Many of the epistles refer to and so confirm the teaching of the Gospels."

8. The New Testament Statements about Inspiration. We have already seen how the Apostles are conscious of having the Spirit of God and of being God's messengers as the Old Testament prophets were. Two questions then arise, (1) as to the source of their teaching, (2) as to the relation of the Divine and human factors in it.

(1) As to the Divine-human source, we must distinguish between what was peculiar to the Apostles and that which they had in common with other Christians, only in a higher degree. Their distinctive character consisted in their position as the elect witnesses of revelation, their personal intimacy with Christ, and their commission to be His witnesses to the world. All this they shared with no one else. Such a commission implies corresponding qualifications. After referring to the claims made to revelations, charisms, and illumination, and the relation of these to the gifts of ordinary Christians, Dr. Kübel continues, "It never occurs to any of the Apostles to put what they say or write in virtue of their Apostolic commission on a level with that which other Christians know through the Spirit, or to submit themselves and their teaching to the judgment of the Churches; the 'prove all things' certainly is not meant in this sense. Nay, the Apostles know that the illumination of Christians is due to their word (Eph. iii. 9). The Apostles stand before the Churches with the consciousness of pneumatic superiority, of being the depositaries of that Word of God to which the Churches must submit." "The Apostles differ from other Christian teachers, not in the special way in which revelation comes to them, and the Spirit lives and works in them; but the specific and

peculiar element in them is the endowment of the Spirit by which all the elements meet in them, which make men Christ's official representatives to the whole world."

(2) The Relation of the Divine Spirit to the Human Activity. The Spirit is represented as distinct from the spirit of the man. "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us." The Spirit speaks to, in, through them. And yet as the teaching is inward, the Spirit is viewed as a gift or power dwelling in the man. The man possesses the Spirit, and the Spirit possesses the man. We read of "speaking in the Spirit" (1 Cor. xii. 8), "speaking through the Spirit" (Acts xi. 28). In 2 Peter i. 9 the prophets speak, and yet are borne along by the Spirit. If "spirits of the prophets," which are "subject to the prophets," mean those of the inspired persons, as seems natural, this implies a command of the Spirit by the inspired. "But if a living, nay, organic unity of the Spirit of God with man's is to be admitted, other passages show that the inspired can and must distinguish that which he knows and says of himself from that which he possesses only as received. His moral and religious consciousness is never identical with the Spirit of God in him."

(3) The inspiration of persons leads on to the inspiration of their word. "The word, which is the product of the relation between God's Spirit and man's spirit, is self-evidently a product of the Spirit, has in it the Spirit and His power; and so the words themselves are inspired (cf. Matt. x. 20; 2 Cor. xiii. 8)" &c. "It is clear as sunlight that, as matter of fact for the Apostles and for us, the Divine Word of the Old Testament revelation—and for us just as much that of New Testament revelation—is found, as a whole, nowhere but in Holy Scripture. Certain as it is that in the times of the Old and New Testament revelation itself the oral was co-ordinate with the written word, it is equally certain that for us of later days it is pure folly to put any professed revelation on the same level as the 'inspired Scripture.' In so far the latter is absolutely specific and unique."

(4) "As the Word of God is of pneumatic origin and character, so pneumatic efficacy belongs to it. Christ Himself represents this effect as that of seed (Matt. xiii. 8; 1 Peter i. 1, 18). Paul describes it as a power of God unto righteousness (Rom. i. 16), as a demonstration of spirit and power (1 Cor. ii. 4). This Scripture attests itself in the conscience of men (2 Cor. iv. 2; cf. Matt. vii. 28; Acts ii. 37, v. 38, vii. 54, &c.). The result in those who let the Word work on them is being born of the Spirit by the power of the Gospel (1 Cor. iv. 15; 1 Peter i. 23). But in non-believers the effect of the Word is a judgment unto death (2 Cor. ii. 16). If finally we ask whether and how far the New Testament authors ascribe truth to the spoken and written word, the question is not settled by passages like John xiv. 17, xv. 26, &c., because Pilate's question comes up. . . . Even the Pauline sayings of the 'word of truth' (2 Cor. vi. 7; Ephes. i. 18, &c.), 'pillar and ground of the truth' (1 Tim. iii. 15 f.), even if this latter saying be referred to the doctrinal summary in ver. 16, do not yield the idea of inerrancy, which the orthodox doctrine assigns to every word of Scripture; but they certainly not merely ascribe to the word of the Apostles the so-called religious truth, i.e., the power of awakening certain religious feelings and moral emotions, which every one then interprets as he will, but they also claim for the teaching authoritative force, at least perfect trustworthiness."

CURRENT DUTCH THOUGHT.

MOLOCH-WORSHIP AMONG THE ISRAELITES. By Dr. H. J. ELHORST (*Bibliothek van moderne Theologie en Letterkunde*, 18^{de} dl. 2^{de} st.).—During the Assyrian period many Israelites sacrificed their children to Moloch. With regard to this Moloch-worship, Dr. B. D. Eerdmans advances two propositions:¹ (1) The Moloch to whom the Israelites in the Assyrian period sacrificed their children was Jahwe himself; and (2) This Moloch-worship by the Israelites of the Assyrian period is least of all to be ascribed to influence from without. These propositions are not new; they are the same theses that Oort defended in 1865, and against which both Kuenen and Von Baudissin raised difficulties. Have these difficulties been removed by Dr. Eerdmans? We shall see.

In the first place, Eerdmans endeavours to prove that in the Assyrian period Jahwe was worshipped with sacrifices of children. In support of this he cites the following indications of it: 1. Deuteronomy xii. 31. Oort also founded upon this passage; but Kuenen denied its force as evidence, and Eerdmans leaves the objection of Kuenen unanswered. 2. It is not stated in the Old Testament to whom Ahaz offered his son; but, having regard to what is contained in 2 Kings xvi. 2, and in Hosea xiii. 1, 2, Eerdmans thinks it probable that the offering was made to Jahwe. It is possible, but is it proved? 3. Micah vi. might be of service; but this place refers merely to Israelites who *thought* that they could serve Jahwe with sacrifices of children. They might arrive at this idea if there were Israelites who offered their children to Jahwe; but they might also reach it if other nations served their gods with such offerings, or if another god besides Jahwe were worshipped by some Israelites, to whom they brought offerings of children. The question might then arise whether Jahwe might perhaps likewise wish to be worshipped with such offerings. 4. Lastly, Ezekiel xx. 25. According to Oort, it would follow from this passage that Ezekiel knew a law in which the offering of children to Jahwe was commanded. Kuenen combated Oort's opinion; Eerdmans repeats it. Is that enough? Thus far we must deny that Dr. Eerdmans has made good his assertion that in the Assyrian period children were sacrificed to Jahwe.

But Eerdmans further refers to passages in which mention is made of Moloch-worship, and from which it might at the same time appear that Moloch-worship was Jahwe-worship. The first passage is Leviticus xviii. 20, where we read: "Thou shalt not let any of thy seed pass through the fire to Moloch, neither shalt thou profane the name of thy God: I am the Lord." Much the same thing is said in chapter xx.; and on the ground of these two passages we must, according to Eerdmans, look upon Moloch-worship as something that had the closest possible connection with the worship of Jahwe, that, in fact, it formed a constituent part of it. The same conclusion is reached from Ezekiel xx. 8, 9, where the prophet complains of the idolatry of the Israelites. From Jeremiah, Eerdmans finds nothing that leads to the identification of Jahwe and Moloch, but from Zephaniah i. 5, he learns of men who swore both by Jahwe and by Moloch. Does it follow from this that they looked upon Moloch-worship as a constituent part of Jahwe-worship? It is possible that they did so; but it is not to be thought that the prophet has spoken wrongly, although Moloch was distinguished by every one from Jahwe. From Ezekiel we learn that the sacrificers of children among the Israelites worshipped Jahwe; but Ezekiel does not say that their sacrifices were intended for Jahwe. In fact, he

¹ In his *Melckdienst en Vereering van Hemellichamen in Israëls Assyrische Periode*, 1891.

expressly explains that these offerings were brought to idols. It is thus possible that the offering of children, although made to Jahwe, was named idolatry by Ezekiel. It would not be at all strange that the Jahwe of the prophets called the Jahwe of the offerers of children an idol. Indeed, having regard to the fact that the offerers of children on the same day on which they offered them came into the temple, we might regard it as probable that a connection existed between sacrifices of children and the worship of Jahwe, but it is not certain. To sum up: Dr. Eerdmans has not shown from the Old Testament that Moloch-worship was Jahwe-worship; he has not even proved that in the Assyrian period Jahwe was worshipped with offerings of children at all.

Still, there is support to be found in the Old Testament for the idea that Jahwe was worshipped, as Moloch, with offerings of children. When Jahwe says, in Jeremiah, that he did not command the offering of children to Moloch in Tophet, it follows that there were those who thought that Jahwe had so commanded. We are thus warranted in saying that among the Israelitish offerers of children there were, at any rate, some who identified Jahwe with Moloch. On the basis of Deuteronomy xii. 31, we might go further and say that the Deuteronomist combats the Israelitish offerers of children, who were guilty of the most scandalous practice of the Canaanites. For although he calls it a Canaanitish practice, we may infer from the words, "Thou shalt not do so unto the Lord thy God," that he knew Israelites who offered their children to Jahwe. Yea, we might even infer from this passage that the Israelites of the Assyrian period *regularly* offered their children to Jahwe. If the Deuteronomist had known Israelites who offered their children to other gods, he would, without doubt, have caused Moses to say: "Take care that you do not follow the Canaanites in the service of their gods, for they offer their children to them." That he merely allows Moses to say, "Thou shalt not do so unto the Lord," can be accounted for only if he simply knew Israelites who offered children to Jahwe. We have thus shown that the offering of children brought to Moloch by the Israelites of the Assyrian period was intended for Jahwe.

These offerers of children had many opponents, who boldly asserted that they offered their children to idols. We now know, however, that the offerers themselves asserted that their offerings were intended for Jahwe. Yet it is possible that their opponents were in the right. It is possible enough that a different god from Jahwe, namely Moloch, was identified by many Israelites in the Assyrian period with Jahwe. It is also possible that the offering of children was a strange custom introduced into the Jahwe-worship in that period. There are many, including Kuenen, who hold that Moloch was a distinct god from Jahwe. Who he actually was may be explained by the *מֶלֶךְ הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ*. He must be the king of heaven—the sun; but he is the sun in his destructive aspects. This notion is not directly controverted by Eerdmans, but he furnishes weapons with which it might be combated. That Moloch is the sun in his destructive aspects is difficult to maintain. There is nothing in the Old Testament to support it, and otherwise we find no mention of a god named M-l-ch among the nations who surrounded Israel. But what right have we to assert that Moloch was the sun-god? Did the sun-god alone, among the Israelites, bear the title of king? It appears to be very questionable if we can look upon Melkat, Chemosh, and Ammi as sun-gods. They are more lords of nature than natural forces. They are, further, the kings of their people, from whom their subjects have everything to expect, just as they have also everything to fear. And it has been clearly shown by Van Baudissin and Eerdmans that these gods were not merely destructive.

If then Kuenen's idea must be set aside, the question arises whether the Israelites may not have adopted from elsewhere a god Moloch whom they at once identified with Jahwe. We know at least that the Israelites in the Assyrian period were very susceptible to foreign influences. First of all we ask, Did the Israelites obtain their Moloch-worship perchance from the Assyrians? This question has been fully dealt with by Eerdmans, who conclusively sets it aside. Passing over the possibility of its Egyptian origin, there remains the probability that the Israelites borrowed their Moloch from a neighbour. Among Israel's neighbours the name M-l-ch, as we have seen, does not occur as the proper name of a god; but it occurs as an epithet of a god among all the surrounding nations. Chemoah is called Moloch, and so is Ammi. It is natural that these gods should have been commonly spoken of by their worshippers as the Moloch, but it is not in the least likely that the Israelites worshipped any of them under that name. Kuenen and Eerdmans are right in concluding that Milcom, Chemoah, and Moloch are different gods, and we are thus warranted in explaining that Moloch was a strange god identified by many with Jahwe.

This much being admitted, it might still be asked, Did the sacrificing of children belong originally to the Jahwe-worship or to the Moloch-worship, or did it belong to both? We have no reports as to the worship of Ammi, and the Old Testament is silent as to the offerings of children brought to the Tyrian Baal, to Melkat. But we know from other sources that the Phœnicians and the Carthaginians offered children to the Tyrian Baal. They did it only, however, in the greatest need. Once driven to despair, Mesha, king of Moab, offered his own son. We see that at least occasionally Israel's neighbours offered children to their gods. May not the Israelites, following the example of neighbouring nations, have offered children to Jahwe? Eerdmans denies this; but his arguments are not satisfactory, and the question falls to be answered in the affirmative.

Eerdmans has failed to show that the offering of children among the Israelites in the Assyrian period was a purely Israelitish practice. Before Ahaz we hear nothing whatever about the offering of children, for nothing is to be learned from the story of Abraham and Isaac. The story is certainly old, but it is probably mythical; and so, in like manner, may be the story of Jephthah, who offered his daughter. The sacrifice of children by the Israelites in the Assyrian period is something new that must be ascribed to foreign influences. Jahwe, however, was specially named Moloch when those offerings were brought to him. And that is easily understood. Jahwe was called Moloch as king of his people. The offering was brought to him in troublous times, when the people were attacked by foreign nations. Men then turned to him in his capacity as king of his people. Then brought to him the dearest that they had, in order that he might deliver them. The offering of children was, therefore, in the first instance brought by princes. The king of Moab, and Ahaz, and Manasseh are specially named. They follow the well-to-do classes. Everything tends to show that the offering was not brought in the personal interest of any individual. It was an offering for the people to the people's god. It was thus, above all, a princely worship. It was chiefly exercised by princes and people of position, and in Judah it was instituted by a prince—by Ahaz.

It is possible that the Israelitish sacrifices of children in the Assyrian period may have been a survival, but it is not in the least likely. This kind of offering belongs peculiarly to those forms of worship in which the gods lack proper names, where there are only *baalim* and *melakim*, and where people as yet only know local gods, tribal gods, and national gods. To these gods were brought human sacrifices, among

which were those of children. Before these gods men mutilated themselves. Such gods have the Israelites and their kindred worshipped. But afterwards they learned to know another kind of gods, to which Jahwe and Chemosh and Ammi belong. They were sometimes identified with the old *baalim*; in particular Jahwe was identified with the national god, the king of his people. Chemosh became the Moloch of Moab, and Ammi the Moloch of Ammon. Two things might now happen: the offering of children, which was foreign to the service of Jahwe, might remain, or it might become supplanted. The latter is what happened in Israel. Among the other nations, on the contrary, it remained, although it decreased. In times of distress the sacrifice of children to the old national Moloch revived, and it was offered to the new Moloch—to Chemosh, or whatever he might be called. In Israel it died out. True, Jahwe was also in Israel called the Moloch. He was also the national god. Jahwe obtained many of the attributes of the old Moloch, and many a custom entered into the Jahwe-worship from the old Moloch-worship; but the sacrifice of children must have come in in a roundabout way. And then it was rightly objected to in the name of Jahwe as worship of idols. This is a somewhat different result from that to which Eerdmans has come, but it is a hypothesis which explains much that is otherwise obscure.

PAUL'S PHILIPPIC AGAINST THE CHURCH OF CORINTH. By Dr. J. CRAMER.—Under the title of *Nieuwe Bijdragen op het gebied van Godgeleerdheid en Wijsbegeerte*, Professors Cramer and Lamers, of Utrecht, have for some years published an occasional periodical, the contents of which are wholly written by themselves. The part last issued (8^e dl. 4^e st., 1893) is devoted to the fourth of Dr. Cramer's exegetical and critical studies on the New Testament. The purpose which the author of these studies has in view is to offer a new contribution in answer to the question whether the Epistles to the Romans, the Corinthians, and the Galatians that stand in the name of Paul are really the work of that Apostle. In the present paper he confines himself to the last four chapters of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, of which he gives a revised text and translation, with an introduction, a critical commentary, and discussions on the personal character of the Epistle and its relation to the Epistle to the Galatians.

There are many critics, Dr. Cramer observes, who, since Hausrath wrote his *Vier-Capitel-Brief an die Korinther* (1870), have come to the conclusion that 2 Cor. x.-xiii. (with or without the last part—xiii. 11-18) did not originally form an integral part of the Epistle. Not only is it impossible to find the slightest connection between ix. 15 and x. 1, but so great is the difference, both in tone and contents, between the first nine and the last four chapters that it is impossible to regard them as constituent parts of one Epistle. This is also Dr. Cramer's own view. While Paul, in chapters i.-ix., declares his joy that the Corinthian Church had listened to his rebuke and returned to God, and had received again in love the Apostle whom it had reviled, it appears from chapters x.-xiii. that the affair between him and the Church is not yet settled. Although it is principally specific opponents that Paul has in view, he nevertheless speaks of the Church itself as not yet standing in good relations to him, still less to the truth and to God. He finds himself compelled to boast of his own work, to defend himself, to maintain his Apostolic authority against presumptuousness and coarseness, misapprehension and calumny. His tone is excited and passionate. Now he entreats, then mocks, then threatens. All this takes for granted a state of affairs in the Church wholly different from that of the first half of the Epistle. Evidently chapters i.-ix. were written later, when Paul had learned from Titus of the good impression which his letter had made. And we will not be far from

the truth if we regard this as the Epistle written "with many tears," which had made the Church sorry for a season, but with a sorrow to repentance. But whether or not the last four chapters are disjoined from the previous nine, they form, by common consent, a whole, and are therefore very well adapted for separate treatment.

Dr. Cramer, however, has a special reason for subjecting these particular chapters to a new exegetical inquiry. More than has hitherto been the case, he wishes to fix the attention of specialists upon the great importance of what may be called psychological exegesis. By that is of course not meant an exegesis opposed to the historico-critical, or even taking an independent place alongside it, but an exegesis which with the application of the historico-critical method takes into account psychology, and thus, while explaining the words of the writer, endeavours to think with him and to read into his mind. On the other hand, such criticism knows how to throw light upon the words of a writer from what it has learned to know of himself. At the present time such exegesis is of the highest importance. It is well to know whether one has to deal with fiction or with historical truth. To know this becomes more and more difficult. At one time there was a standard to go by in the four chief Epistles left to Paul by Tübingen. But even this standard has been removed. Everything that concerns historical Christianity is involved in mist. Imagination has free play. Should that really be the case? Should it be a hopeless task for criticism to separate truth and fiction from each other as far as the origin of Christianity is concerned? Should men simply have to throw themselves into the arms of mysticism and leave feeling to recover what reason has abandoned? Nay, verily, things have not gone so far as that yet. But where historical criticism is concerned we ought not to sit with folded hands in the expectation of better days. Although it should be more and more difficult to distinguish between Apostolic and post-Apostolic, genuine and spurious, trustworthy and untrustworthy tradition, truth and fiction, it is not on that account impossible. It is here that psychological exegesis is capable of rendering excellent service. Even fiction has its laws. Even in that sphere there is no caprice. There are cases in which we must say, "Men never forged so; that must be truth." And such a case we have in 2 Cor. x.-xiii., which may be entitled the Philippic of Paul against the Church of Corinth.

In treating of the personal character of these chapters, Dr. Cramer goes upon the supposition that, with the exception of a few interpolations, he has to deal with a document complete in itself. Not only are beginning and end related to each other in the closest possible manner, but all that lies between has reference to the same circumstances and the same conditions. It is one tone that is heard on every page; one style displays itself all over; one thought is everywhere expressed; one end is sought after, although by different means; one person shows himself at every turn. This individuality is worthy of special notice. There is no second portion of the four chief Epistles that bears such a personal character. No doubt Paul elsewhere speaks of himself, sometimes at considerable length, sometimes quite in the same tone; but nowhere so continuously, so free from the admixture of dogmatical views or moral exhortations. Here from beginning to end it is the person of Paul that stands in the foreground. What he has been to the Church; what he has done for the kingdom of Christ; what his opponents have to expect from him; what he thinks; what he feels; what he wills; what his purpose is regarding that which, according to the Epistle, wholly occupies himself and the Church—all that is not a part, but the entire contents of the document.

We cannot altogether understand the conditions under which this Philippic

came to be sent. For this the reports furnished to us are too brief. We find more allusions than plain indications. The Church addressed must have comprehended the Epistle best. For us who cannot see behind the scenes it must remain enigmatical. Still there is much that is clear enough to enable us to read into the mind of the writer. In what relation, we may ask, did he stand to the Church to which he directed his Epistle? That the Corinthian Church is intended is in the highest degree probable, both from what the writer says of the neighbouring lands of Macedonia and Achaia, and from the similarity of the conditions as these are described in 1 Cor. and 2 Cor. i.-ix.; and further by the incorporation of this writing by the ancient Church in this particular Epistle. The writer (who, of course, is Paul) had founded the Church; his interest in it was great; even in his absence he thought of it, and wrote letter after letter to it, teaching, exhorting, and comforting its members. He had himself recently revisited the Church, and on that occasion something had occurred of a highly unpleasant nature. The Apostle does not tell what it was in so many words; but that it made a deep impression upon him, and deeply grieved him, appears from the letter. The whole Church must have been concerned in it, but more especially some men whom Paul ranks among his bitterest enemies. He calls them false apostles, who called themselves servants of Christ, but who rather deserved to be called servants of Satan.

These were probably in some way connected with the Galatian Judaists, who brought into the Church another Jesus, another Spirit, another Gospel, and were busy undermining the influence of the Apostle. And in this they had succeeded. The Church had not only tolerated their teaching and work, but had come so far under their influence and power as to allow itself to be duped by them, and to suffer at their hands the greatest abuses. This sinister influence was obtained in various ways; but it was chiefly Paul's weakness that was made use of to injure him in the eyes of the Church. Paul returns to this point again and again; but wherein his weakness consisted he does not say. To the Corinthians it was unnecessary to explain it: they knew it quite well already; but to us it is a matter of surmise and guessing. Most likely epileptic strokes made him look like one smitten of God, exposed him to contempt and insult, and crippled both his physical and moral power. Paul keeps this weakness of body and mind in view in his letter. He strains every nerve to wipe out the impression that his former fruitless visit to Corinth had made, and to pave the way for a new visit. He does not spare the Church, but brings under review its unthankfulness, its folly, its frivolity, and its sin against God. He paints his opponents in their true colours; and yet it is possible for such men to be preferred above one like Paul, who had brought the Corinthians to Christ, who had always shown the greatest attachment to them, and had not scrupled to risk health and strength and life for their good. He was not a man of great words, and his speech was by no means eloquent; but does wisdom consist in these? On the other hand, if anything was to be gained by boasting, Paul too could boast. And as regards zeal, what had he not suffered, what did he not suffer daily in the service of Him who sent him? He had been paralyzed in body and mind, making it appear that he was a weakling. The recollection was painful, but he would not have it otherwise. Better such a weakness, than a strength like that of the Judaists. Better a thorn in the flesh after such glorious revelations, than a laurel crown plaited by fickle popular favour. As he thought carefully over it he felt as if he ought to boast in these very weaknesses, because they kept him humble, they strengthened his faith, they caused him to put all his trust in Christ his Lord; and so his strength corresponded to his weakness.

After a critical study of these chapters, Dr. Cramer asks, How can any one

deny the originality of so personal a letter, and imagine that some one had written it in the name of a certain Paul who had some time before died as one of Jesus' Apostles? It is conceivable that a post-Apostolic person might issue a writing in the name of an Apostle for the purpose of combating a dangerous heresy or of developing and recommending cherished ideas. But that any one could write such a letter as 2 Cor. x.-xiii. without having personally lived through what he writes, that may be held to be a psychological impossibility. We may rest satisfied that in these chapters we have a sketch of the writer's own life before us. Men do not write thus unless they have experienced what they write. Every idea of fiction is excluded. Here we have not to deal with some one "who wished to give an example of Pauline apologetics against the Judaists," but with Paul himself, who expressed what was actually in his mind. The Epistle to the Galatians, and other epistles of the great Apostle to the Gentiles, afford proof of this.

Is there, then, such a relationship between Galatians and 2 Cor. x.-xiii. as to compel us to think of one author? Völter has denied this. While he holds Paul to be the author of 2 Cor. x.-xiii., he sees in the writer of Galatians some one of a later time, who had taken up a much more decided position as regards the law. Dr. Cramer, on the contrary, thinks that, having regard to one thing and another, we cannot doubt that the writer of 2 Cor. x.-xiii. is also the writer of Galatians. That being so, it is also historically certain that this writer is Paul, the called of Christ to be the Apostle to the Gentiles, the contemporary of James, brother of the Lord, and of John and Peter, two of the Twelve.

CURRENT SCANDINAVIAN THOUGHT.

TIMOTHY. By PASTOR CARL KOCH (*Dansk Kirketidende*, 1898, Nos. 4 and 8).—The two epistles from Paul to Timothy form a group of writings with sharply-defined and individual features, distinct from all others—not merely from those of the same period, but even from those that were written by the same man. What are the peculiar features that distinguish these two short writings, and what is it that the reading of them specially teaches?

For one thing, we may obtain from them an impression of him to whom they were written, of Timothy himself. Paul had at that time entrusted to this, his dearest, disciple a difficult and important task in the city of Ephesus, where there was a large Christian community. He was to be neither bishop nor priest, which in those days certainly meant the same thing, but he was to be the Apostle's deputy and substitute in the community. He was not to attach himself permanently to this circle, but was to settle there provisionally, ordain priests and other office-bearers in the Church, guide it in its by no means easy relations, and act in general as the Church's ruler. This position called for much real spiritual authority. But Timothy had no commission from State or other institution; with him everything depended upon inward personal worth; and the fact that he was sent as Paul's substitute could easily be turned to his disadvantage and give occasion for comparisons, the result of which could not be doubtful. It may have been something of this sort that Paul had in mind when he wrote, "Let no man despise thy youth." He may

have foreseen or heard that not a few in the Church shook their heads at the young man who had come as their ruler, and thought that things were quite different in Paul's days.

The Church in Ephesus occupied a prominent position. The town was one of the great centres of trade and culture—one of the points where the East and West had for centuries met and interchanged articles of commerce, objects of art, ideas and religions. Here every spring thousands met from all parts of Asia Minor and Greece to hold the feast of the great goddess whose magnificent temple stood in a plain outside the town. Here dwelt the Roman proconsul, who governed the Province of Asia—that is, the western part of Asia Minor; and here was to be found, more than anywhere else, that luxury which was one of the outstanding characteristics of the times.

Here Timothy was to labour; but in all probability his activity was to extend over the whole district of which Ephesus was the capital, namely, the Province of Asia, where Paul and his companions had founded a number of Churches. The centre of gravity in the Christian community was just in these very years about to be transferred from Jerusalem to Ephesus. This circle of Churches was on the point of assuming the position of the capital of Christendom, which it was to retain for about a century and a half. At the same time, an erroneous doctrine of a peculiar kind had crept into these Churches, so that Timothy had not only to fight against heathenism, but also against this mixture of heathenism, Judaism, and Christianity. The position which he occupied was thus one of the most difficult, if not, indeed, the most difficult, which at that period could have been assigned to him. What qualifications had he for occupying such a place? What were his mental aptitude and character?

In these Epistles there is twice mention of Timothy's youth. The one passage has already been referred to; in the other he is urged to "flee youthful lusts." It is clear that this youthfulness was something that was likely to get him into trouble; that there was something in it that he ought to strive against. There is reason for believing that this youthful lust from which he should flee had special reference to his relations with the heretics, and consisted in a fondness for dispute. It is not every one who has sufficient coolness, superiority, and charity to engage in oral debate with opponents, and it is certainly not always expedient to carry on such debate. It is certain that Timothy in his discussions with opponents did not resemble Stephen, of whom it is said that his opponents could not withstand the wisdom and spirit with which he spoke. It was a craving for continual and untimely discussion in which both he himself and others got into deep water that was Timothy's failing. Instead of taking up an independent position apart from his heterodox neighbours, he again and again entered into conversation with them, and thereby tacitly conceded the relative right of their views. One is warranted in going even further. Timothy was admittedly greatly taken up with the questions raised by the heretics. They had influenced his own mind; and Paul is therefore not content with repeatedly admonishing him against unprofitable dealings with the heretics, but plainly warns him against their views as a danger which threatened himself personally. Timothy's love for disputation may have had its origin in a feeling of uncertainty, which he wished to overcome, or at least to keep under, by subjecting the problems at issue to the test of debate, and in this way fighting his way to certainty. It was this that Paul admonished him against once and again with unusually solemn words: "Evil men and impostors shall wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived. But abide thou in the things which thou hast learned

and hast been assured of." And in another place: "They will turn away their ears from the truth, and turn aside unto fables. But be thou sober in all things."

Timothy's youthfulness did not display itself in violent recklessness. His was rather a reflecting, brooding youthfulness, ever occupied with problems. It is thus not at all unlikely that Timothy was often oppressed by his great task, and that he often longed to possess the dauntlessness of Paul. Everything gives one the impression of a nature more contemplative than active; upon which problems and difficulties lay like a heavy weight that he failed to cast off with resolute effort. That Paul knew this is evident from his repeated allusions to the Christian life as a warfare—the good fight of faith—and his manifest desire to impress upon Timothy the necessity of action as opposed to mere theorizing.

And then Timothy was a man of the second generation. Paul could describe the Christian life as a forgetting of the things that are behind and a reaching forth to those that are before. That was the manner of the first generation; but it is without doubt that in the case of Timothy, and many others of the second generation, it was not so easy to forget the things that were behind—Judaism, paganism, or whatever it may have been. They were tempted to look to the side or behind, and thereby their pace was slackened. That to which the first generation could explicitly say farewell, crept stealthily in upon the second. In some cases it might supplant Christianity altogether; in others, it sought to take up a place alongside of it. This latter was the danger to which Timothy was exposed; and it is clear that the dangers which lay in wait for him as a member of the second generation were not counterbalanced by equally strong points in his nature, but, on the contrary, coincided with its weak points.

But it must be added that all these weaknesses in Timothy's nature were but dark spots on a bright background. Paul, who knew both Timothy and the condition of affairs in Ephesus well, would not have placed him there if he had not felt certain that he was capable of filling the position. Paul had named Timothy in the headings of six of his epistles, and so had written them not only in his own name, but also in his. And he had frequently sent him on difficult errands among the Churches. We may thus be certain that Timothy was no nonentity. But even stronger impressions are obtained from many utterances as to the beautiful qualities of his heart. To the Church of Philippi, Paul could write of him: "I have no man likeminded, who will care truly for your state. For they all seek their own, not the things of Jesus Christ. But ye know the proof of him, that as a child serveth a father, so he served with me in furtherance of the Gospel." He calls him constantly "my son," "my own son," "my beloved son"; and when he sends him his last epistle from his prison in Rome, in which he asks him to come as soon as possible, he describes himself as longing to to see him, remembering his tears, when he might be filled with joy. Timothy was of a lovable, contemplative, somewhat sombre nature, with much capacity for faithful devotion, and with a tendency to moodiness. His good qualities and his failings answer to each other as the dark and bright sides of one and the same nature. But he had a sincere faith in the Lord, who can purify human hearts, and establish them in every good work.

Timothy appears to have been just at that stage when a man looks about for aids to his faith. The feeling that his faith was small must have troubled him a good deal, and so he began to cast about for means that might be employed in the Christian life by the side of faith and as an aid to it. The means he found and began to use was asceticism. There can scarcely be any doubt that in this respect he was influenced by the false teachers already referred to. He did not apprehend what lay behind

and was the fundamental thought of the asceticism of these teachers ; he had merely an impression of asceticism itself, and this weighed with him. It very likely happened to him as to many other Christians who, when they see asceticism practised, are apt to be seized with the thought that it is a high and strictly Christian ideal, compared with which the life of faith in its more usual forms is on a somewhat lower level, and that if the two could be combined, then one's own Christian life, as well as Christian life as a whole, would receive a hitherto undreamt of impetus.

This much is at any rate certain, that Timothy was on the point of becoming an ascetic. This may be seen from several utterances in the first Epistle. For instance, in chap. iv. 7 Paul says, "Exercise thyself unto godliness: for bodily exercise is profitable for a little; but godliness is profitable for all things." The bodily exercise here spoken of is evidently the same as what is elsewhere called the mortifying of the flesh, and it is clear from the whole context that this was an important point with Timothy. What particular direction this exercise took cannot now be ascertained, but light is thrown on one form of it by chap. v. 28, where it is said, "Be no longer a drinker of water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities." This was, at least, one of the ways in which the bodily exercise showed itself: wine was a thing which Timothy denied himself. And this was the more remarkable because in those southern countries wine was a daily drink. It is plain from these two utterances that Paul was not favourably impressed with Timothy's asceticism, but sought to treat it as a secondary matter and even to dissuade him from it. To understand the matter aright, however, the position taken up by Paul on the whole question of asceticism should not be lost sight of. In 1 Cor. ix. 27 he says of himself, "I buffet my body and bring it into bondage: lest by any means, after that I have preached to others, I myself should be rejected." This is asceticism of a kind; but in spite of external resemblances, there was a very material difference between the asceticism of Paul and that of Timothy. What Paul meant to say was that he treated his body as a slave. But a sensible master would never seek to weaken the health and strength of his slaves, but would rather endeavour to increase them; while it would be at the same time his desire that they should be absolutely willing and obedient. And so when Paul says that he buffets his body, his meaning is not that he seeks to weaken it by all possible means, but that he wishes to make his body a powerful and willing instrument of his mind. Here the fundamental principle was clear: the body shall be the mind's strong and willing slave; and it is impossible to imagine a sounder asceticism than that which is indicated in the words, "I bring my body into bondage," or more literally, "I treat my body as a slave."

Therefore, although Paul discountenanced Timothy's asceticism, he was guilty of no contradiction, for the asceticism of the two men was fundamentally different, and in the case of Timothy it was a mere trifle when contrasted with godliness. Paul would not have dissuaded him from it if he had not discerned that its leading motive was erroneous, dangerous, and injurious. It was not asceticism in and for itself that Paul found fault with, but Timothy's conception of it. He could himself contemplate circumstances in which he would feel it to be his duty to abstain from the use of wine—to become what is now called a total abstainer. It all depends upon the reason why. If it is intended to set this or that thing by the side of and on a level with the one thing needful, this is a sure sign that there exists a weakness in a place of vital importance which reveals a diseased spot in the life of the soul.

THE BOOK CRITIC.

CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY AND MODERN THEORIES. By Rev. JOHN EVANS, B.A. London: Elliot Stock, 1892.

THE purpose of this volume is to show that the essential truths of Christianity, as presented in the New Testament, not as given in Creeds, are in harmony with the legitimate conclusions of human reason. The author claims to show that the theories of modern times, professedly based on the results of the investigations of science and higher criticism, are largely founded on misconception of Christian truths, and of the constitution of nature, and that some of them, if carried out to their full logical consequences, will result in atheism or pantheism. On this latter position we will say at once, in passing, that no theories of the infinite and transcendental will bear carrying out to their full logical consequences. We have as yet no calculus that enables us to deal with these matters on the lines of mathematical science.

The volume consists of an introduction, and ten lectures on the leading Christian doctrines, viz., Miracles, the Fall, the Incarnation, Redemption, Atonement, Justification, Faith, Regeneration and Sanctification, Prayer, the Future Life. These subjects are dealt with on a broad evangelical basis, and "priestism, Calvinism, and other harsh systems" are repudiated. Thus in dealing with miracles the author regards the miraculous not as a violation of the laws of nature, but as instances of the intervention of higher laws not usually met with in our experience; the narratives of the sun standing still, of the miracles in Daniel and Jonah, he regards as "strong metaphors" or parables. He does not apparently propose to apply this idea to any of the miracles of the New Testament. The actual histories of the Creation and Fall are allegories, but the original fall of man, in the sense that very early in his life a moral catastrophe befell him, is to be conceded as a historical fact. It is, however, a little difficult to see clearly how much according to our author is allegory, and how much fact. In the last chapter on the Future Life there is a useful essay on the *a priori* argument for the doctrine. As to the duration of future punishment, the author considers that the data are not sufficient to lead to any approximately certain conclusion. In the other chapters we have an original if somewhat desultory restatement of the grounds for a moderate evangelical position, in the course of which the results of wide and varied reading are laid under contribution. The book is well got-up, and clearly printed, but the well-intentioned attempts at Greek accents and breathings have resulted in complete "pie." The author is evidently in considerable sympathy with modern criticism, and makes free use of its results: the stress he lays on the necessity of treating the Bible as a collection of Oriental literature will be specially helpful. But some of the statements about New Testament books, especially the Johannine writings, are more definite than the present state of criticism warrants. The Pastoral Epistles should scarcely be used without reference to the doubts as to their authenticity felt by a strong if not dominant school of critics. Nor is it now true to say that "many, perhaps most, maintain that the order of the Gospels in our canon is also the order of the time of composition." Those who have enjoyed and appreciated the author's former work, *Jacob Herbert*, will welcome this readable and temperate argument for a moderate type of the older evangelicalism, and his full sympathy with older forms of thought will render palatable to his conservative readers the concessions to modern ideas which Mr. Evans advocates.

W. H. BENNETT, M.A.

CHILDREN OF GOD. By EDWARD A. STUART. Sampson, Low, Maraden & Co., 1893.

THIS volume of sermons by the popular vicar of St. James's, Holloway, is one of the *Preachers of the Age* series. We confess that we opened it with feelings of considerable expectation, but we are bound to add that we closed it with disappointment. Many of the sermons are sketchy, and some are fanciful. It is obviously impossible in the course of a short and single sermon, to treat with any satisfaction such subjects as "The Seven Gethsemane Commands," "The Sevenfold Easter Commands," or "The Seven Easter Promises of Jesus Christ." The style, also, is egotistical; and the writer is too fond of introducing Greek words.

We believe we are correct in saying that Mr. Stuart is a leading member of the Evangelical school; but we are glad to notice that the sermons before us show traces of a very distinct advance on the narrow theology of the older Evangelicals. On such deep questions as the Atonement and the Fall of Man the writer speaks in terms of fitting humility: he does not attempt to soar into the secrets of the Deity on the waxen wings of the understanding. "What, then," he says, on page 102, "is the doctrine of the Atonement? Here it is, my brethren, that I feel we must speak with the deepest reverence, and with the consciousness of our own ignorance. We can trace the results of that Atonement; we insist upon the necessity of it; but when we try to explain the *rationale* of it, we feel there are deeper depths than any finite understanding can possibly fathom." It is in this spirit that such questions should always be approached. With regard to the Fall, Mr. Stuart warns his hearers against the use of extravagant language in reference to the depravity of man, lest such language should lead them into error. He even admits, though in a qualified sense, the great doctrine of the universal Fatherhood of God. By ignoring this truth, he tells his hearers, "we have suffered loss for our own spiritual life; for the doctrine is the antidote to that selfishness of which we Evangelicals have to beware."

It is needless to say that Mr. Stuart has no sympathy with the results of modern criticism. He believes that the order of books in the English Canon was originally arranged "under the distinct guiding of God the Holy Ghost." The Song of Solomon he regards as "the climax" of the Old Testament—"all that precedes leads up to it, all that follows flows from it." The Book of Ecclesiastes is spoken of as the work of Solomon. In the New Testament, again, "the unity of plan" (which is the writer's theme) is seen in the order of books as arranged in our English Bibles. "Having learnt in the lecture-room of the Romans the first principles of our faith, we descend in Corinthians and Galatians into the arena of conflict and of strife. . . . And lastly in the Thessalonians we are told to wait for His Son from heaven": until, in due course, we arrive at the Revelation of St. John, which we are told is "the climax of the whole"! After these examples of Biblical interpretation, it is superfluous to add that the writer is very scornful of the "higher criticism," and is "not at all afraid of the charge of intellectual imbecility."

That the writer is deeply in earnest is evident on every page, and there are many passages that we have read with much interest. But we cannot agree with such a sentiment as this, on page 35: "Never, never can we dwell too much upon the sufferings of our adorable Redeemer." Neither does the following story indicate a healthy state of mind: "When a dear cousin was going forth to the mission-field, one of his Bible-class children was heard saying to another how hard it would be to go, and leave friends and mother and home. 'Oh,' said the other, 'I don't think it will be so very hard; for Jesus, you know, will be with him.'" If it was not hard to leave mother and home, it ought to have been. The following passage, again, may,

we suppose, be agreeable to some people's thoughts of heaven, but we must confess we are totally unable to understand the feeling: "Yes, though there be angel and archangel, cherubim and seraphim, you and I will be among the treasures of heaven; for we shall remind our King of His agony and bloody sweat, and how He won us on the field of battle, wet with His own life's blood."

JOHN VAUGHAN.

THE CHRISTIAN VIEW OF GOD AND THE WORLD AS CENTRING IN THE INCARNATION: BEING THE KERR LECTURES FOR 1890-91. By JAMES ORR, D.D., Professor of Church History in the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot.

THIS is a great book on a most important subject. It is the first series of lectures on the Kerr foundation, and it is the first considerable book written by Dr. Orr. Both the lectureship and the lecturer are to be congratulated on such a worthy inauguration. The lectures are worthy to take their place among the best of the Bampton, Baird, Cunningham, and other lectures published in England or in Scotland. Dr. Orr is an admirable lecturer. There is ample knowledge and the clear exposition which rises out of fulness of information. There is a clear and perfect apprehension of the views with which he does not agree, and the absolute fairness which a strong man shows to his opponents. There is a unique power of classification and of comprehensive statement, an example of which may be found in Note G, pp. 476-8, on "Schools of Evolutionists," where, in a couple of pages, Dr. Orr gives as much information as might furnish a treatise. But, in truth, this power of classification is conspicuous through the volume, and forms one of the most valuable elements of the book.

Dr. Orr's plan is admirable in itself, and has been splendidly carried out in detail. He first gives us "the Christian view of the world in general," with a consideration of the preliminary objections from the theology of feeling and from the school of Ritschl. The second lecture deals with the Christian view and its alternatives. The main appeal is to history. History is shown to be a series of alternatives. A Divine Christ or Humanitarianism, a Divine Christ or Agnosticism, a Divine Christ or Pessimism—such is the downward movement; but there is an upward movement from Pessimism to Christ traced by Dr. Orr, a necessary piece of work which is exceedingly well done, and which commands unstinted admiration. Then in the third lecture we have the Theistic postulate of the Christian view. This well-trodden field is again treated by Dr. Orr, and with singular freshness and power. One would think that in this field nothing fresh was to be said; but the massiveness and comprehensiveness of Dr. Orr's treatment, his singular knowledge of the whole field of literature on the question, and his masterly grasp, has given a unique charm to the whole discussion. We call attention to his treatment of the cosmological, the teleological, and the ontological arguments. Next we are to consider the postulate of the Christian view of the world in regard to nature and to man. Here we are called on to note the recognition by Dr. Orr of the contribution which philosophy and science have made to our knowledge of nature and of man. It is no grudging recognition. For man has learned something of himself and of nature throughout the ages, and, as Dr. Orr shows, whatever he has learned through science and philosophy is not inconsistent with what has been revealed to him through Scripture and through Christ. The first postulate of the Christian view is God; the second is man in the image of God; the third is the sin and disorder of the mind—a problem which Christianity does not create, but helps to solve. But the main problem of evil becomes: (1) the problem of moral evil; (2) the problem of natural evil; and (3) the

culmination of both problems in the question of the relation of sin to death. On this dark and solemn subject Dr. Orr has much to say; and he says it with effect. If he does not solve the problem, at least he has made the existence of it less burdensome to mind and heart. This chapter, the fifth, culminates in an important statement of the Biblical doctrine of immortality, in which Dr. Orr rightly distinguishes between the Scriptural and other doctrines of immortality. "The true immortality is through redemption, and embraces the resurrection of the body." In the appendix to this chapter Dr. Orr treats of the Old Testament doctrine of immortality; and this is the only section of the volume with regard to which we do not quite see our way to an agreement with the statement of Dr. Orr. We quite agree with the statement that the Old Testament doctrine of immortality is to be looked for in the idea of man's relation to God, and that it embraces the idea of a resurrection, if it has come to clear consciousness in the Old Testament at all. That is to say, the correlation and the culmination of the Old Testament hope are contained in the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. But the difficulty is, did the Old Testament writers attain to a clear consciousness of this doctrine as their hope? We doubt it; and though we have carefully weighed Dr. Orr's arguments, we are not convinced. But to discuss the question here would lead us too far afield.

The sixth lecture sets forth the central assertion of the Christian view, "The Incarnation of God in Christ"—a chapter which exhibits Dr. Orr's mastery of the most recent results of exegesis, and his command of the resources of the new science of Biblical theology; while in other relations it shows how well he has made himself acquainted with the attempts at dogmatic reconstruction made mainly by German theologians.

The seventh lecture deals with the Incarnation and the Plan of the World, and the eighth with the Incarnation and Redemption from Sin, and the ninth with the Incarnation and Human Destiny. These three chapters, with their various appendices, may be described as an exposition of the Christian philosophy of history, with a criticism of opposing views, and of views which may be described as inadequate.

Looking back over the journey we have taken under the leadership of Dr. Orr, what have we gained? More than we can at once say. We have got this much at any rate, that there is a Christian view of the world—a view large, spacious, comprehensive—and all other views of the world, so far as there is truth in them, fall into their proper places, in relation to, and in subordination to, this view. Under the guidance of Dr. Orr we find that we are free to range among the sciences, philosophies, and religions of the world, and claim the truth in all of them, as truth which rightfully belongs to Christianity. For in the Christian view alone can these partial truths receive their justification. In it alone they cease to be isolated, fragmentary, incomplete, and become part of the organic whole of truth. While we admire the learning, the logical power, the clear exposition, and the grasp of principle manifested in the book, most of all do we admire the sympathetic insight into partial and one-sided systems, and the firm desire to seek, find, and rescue the truth imprisoned in them. In this Dr. Orr has been conspicuously successful. He is not content with negative and destructive criticism. He seeks to put himself in the place of another. He ever asks, What is there in this system, be the system what it may, which has led men to believe it, to rest in it, to fight for it? He is more concerned to find out that than to find out merely what is defective. Firmly persuaded that in Christ he has found the truth, and that Christianity holds the secret of a rational interpretation of God, and man, and the world; firmly

persuaded, also, that there is an affinity between the mind of man and the truth; Dr. Orr has sought to present to the world this vindication of the Christian view of the world. And he has done his work in such a way as to earn the thanks of all thoughtful men.

JAMES IVERACH.

THEOSOPHY, OR PSYCHOLOGICAL RELIGION; THE GIFFORD LECTURES, DELIVERED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW IN 1892. By F. MAX MÜLLER, K.M. London: Longmans, 1898.

WHEN I venture to express some of the thoughts which the reading of this volume has suggested to me, I do so strictly in the spirit of a learner; and the true learner is, of necessity, a close and persistent questioner. I owe to Professor Max Müller a debt of gratitude—which it has always been to me a heartfelt pleasure to acknowledge—for the multitude of questions which he has answered for me, I may say now, during nearly forty years; and I am thankful to have an opportunity of trying to lay bare my inmost mind on some subjects of supreme importance in their bearings on the future course of European thought, and therefore also of European religion.

In his lecture on Alexandrian Christianity, Professor Max Müller expresses his belief that "by vindicating the true historical position of Christianity, and by showing the position which it holds by right among the historical and natural religions of the world, *without reference to or reliance upon any supposed special, exceptional, or so-called miraculous revelation*, I may have fulfilled the real intention of the founder of this lectureship better than I could have done in any other way." (p. 448.)

This historical position of Christianity is, he says, its essential characteristic; and by this he means that it comes in the very fulness of time, and that, so coming, it marks the highest point which, thus far, the great tide of human thought had reached. It does not follow that the point thus reached is the highest which can be reached; nor does it follow necessarily that our conclusions are right as to the value of the results so far attained. Semitic and Hellenic thought met at Alexandria. It was there that "the Jewish religion experienced its last philosophical revival, and that the Christian religion for the first time asserted its youthful strength against the philosophies both of the East and of the West" (p. 399).

But, in spite of all that is said throughout these lectures, I am still constrained to express my ignorance, or, at the least, my complete uncertainty, as to the strict meaning in which Professor Max Müller uses the terms Christianity and Christian religion. The Logos doctrine is, he says, "the foundation of all philosophy," and thus, "unless we have fully grasped it, as it is grasped by some of the greatest Fathers of the Church, we shall never be able to understand the fourth Gospel, we shall never be able to call ourselves true Christians" (p. 521).

Physical religion, we are told, represents "the search after something more than finite or phenomenal in nature," while *Anthropological religion* denotes "the search after something more than finite or phenomenal in the soul of man," and these two currents must in the end meet in what has been called *Theosophy* or *Psychological religion*, both this striving to meet and the final union having found their most perfect expression in Christianity (p. 541). The plant so raised is as a mighty oak, needing neither props, safeguards, nor fencing. We should feel it an indignity, Professor Müller exclaims, to the giant of the forest, if we saw it enclosed by tiny props and made hideous by scarecrows to frighten off the birds.

"Would you not feel moved to tear off the screens and let the wind of heaven shake its branches, and the light from heaven warm and brighten its dark foliage?"

This is what I feel about religion, yea, about the Christian religion, if but properly understood. It does not want these tiny props, or those hideous scarecrows, or useless apologies. If they ever were wanted, they are not wanted *now*, whether you call them physical miracles, or literal inspiration, or Papal infallibility; they are *now* an affront, a dishonour to the majesty of truth" (p. 548).

But although we get here some of the most striking and most important characteristics of Christianity (whatever it be), we still have to ask what may be the proper understanding of this religion, and in what sense the interpretation put upon it may be maintained. We have still other factors to deal with. At the outset the very term "historical Christianity" conveys to perhaps four-fifths of all English-speaking men a sense wholly different from that which is attached to it by Professor Max Müller. With them it is historical, not in the sense that it crowns the great fabric of religious thought, and so proclaims itself as the highest truth thus far attained by the mind of man, but as resting upon, and being attested by, certain facts of history, in such sort that if these events or incidents did not at some time or other take place the religion resting on them crumbles away. How does Professor Max Müller deal with these so-called historical facts? The facts are of two kinds—the one being certain writings or scriptures, the other being the incidents recorded in those scriptures. The incidents are to be taken on the authority of the writings, and this authority is not to be called into question, and will not be questioned by those who are truly children of God. I should be thankful if to this question I could see in these pages a more decisive answer, and surely no question could be more momentous. The Alexandrian Clement, we are told, took the critical step which philosophers like Celsus declined to take, when he recognized the Divine Logos in Jesus of Nazareth.

"All the epithets," he goes on to say, "such as Logos, Son of God, the first-born, the only-begotten, the second God, were familiar to the Greeks of Alexandria. If, then, they brought themselves to say that He, Jesus of Nazareth, was all that, if they transferred all these well-known predicates to Him, what did they mean? Unless we suppose that the concept of a perfect man is in itself impossible, it seems to me that they could only have meant that a perfect man might be called the realisation of the Logos, whether we take it in its collective form—as it was in the beginning with God—or in its more special sense as the Logos, or the original idea, or the Divine conception of man. If, then, all who knew Jesus of Nazareth, who had beheld His glory full of grace and truth, bore witness of Him as perfect, as free from all the taints of the material creation, why should not the Greek philosophers have accepted their testimony and declared that He was to them the Divine Word, the Son of God, the first-born, the only-begotten, manifested in the flesh?" (p. 439).

But have we such testimony? And what testimony have we? Are we not compelled to face here a great historical inquiry which turns on the person of Jesus of Nazareth? Only four short narratives tell us anything about Him; and we have no warrant for supposing that any one of them was put together within a century from the time of the events which they profess to record; and of these narratives the fourth in every particular absolutely contradicts, where it does not exclude, the other three. This Johannine narrative certainly puts forth for Jesus claims not less high than those which Clement would have made for Him; but they are thrown into the form of discourses which could not possibly have been uttered, while a large portion of the body of this narrative consists of matter for which the writer could have no witness, and therefore no authority. No one was present to hear the conversations with Nicodemus and the Samaritan woman; no one could have heard the prayer

which in the 17th chapter the eternal Son offers to the eternal Father; and if of these and other things the writer could have no report, it follows that the whole narrative of the teaching which he ascribes to Jesus must be the outcome of his own thought. I am far from saying that "the concept of a perfect man is in itself impossible"; but the fact remains that a perfectly true portrait of him could not be taken and handed down to later generations. The portrait left to us in the New Testament writings is certainly not that of a perfect man; and the supposed necessity of asserting that it is perfect, and of treating it as if it were perfect, is, it seems to me, exercising a fatally-ennervating influence on the mental powers of those who act upon this conviction. Historically, we do not know him, and we cannot know him. Professor Max Müller lays great, yet not too great, stress on the mystical system of Eckhart; and he tells us that the passages on which he relies, and to which he chiefly appeals, are, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." "I am in the Father and the Father in me." "No man cometh to the Father but by me." "This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." "And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was, that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us" (p. 825). But of these passages, three belong to discourses which could by no possibility have been delivered, and the rest are found in a prayer which no mortal ear could ever have heard. Yet, if I do not misunderstand his meaning, Professor Müller certainly treats the words put into the mouth of Jesus in the fourth Gospel as utterances actually heard by the outward ears of His followers. "Though the concept of Father is," he says, "impossible without that of Son, and the concept of Son impossible without that of Father, yet Christ Himself, after saying, 'I and my Father are one,' adds, 'My Father is greater than I'" (p. 536). If these declarations were thought out by the Evangelist, is not the pertinency of the argument, in whatever measure, affected? The eternal verities set forth in them are certainly not touched; but they must be received without historical evidence, for, if we look to the New Testament writings, there is no such evidence to be had. Towards the end of his lectures, Professor Müller speaks of "the overwhelming weight of the evidence that speaks to us from the very words of Christ."

"We have lately," he remarks, "been told, for instance, that Christ never speaks of *Our Father* when including Himself, and that when He taught His disciples to pray '*Our Father*, which art in heaven,' He intentionally excluded Himself. This might sound plausible in a court of law; but what is it when confronted with the words of Christ, 'Go to my brethren and say to them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God'? Was that also meant to imply that His Father was not the same as their Father, and their God not the same as His God?" (p. 538).

This whole argument seems to look much like an appeal to the historical authority of a record. Let us suppose for a moment that historically the record has no value; and then what becomes of the assertion that after an outward and sensible resurrection Jesus sent by Mary Magdalene a message to His followers? It is not easy to see that the truth of the absolute oneness of the eternal Son, God the revealed, with God the unrevealed and unrevealable Father, is in the least degree impaired; but we are freed from the necessity of asserting dogmatically what cannot be historically proved, and of declaring that the prayer commonly known as the Lord's Prayer was not in existence before the period assigned for the earthly lifetime of Jesus of Nazareth. But so long as we insist on giving historical authority

to the New Testament narratives, so long will the enervating influence of belief on the authority of writings not to be questioned continue to gain strength. That Professor Max Müller would abhor the despotism involved in this state of things there is, of course, not the faintest doubt. Speaking of Eckhart, he says :—

“When he touches on miracles, he generally sees an allegory in them, and he treats them much as the Stoics treated Homer, or as Philo treated the Old Testament. Otherwise miracles had no interest for him. In a world in which, as he firmly believed, not one sparrow could fall on the ground without your Father (Matt. x. 29), where was there room for a miracle ?” (p. 508).

But the narratives of wonders and marvels in the New Testament writings are not put forward as allegories. They are set down as sober statements of actual historical fact, in the same sense as that in which the Norman Conquest of England is historical fact. But (quite apart from the honesty of this method of evading a difficulty) if we put aside all such narratives, together with all professed reports of incidents and conversations of which there could have been no witnesses or hearers, what is the residuum ?

I return to the question which I found myself compelled to ask at starting: What is Christianity ? What is the Christian religion ? What is religion itself ? “The original oneness of the human soul with God,” Professor Max Müller tells us, “is accepted by all German mystics as the fundamental article of the Christian faith” (p. 580) ; but this term *oneness* is itself equivocal, and therefore the value of the methods for attaining to or regaining oneness may be a matter of uncertainty also. Is the work to be done a work of restoration, or of an education which is to raise us to heights which we had never before ascended and from which therefore we had never descended ? We have the former view in the utterances of the German mystics, who say that the great task is to gain complete freedom for the soul from the tyranny of the body, “till it rises in the end to a vision of God, to a return of the soul to God, to a reunion with God.” This seems also to be Professor Max Müller’s personal conviction. “I wish,” he says, “that our etymological conscience allowed us to derive *religio* with Lactantius and others from *religare*, to re-bind or re-unite, for in that case *religio* would from the first have meant what it means at last, a re-uniting of the soul to God” (p. 585). On this, surely, everything seems to turn. That there must be *anastasis*, the uprising (not a rising again), of this there is no sort of question ; but unless we can be restored to what we have lost, then that which I conceive to be the way in which we ought to walk is freed from those dangers which Professor Max Müller holds to be inseparable from psychological religion or theosophy. These dangers, of course, have nothing to do with “spirit rappings, table turnings, or any other occult sciences or black arts” (p. xvi.). They arise strictly and directly from the tryings or temptings which are sure to assail the aching heart and the spirit struggling to escape from the storms which it must encounter here ; and the rock or shoal where the dangers lie is that of asceticism. Against these dangers Professor Müller gives the clearest possible warning ; but it is an unhappy thing perhaps that the need of any such warnings should exist. I confess that I do not quite see why the impossible and incredible stories told about the mystic Suso (p. 581) should be noticed, unless it be to point out their manifest falsehood. I am not more inclined than Professor Max Müller himself “to doubt the testimony of trustworthy witnesses that by fasting, and by even a more painful chastening of the body, the mind may be raised to a more intense activity” (p. 527) ; nor have I any wish to “resist the evidence that by certain exercises, such as peculiar modes of regulating the breathing, keeping the body in certain postures,

and fixing the sight on certain objects, a violent exaltation of our nervous system may be produced which quickens our imaginations, and enables us to see and conceive objects which are beyond the reach of ordinary mortals" (p. 528).

Nor are there more than four words to which I should take exception in his remarks on the penances of Indian ascetics. That the seeing of visions and the hearing of unspeakable words may follow on certain conditions into which the body may be brought, there is no doubt at all. The doubt is as to the value of these visions, and the truth of their revelations; and on this follows the further doubt as to the value and wholesomeness of this supposed higher way which is to lead the human spirit to its highest good, under whatever forms that highest good may be expressed. It is certain, for instance, that the attempt to educate English-speaking men generally into this psychological religion or theosophy must be a failure. It must be the work of generations yet to deliver them from their bondage to metaphor and to the mythology which comes from metaphor; and the progress which can be looked for must be slow indeed, when by the immense majority of British clergy and laity the authority of a set of books is held to settle every question, and when the expression of dissent or even of doubt is treated as carrying with it the taint of moral leprosy.

GEORGE W. COX.

THE MEMORABILIA OF JESUS, COMMONLY CALLED THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN. By WILLIAM WYNNE PEYTON, Minister of Free St. Luke's, Broughty Ferry, N.B. London and Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1892, pp. x. 518.

It is not often that one comes across a book which, while possessing real merits, seems to be written as the lawful and tempting prey of the slashing reviewer. It is easy to imagine a critic, who has had one or two tiresome and exacting reviews to work out, and feels that he needs and has earned some light refreshment, falling gleefully upon this volume and thoroughly enjoying himself. Before he had read twenty pages he would find that he had stumbled on something which could be made to yield excellent sport. The extravagant statements, the bizarre language, and the extraordinary taste which again and again disfigure the pages, are just the kind of things which a reviewer who wishes to be at once severe to his author and amusing to his readers would desire. Indeed, we are not sure that a sufficiently severe and amusing notice of the volume might not be made by the simple process of stringing together a number of extracts and leaving them to speak for themselves. Yet such a process would be manifestly unfair, unless it were accompanied by one of selecting a proportionate number of extracts to illustrate the better features of the book. One cannot help suspecting that one of the main causes of the more objectionable elements in the volume is the straining after effect. One is perpetually suspecting that the writer is trying to arrest attention by being not only unconventional, but extravagant, and also that he now and then wishes to let us know what a variety of subjects he has read something about. But to be deliberately unconventional in dealing with very sacred subjects is rather dangerous work; and to be deliberately extravagant in such spheres is very dangerous work; while the peril of a little knowledge, if it is not cautiously used, has passed into a proverb. If a second edition of the book should be called for, it might be made a considerable improvement on the first by judicious excision. "Cut out all the fine passages" is still very wholesome advice.

The very title of the volume is a case in point. What is gained by calling the Fourth Gospel "The Memorabilia of Jesus"? It looks like a catch-title, savouring too much of sensational advertisement. If *Memorabilia* is to be used at all in such

a connexion, the usage of Justin Martyr would lead us to apply it to the Synoptic Gospels rather than to the narrative of St. John. And, again, if the familiar illustration of Plato's and Xenophon's delineation of Socrates is taken to explain the differences between the Synoptic narrative and the Fourth Gospel, here also the *Memorabilia* correspond to the Synoptists, while Plato corresponds to St. John. What makes the matter worse is that the author so far forgets the origin of his own title as to use *Memorabilia* as a singular noun: "to which the *Memorabilia* commits us"—"the *Memorabilia* is only a reflection"—"the Johannine *Memorabilia* is not historical literature as is commonly understood" (pp. 5, 7, 14).

There is a want of dignity in the very first sentence. "I am not more than half sure that John wrote what I call the *Memorabilia* of Jesus." That is not a very happy way of beginning a serious discussion of the most precious record of the life of Jesus Christ which has come down to us. And the author will not get many to follow him in his first position, where he takes a seat of superiority above such people as Bishop Lightfoot and Dr. Martineau, who think that it is worth while to discuss the date of the Fourth Gospel, as if it made any difference whether the book was written fifty years earlier or later—A.D. 90 or A.D. 140. If Mr. Peyton were trying to establish his right to an estate or to ascertain the character of his great-grandfather, would he consider it of no moment whether the documents which formed the most important factor in the evidence were written by those who had known his great-grandfather well, or by those who had only heard about him from a previous generation? It is one thing to say that the Fourth Gospel is what it is, whoever wrote it: quite another to say that its authorship is a matter of no moment. A saying may be equally good and true whether it was first uttered by Christ, or an Apostle, or some person quite unknown. But it may make all the difference in the world as to the effect which that saying will have upon others whether they believe it to have the sanction of Jesus Christ or of an inspired disciple, or to have no more authority than one of their own utterances. If Christ's most intimate disciple wrote the Fourth Gospel, then we have excellent reasons for believing that the words attributed in it to Jesus Christ are substantially such as He uttered. But if not John, but a disciple of his, or a disciple of that disciple, some fifty years after John had ceased to teach, wrote down his ideas of what John used to say, then there is room for very large elements of doubt as to whether any one of the things which is recorded in the Fourth Gospel alone can be regarded as of any authority. A man returns home after an absence of thirty years, and is told that his mother at her death, soon after his departure, left certain messages for him. Those messages may seriously influence the rest of his life, if he is convinced that she really sent them. But if the evidence for this fact is weak, they may excite nothing more influential than a passing curiosity. The position that "chronology is nowhere," and that to discuss the date and genuineness of the Fourth Gospel is "historical pedantry and critical pedlaring" (p. 22), looks like a very lofty and strong position, but it will not bear serious investigation. The Christian religion is based upon certain historical facts, and the evidence for those facts is a thing of vital importance. One almost wonders whether a writer can be quite serious who maintains that it is a matter of no moment whether the record of these facts was written by one who witnessed them, or by some one else, who did not put pen to paper until more than a century after the facts are alleged to have taken place. Mr. Peyton's introductory chapter on "Irrelevances" needs reconsideration. Dr. Martineau knew what he was about when he admitted that he who can prove that John wrote the Fourth Gospel "wins everything at once."

But here is something of a better kind, and perhaps it would be better still if the metaphor about "essences and originals" were omitted:—

"In the drooping (?), despairing (?) crises of life our want is the essences and originals of things. There is a thought which has not occurred to you, which if it could be distilled (?) in you would set you free. There is an emotion, which if you could extract it would brighten your whole being. There is an event such as has not happened to you, which if you will admit its forces will broaden your being. There is a self-denial which, if you will practise it, will give you the finer finishes of character. What we are wanting are the essences and originalities which lie in the deeps of us, which Christ calls up" (pp. 186, 187). Or again, such a passage as this:—"The man who is not serious will often crave for a great Season, a great Event, a great Movement, which he fondly thinks will work a change on him. Seriousness is not from without, but from within" (p. 188).

But what is the value of such words as stand at the beginning of the chapter which bears the amazing title, "The Fog Horn and the Storm Signal"? This chapter is on John ii. 13-25.

"In an ideal literature we don't seek time relations. The signal of the ideal given in Cana has a rhythmic relation with the signal given in Jerusalem. We have a rhythm of space, the motion from Galilee into Judæa, the wave from Cana swings round to Jerusalem. A rhythm of sound or of water is, like the pendulum, a wave motion. A mental rhythm is a companion phenomena (*sic*). The geographical rhythm begins its wave in Galilee, and the wave dies out in Jerusalem" (p. 192). In the passage which explains the title of this chapter we have more writing of the same kind. "A mist from the Eternal oceans (?) envelops in thick folds the Holy City. Holiness is not repudiated; religion is still in the ascendant; the Scriptures are much studied; but all is befogged. A fog is mist involved in smoke (?). John the Baptist has sounded the note of danger in articulate speech. Christ uses the fog-horn, which has a sound without words, words without a key; weird, threatening, enigmatic. And it is enough. Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up again (ver. 19). This cryptogram is a compressed speech. The Memorabilia is everywhere a compressed literature, an exemplary conciseness, abbreviated all through, and suffers by abbreviation, and it is suffering in the right direction" (p. 199). And then Mr. Peyton goes on to tell us what the speech, which, according to his view the Evangelist has condensed into a "cryptogram," must have been like. There is no need to quote it, but he might have asked himself whether such a speech could ever have been made a serious charge against Jesus. The saying, as St. John reports it, might easily have been remembered by Christ's enemies, and made use of against Him when the opportunity arose two years later; but one can hardly believe this of the speech which Mr. Peyton supposes to have been delivered.

At times one is inclined to think that Mr. Peyton is shaping his style after Carlyle's pattern. Carlyle himself is trying enough with his mannerisms; but imitations of them are not tolerable. Is there not a twang of Carlylese in such writing as this?—

"Advertisement is a method in this world of ours, and there is a weak utility in it, in this age of daily papers and overcrowding. Glaring advertisements in the glory of capital letters are mercantile shams—wholly so. If the articles are good, they don't require big letters to show them, and advertising is the cowardice that does not believe in itself. But advertisement of any kind is not the method of the

¹ There is a very similar passage, p. 504.

spiritual world. It is even fatal there, this big brush, the windpipe way of showing yourself" (p. 385).

There are few things more certain about the teaching of Christ than that He sanctioned the belief in a personal devil; and it is equally certain of the writer of the Fourth Gospel that he held this belief.¹ But that is not what ought to be believed, if our author is to be followed.

"The Devil and Satan are personifications of this adopted perfidy in our being, mistaken by the thinking of the Church all along for persons (*sic*; but what Church has ever taught that the Devil and Satan are two persons?), and in our day the mistake has been enforced by the influence of Milton; theology victimised by antique metaphors" (p. 447).

Mr. Peyton, therefore, prefers to speak of Satanism rather than Satan; and he gives two or three definitions of it, of which the first merits quotation for its strangeness. "Satan is *the spirit of happiness* in a man, and we may call this Satanism" (p. 450). And there are other strange things a little further on. "Every school boy knows that verbs are words which express action, and that verbs have two moods, the active and the passive. It is given to some to conjugate their verbs always in the passive mood, and the passive mood is expressed by the word, *To be, as if action is best known in its passive conditions, as if being becomes vivid in this mood*" (p. 465). The confusion between "moods" and "voices" is not the only confusion here. "Christ finds the sense of Wonder withered in Jerusalem, and therefore His divinity is unperceived. He also finds the sense of Beauty colded (*sic*), and therefore His miracles are only massive icicles (!). The intuitions have become insipidities" (p. 508). Pages might be filled with quotations such as these, and it is not easy to find anything of value which is not disfigured by mannerisms and eccentricities which are always displeasing and are sometimes grotesque. It may be doubted whether anything in the volume in its present shape is worth the ceaseless irritation which the perusal of it causes. If greatly reduced in bulk, and enormously simplified in style, it might be of real value by its freshness and suggestiveness. It is at any rate one more proof of the inexhaustible adaptability of the Fourth Gospel that the study of it should have resulted in a commentary so utterly unlike the original as are these comments by the Minister of Free St. Luke's, Broughty Ferry.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

¹ Cf. Matt. xxv. 41; Luke viii. 12; John viii. 44, xiii. 2; 1 John iii. 2, 10.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. Volume VII. *Modern Christianity—the Swiss Reformation.* By PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Church History in the Union Theological Seminary. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892. 8vo, pp. xvii., 890, \$4.

This volume of Schaff's church history describes the Swiss Reformation in two books, the first being devoted to the German-Swiss movement led by Zwingli and his successors (pp. 16-219), and the second being given to the work in French-Switzerland under Calvin and his followers (pp. 223-871). In the first section we have a full treatment of Zwingli's training for his work, the Reformation in Zürich, the spread of the Reformation in German Switzerland, followed by a long excursus upon the Grisons (pp. 180-61), the civil and religious war between the Roman Catholic and the Reformed cantons, finally the period of consolidation under Bullinger and Myconius. In the second section we have an elaborate account of Calvin and his work, including the activity of his fore-runners, especially Farel, Calvin and his labors from 1536-64, Calvin in France and Switzerland, his first sojourn in Geneva, 1536-38, his stay in Germany, his second sojourn and labors in Geneva, the Constitution and Discipline of the Church of Geneva, the theology of Calvin, the doctrinal controversies of Calvin, Servetus—his life, teachings, trial, and execution, Calvin's influence abroad, closing scenes in the life of Calvin, and the life of Beza. An Appendix on the literature of the Reformation in France and an Index complete the volume.

It will be seen from this summary of the contents that we have here the most comprehensive recent history of the Reformation in Switzerland. It is full of detailed information about the men and movements, religious and political, moral and social, that made the hundred years covered by this volume so eventful in the history of the alpine republic and of all Christendom. The well-known excellencies of Schaff's historical writings appear again here in their old-time strength and brilliancy; and this account of the Reformation in the author's native land may well be regarded as a monument of the fiftieth anniversary of his academic teaching, as well as of the sixth centenary of the oldest surviving republic which gave him birth. No period of the history of the Church offers more abundant source-materials to the historian than that here treat-

ed; no period has been more carefully investigated; and with no period is the Protestant reader more familiar. Hence it is no reproach to Dr. Schaff to say that, with the exception of a few details, he does not tell us anything that cannot be found in other printed books. He has corrected a number of small inaccuracies in dates and events in his predecessors. He has written the history over again with special reference to clearness of arrangement. He gives the literature of the various subjects treated with a fulness and exactness that leave nothing to be desired. He everywhere draws liberally from the storehouses of German scholarship, such as Henry's "Life of Calvin," Tollin's writings on Servetus, Baur's "Theology of Zwingli," and gives the assured results to the American student. He bears ever in mind the circumstances and relations of his adopted country, and does not hesitate to go out of his way in the religious history of Switzerland to gather some practical lesson for the benefit of his readers in America. He gives many personal references to his literary friends, to himself, and to those who have helped him in his work. He frankly prints extracts from letters of two old Swiss friends, Dr. von Wyss, of Zürich, and Professor Godet, of Neuchâtel, both of whom praise in high terms the volume before us, the proof-sheets of which they had read. On every page the student feels that he is in the company of an encyclopædic guide whose feet are upon his native heath, and who is ready at any moment to tell the young traveller all that he may wish to know about anything in Switzerland or its history. All these delightful features of Professor Schaff's church history could be abundantly illustrated from the present volume; but we may regard them as perfectly well known to all American readers of church history. What will be done by way of further notice of our author is to point out one or two respects in which the work before us seems open to criticism. And, first of all, the true proportions of the history are destroyed by the introduction of foreign material. The reader has the impression that the author has been making a book rather than writing of the Reformation in Switzerland. The course of the narrative is clogged by "padding." This is seen in the great prominence given to biographical material. Schaff is in this respect a loyal follower of his master, Neander. In the account of the German-Swiss Reformation the lives of Bullinger, Breitingen, and Myconius constitute the history after the death of Zwingli. The Reformation in French Switzerland before Calvin and the causes leading up to it are contained chiefly in the biographies of Farel, Viret, and Froment (pp. 236-54). This volume aims to describe the "Prot-

estant movement . . . in French Switzerland to the close of the sixteenth century ;" but the history of the forty years after the death of Calvin (1564) consists simply of a chapter on the life of Beza (pp. 845-75). Other forms of padding appear. Tributes to Calvin, collected from various writers, cover twenty-nine pages in one place and four in another. His *Institutes* are described in eleven pages of quotations at the point in Calvin's life at which the book appeared, and later the same subject is treated in the chapter on the Calvinistic system. Nine pages of quotations are given from the correspondence of Calvin and Sadoleto. Five pages are quoted to give Calvin's view of the Church. Coming to the punishment of Servetus, the subject is introduced by an essay twenty pages long, giving the history of Toleration from Constantine the Great to George Washington. Of the 650 pages devoted to the Reformation in French Switzerland, 119 are given to the case of Servetus—that is, nineteen more than Henry gives in his elaborate "Life of Calvin." In fact, Schaff's history of the movement in French Switzerland is too much a life of Calvin. This tendency leads him to introduce chapter 17 on "Calvin Abroad," which occupies twenty-two pages, and is hardly a part of the history of the Reformation in Switzerland. The closing chapter on Beza (pp. 845-75) was written, the preface says, by Rev. S. M. Jackson, a work "for which he was well prepared by previous studies ;" but a note prefixed to the chapter itself seems to claim it also for Dr. Schaff, saying only that Mr. Jackson "revised and somewhat enlarged it."

Making all due allowance for proper quotations from sources and other writings, we still think that much of the material here referred to is a defect in historical proportions, a hindrance to just perspective, and a break in the flow of the narrative, which weakens its force. The student sometimes cannot see the forest for the trees. He is not shown the underlying principles sufficiently. He is not informed often enough what direction the great stream of history was taking, upon the surface of which these endless biographies were floating.

Another deficiency in this history is the lack of sympathy with the theology of Zwingli, and especially of Calvin, which marks its author. He thinks the Reformers who drew up Confessions put "for the old Roman popery a modern Protestant popery." They had a theory of inspiration which ignored the human element in the Bible—a theory which, in the hands of their successors, was "destructive of scientific exegesis" (p. 536). Schaff, like all Presbyterians in America, as he tells us, has signed a Calvinistic Confession of Faith

"as to substance of doctrine" (p. 387); and then he proceeds to tell us (p. 543) that Calvinism as well as Lutheranism and Augustinianism "destroy the foundation of moral responsibility by teaching the slavery of the human will; they turn the sovereignty of God into an arbitrary power, and His justice into partiality," etc. He adds these systems "can never satisfy the vast majority of Christendom." Schaff himself is essentially Arminian in his theology (p. 570), and harmonizes Divine sovereignty and man's free will by a theory of *Kenosis*, whereby God limits His active sovereignty so as to leave man free. He then takes pp. 568-82 to oppose Calvinism—a piece of polemical divinity that hardly belongs in a history of the Reformation—and is hardly consistent with holding a Calvinistic confession "as to substance of doctrine."

But this notice is becoming too extended; only one more drawback to this valuable history may be noticed. Schaff lacks the poetic gift of dramatic representation, which is essential to the great historian. When he tries to be eloquent or epigrammatic, after the style of Victor Hugo, he is either tame or sophomoric. This volume solemnly begins: "Switzerland belongs to those countries whose historic significance stands in inverse proportion to their size. . . . The land of the snow-capped Alps is the source of mighty rivers and of the Reformed faith." He speaks of Luther "leading the people of God out of the Babylonian captivity under the Gospel banner of freedom." He says Calvin "consulted not with flesh and blood, and burned the bridge behind him." Calvin's discussion flowed on "like a river of fresh water." Not a few infelicities of expression can be attributed to the German mother tongue of the author. We read that Comander preached "at Colre since 1524;" that "the cattle *was* deprived of salt;" "he avoided to speak of predestination;" he sought to "win back the orphan Church of Geneva to the sheepfold of Rome;" the people of Strassburg are "Strassburgers," those of Zurich "Zurichers," etc.; the villagers of Wildhaus were "a cheerful, froh, and energetic people;" the mother of Ecolampadius "was descended of the old Basel family of Pfister;" "the chief Reformers of the Grisons *are*," etc. These, however, are but spots in the sun of Schaff's clear, informing, and attractive work. It is the most readable and reliable history of the period covered that we have. Besides the illustrations which the subject receives from the clear statements of the author, and his numerous foot-notes from the sources, the volume is adorned by pictures of Zwingli, the house in which he was born, the town and minster of Zurich, Leo Judæ, Vergerio, the abbey of Ein-

siedeln, Bullinger, Farel, Calvin, Ochino, Servetus, Beza, and Faber.

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LEHRBUCH DER KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. Von Dr. WILHELM MOELLER. Erster Band. Die alte Kirche. Freiburg i. B., 1899: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 8vo, xii., 567.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, A.D. 1-600. By the late Dr. WILHELM MOELLER. Translated from the German by Andrew Rutherford, B.D. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Macmillan & Co., 1892. 8vo, xii., 545.

It is now nearly four years since Dr. Wilhelm Moeller, late Professor of Church History at Kiel, gave to the public the first volume of his "Church History." The book has stood the test of use well, and has proved its right to the cordial welcome with which its first appearance was greeted. A comparison with recent work in the same field serves but to increase one's admiration for the thoroughness of Moeller's achievement. It is safe to say that it is the best single volume in existence on the history of the Christian Church during the first six centuries.

As the work has never been noticed in these columns, I may be permitted briefly to refer to some of its excellencies.

In the first place, it is marked by a complete mastery both of the sources and of the vast literature to which the very scantiness of these sources has given rise. There is scarcely a question connected with the early history of the Church in which the author does not show himself thoroughly at home. This is true, not only in the field of doctrine, but in the much more neglected one of church organization and discipline to which the contribution of the book is of the highest value.

But it is for his arrangement of matter that Moeller deserves the highest praise. The problem before him was not easy of solution. He was to write, not a *Kirchengeschichte*, but a *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*; not a history, but a text-book. The distinction is an important one. The historian may follow the main line of development, introducing only those facts which seem to him of decisive importance. Not so the writer of a *Lehrbuch*. It is his business to introduce the student to those facts which the larger history presupposes. His book, therefore, must be a little encyclopedia, complete within the limits of the period treated. A glance at the recent *Lehrbücher*—I need only refer to those of Hase and of Kurtz—will show that this is the way in which their authors have conceived

the problem. He who wishes history proper must turn, not to Hase's *Lehrbuch*, but to his recently published *Vorlesungen über Kirchengeschichte*. Moeller was not content with such an encyclopædic treatment. He believed it possible to write a *Lehrbuch* which should be, at the same time, a history. It must be admitted that he has performed his task with remarkable success. The facts are all there—not even Kurtz covers a wider range of topics—but they are so arranged as to fall into their places as subordinate to the main line of development. To appreciate the skill with which this is done, one must study the book in detail. I refer, for a single example, to chapter 4 of Part II., on the theological development of the Church.

A third excellence is the reserve exercised by the author in his treatment of matters still under debate. It was his aim (cf. Preface) not to burden the pages of his text-book with unproved hypotheses. That he has altogether succeeded in excluding such matter, it would perhaps be too much to say. In the present state of our knowledge that would not be possible, or even desirable. But he has certainly brought to the task a judicial spirit which is as rare as it is commendable. Many a controversy, of which the magazines are full, is here reduced to a brief sentence. I may refer, for example, to Vischer's theory of the Apocalypse and to the Hatch-Harnack hypothesis as to the origin of the Episcopate.

Finally, I may refer to the well-chosen references to the sources, which are of the highest value to the student desiring himself to undertake original work.

Such being the merits of the book, it can only be matter for congratulation that Messrs. Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. have given it to the public in an English translation. Of that translation I propose now to speak.

It may be said, at the outset, that the style is above the average to which recent sad experience has accustomed us. Mr. Rutherford has made an honest effort to render the German into idiomatic English, and in the main he has succeeded. The long sentences of the original have often been broken up into shorter ones; the involved order has been simplified; not seldom awkward phrases have been happily rendered. So judicious a critic as Dr. Fisher has been led to speak of the translation as "of very unusual merit," and to express his satisfaction with the "genuine classical English" in which it is written (*New Englander*, November, 1892). Unfortunately, a careful comparison with the original makes it necessary to qualify this favorable criticism. The work shows signs of carelessness, and in not a few instances the translator falls into serious errors. From a large

number of cases noted I give the following examples: 1. To carelessness must be attributed such literalisms as the following: "ground lines" for *Grundlinien* (English translation, p. 180, l. 18); "forehall" for *Vorhalle* (p. 279, l. 85); "churches of the masses" for *Massenkirchen* (p. 483, l. 14), etc. *Reichliche Quellen* is rendered "wealthy sources" (p. 484, l. 1); Tertullian, we are told, was an exact "knower" (*Kenner*) of Roman law (p. 203, l. 6). 2. To carelessness must also be attributed such exceptions to our author's ordinarily good English as the following: "probably basing on Tacitus" (p. 80, l. 16); "verbal [for oral] tradition" (p. 116, l. 10); "numerous special literature" (p. 129, l. 31); "of hatred" (for "with hatred," p. 81, l. 28); "unscrupulosity" (p. 481, l. 13); "the prohibition to admit" (p. 827, l. 14), etc. 3. Of slight inaccuracies, such as the omission of qualifying words in the original, I have noticed a number. Thus, p. 2, l. 3, omits the *gerade* of the German, and so misses the correct emphasis. In l. 84 of the same page we have "from its" instead of "from this its." So, p. 8, l. 25, "the faith" (German, "this faith"). In p. 482, l. 6, *wurde* is translated "was" instead of "became," etc. 4. More serious, however, are the following mistranslations of common words. In the table of contents (ix., l. 18) *Zustände* is rendered "circumstances" when the context shows that it means "condition." (Cf. l. 9 from the bottom, where it is correctly translated.) On p. 3, l. 24, *Bedingungen* is also rendered "circumstances." *Anschauungen* is rendered "prospects" (ix., l. 9 from bottom) instead of "views." *Religions-Gesellschaft* is translated "religious fellowship" instead of "religious society" (p. 1, l. 8. Cf. p. 2, l. 24. On p. 3, l. 28, it is correctly rendered). *Selbstbetheiligung* appears as "self-attestation" (p. 1, l. 10), while the word *Betheiligung* alone is twice rendered "characteristics" (p. 3, l. 30 and 35). *Betrachtung* is uniformly rendered "treatment" (l. 1, l. 16; p. 81, l. 5), and *Weltbetrachtung*, "treatment of the world" (p. 117, l. 8). *Nachweisung* is translated "investigation" when it means "proof" (p. 116, l. 24). *Leistung* is made to equal "exhibition" (p. 486, l. 1). "Theological" (p. 185, l. 17) is changed, doubtless through a slip, to "theoretical." An amusing mistranslation is that of *Anhaltspunkte*, which is rendered "halting points." ("For the further progress of the spread of Christianity . . . the following may be given as the chief halting points," p. 185, last line.) More careful use of the dictionary would have shown Mr. Rutherford that the word has the sense which he has given it only in railroad terminology. Elsewhere it is used as equivalent to *Anknüpfungspunkte*. In p. 81, l. 11, the "continuously advancing final

fortunes of the Jews" would hardly suggest the *unaufhaltsam hereinbrechenden Endgeschichte des jüdischen Landes*. Three lines below, afflictions of believers "before the final consummation" (*vor der letzten Vollendung*) is replaced by the phrase "before their final perfection." In the same sentence we read of the "hostile appearance of the Gentile world power, in contrast to the community of God" (German, *das Auftreten—gegen I*). In the chapter on the good works of the Church, *Wohlthätigkeit* is regularly translated "benevolence" instead of "charity." For the "possibility" of p. 81, l. 35, Mr. Rutherford has substituted "probability," thereby making Moeller favor the hypothesis of a composite origin of the Apocalypse, instead of recording himself, as he does, against it.

But perhaps the most inexcusable blunder of all is the uniform rendering of *Wesen* by "nature" instead of "substance" in the chapter on the Arian controversy.

It is earnestly to be hoped that in the event of a second edition, the translation will be thoroughly revised. At the same time a number of annoying typographical errors might be corrected—e.g., "notion" for "nation" (p. 3, l. 22); "rectu" for "recta" (p. 129, l. 11); the omission of "a" in p. 137, l. 16. The mistranslation of *Kirchenordnungen* (p. 111, l. 45; p. 234, l. 89) has been corrected in an appendix. It should, however, read, not "canon" but "canons." In other respects the work of the publisher has been unusually well done.

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BRIEF REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

BY THE EDITOR.

Records of the Past: being English translations of the ancient monuments of Egypt and Western Asia. New series. Edited by A. H. Sayce, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Assyriology, Oxford. (Vols. III.—VI.; London: Bagster; New York: James Pott & Co., 12mo, \$1 50.) It is with regret that we note the cessation of this publication. The former series extended to twelve volumes; the present closes with the sixth. The dozen or more years which have elapsed since the conclusion of the earlier series have seen many new documents brought to light and also much progress in the understanding of old texts. New hands have taken up the old tasks and have furnished fresh solutions. These volumes show the evidences of both elements, and while marking the advance, also serve to point out the fact that truth is finally reached in things Oriental by a series of approximations. The approach to certainty, however, is remarkable, and increasingly we may be sure of our ground.

It is impossible in the brief space at disposal to catalogue the contents of these volumes. The most interesting of the new translations comprise a portion of the correspondence between the kings of Egypt, Amenophis III. and IV., and their tributaries and allies in Syria and Palestine, translated by the editor. He is, however, far from claiming, as does Major Conder, that future study will affect only the "details." If we may judge by the specimens presented by the present series when contrasted with the older, it may be expected that in some cases the changes will be very radical. The translations are the work of men eminent for their attainments, and they are well suited to serve their purpose. The full introductions and notes which accompany each translation add very materially to the value which they possess for the unprofessional reader. We close as we began with an expression of regret that the series closes so abruptly.

The Tell Amarna Tablets. Translated by C. R. Conder, Major R.E., D.C.L., etc. (London: Alexander P. Watt, 1893, 8vo, pp. xi., 212.) Major Conder has undertaken a task which is declared by a competent authority (Bezold, see below) to be "impossible," if such translation is to "satisfy the expert or general reader." With this portion of the work we have little interest at present; but we would call attention to the author's contention that the Exodus had already occurred, and that the Israelites were established in the mountains of Palestine when the correspondence here translated occurred in 1480 B.C. In other words, he holds that Ramses II. was not the Pharaoh of the oppression, and that Meneptah was not the Pharaoh of the Exodus. He passes over the decisive evidence in this way (p. 192): "I have been reminded of the recent discovery of the 'store cities' mentioned in the Bible (Ex. i. 11), but the fixing of their sites has no bearing on this question of date at all." That might be true if the "fixing of their sites" were all that Naville did in 1883. But he did far more. He showed that the earliest remains in the city were those of Ramses II., that the archaeological facts correspond exactly to the biblical record, and that if Ex. i. 11 is true, the Israelites built Pitom a hundred years after Conder would find them in Palestine. There are enough problems remaining without having all the results already attained swept away to suit the theory of Major Conder. —Quite in contrast with his rash undertaking is that of Professor Charles Bezold (*Oriental Diplomacy*: being the transliterated text of the cuneiform despatches between the kings of Egypt and Western Asia in the fifteenth century before Christ, discovered at Tell-el Amarna, and now

preserved in the British Museum. With full vocabulary, grammatical notes, etc. London: Luzac & Co., 1893, 8vo, pp. xlv., 124.) It is intended for scholars and has no elements of the "catch-penny" order of "popular" works on Oriental subjects.

Israel Edson Dwinell, D.D. A memoir by Rev. Henry E. Jewett. With Sermons. (Oakland, Cal.: W. B. Hardy, 1892, 8vo, pp. 320.) "The hand of affection has held the pen" to good purpose. The account here given is that of a consecrated, earnest, and faithful servant of God, who against great difficulties struggled up to eminent success. To his many personal friends, classmates, and associates, to the people of his charges in Salem, Mass., and San Francisco, and to the pupils whom he instructed in the Pacific Theological Seminary in Oakland, Cal., the volume will be very welcome. A single error may be noted (p. 34): "In the following June [1848] he was graduated from the [Union] Theological Seminary, with the degree of B.D." Union Seminary does not confer this degree.

The Trial of Rev. Professor Henry Preserved Smith, D.D., of Lane Theological Seminary, before the Presbytery of Cincinnati. By W. S. Plumer Bryan, D.D., Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, Cincinnati. (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1893, 8vo, pp. 51, 25 cents.) This is a reprint of an article in the *Presbyterian Quarterly* for April, 1893. It purports to be an account of the trial, but it is not. It is a critique and running commentary from the author's standpoint of opposition to Professor Smith, upon the latter's demurrer and defence, and it closes with an apology (in the theological sense) for the decision of the Presbytery. We are left in doubt as to the extent to which the author has reproduced the arguments of the prosecution, which far exceeded "154 typewritten foolscap pages." The author has endeavored to be calm, but absolute impartiality in such a case is not to be expected. The pamphlet, however, is a more or less valuable addition to the literature of heresy trials.

A Winter in North China. By the Rev. T. M. Morris. With an introduction by Rev. Richard Glover, D.D. (New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1892, pp. 256, \$1.50.) A very bright and instructive account of a winter's stay in a large number of mission stations in five provinces of the "Flowery Kingdom." The trip was the result of a request that a deputation be sent out by the British Baptist Missionary Society to inspect and report upon its missionary work. Having such a

commission, the deputation had large privileges and opportunities. They travelled some 5000 miles in China, and kept their eyes and ears open; the result is seen in this present volume.

New Concepts of Old Dogmas. A book of sermons. By Rev. James E. Odlin. (Chicago and New York: F. H. Revell Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 292.) The kindly consideration with which these sermons were received in the First Presbyterian Church at Waukegan, Ill., has encouraged the author to present them to the reading public. There are twenty-six in all, grouped under the heads: Cosmos and World-Age; The Use of Miracles; Grace, Love, and Obedience; The Son of Man; The Son of God; Characteristics of Experience; The Prayerful Temper; and Immortality.

The Mosaic Record of the Creation Explained. Scripture truth verified. By Abraham G. Jennings. (Chicago and New York: Revell Co., 1893, 12mo, pp. 67, 20 cents.) Based on the St. James Version, untainted with the results of scientific investigation, and entirely at variance with "so-called Christian scientists," who "have stretched and twisted Moses around as if he were made of the most elastic rubber."

Prisoners and Paupers. A study of the abnormal increase of criminals, and the public burden of pauperism in the United States; the causes and remedies. By Henry M. Boies, M.A. (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1893, 8vo, pp. xiii., 318, \$1.50.) This is a most timely and an exceedingly valuable contribution to an important topic. It is from the pen of one qualified to speak, since he is a member of the Pennsylvania Board of Public Charities and of the Committee on Lunacy, as well as connected with several prison associations. He speaks of the problem with full knowledge, and sets forth the causes after careful investigation and study. In the light of wide experience he suggests remedies which should command the study and thought of those whose duty it is to regulate and devise methods of reformation and prevention. The necessity of immediate attention to the whole subject is driven home by appalling statistics, showing the terribly abnormal increase of the criminal classes.

Natural Religion in Sermons. By James Vila Blake. (Chicago: C. H. Kerr & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 228, \$1.) This is to some extent a misnomer. There is a background of something deeper, broader, higher, and nobler than "natural religion" in these pages, which, however, comes seldom to expression. The Scripture headings may

be merely headings, but it is from the vantage point of revelation that the author looks, importing into his treatment many a topic and thought that is essentially foreign thereto. We by no means agree with all the positions taken, yet we have found passages containing much of truth and beauty.

Character Building. Talks to young men by the Rev. R. S. Barrett. (New York: Whittaker, 12mo, pp. 78, 25 cents.) These were Sunday evening talks, in which the speaker endeavored to get near to his hearers and to influence them. They are printed as delivered, and are filled with the earnestness and directness of extempore speech. They are not models of English diction, but they speak a language which the young can understand, and by which they may be profited for the life that now is, and also for that which is to come. The subjects treated are: "Destiny," "The Value of Time," "Reading," "Bad Habits," "Strong Drink," "Companions," and "Religion."

Children: their Models and Critics. By Auretta Royce Aldrich. (New York: Harpers, 1893, 16mo, pp. v., 158.) Those parents who have a strong feeling of parental dignity and authority, and who exercise it in enforcing their commands, will scarcely find this book pleasant reading. On the contrary, those whose desire is for the well-being and highest success of their children will find aid and encouragement in these pages. "Train up a child in the way he should go" is too often interpreted from the standpoint of the prison warden, not from that of the loving parent. The question is what the "way" should be. Too often it is a way not adapted to the character, needs and feelings of the child, not based on a careful and loving study of child nature, but prompted by a gross selfishness ill concealed beneath a cloak of supposed authority, dignity, and parental right, and utterly regardless of the rights of the child.

Thrilling Scenes in the Persian Kingdom. The story of a scribe. By Edwin Mac-Minn. (New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1892, 12mo, pp. 323.) The scenes here represented are connected with the return of the Israelites from the captivity, and the story of Esther and Mordecai. A company of young men listen to the parts of the story as told by Ezra, Nehemiah, Mordecai, and Atarah in turn. The biblical story is at the basis, and it is embellished with various scraps of information from a variety of sources. Some may like this method of reading the Bible story, but others will prefer the account as it is presented in the words of Scripture. To the latter class the present writer strongly cleaves.

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Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index of Periodicals.

- Af. M. E. R.** African M. E. Church Review. (Quarterly.)
A. R. Andover Review. (Bi-monthly.)
B. S. Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quarterly.)
B. W. The Biblical World.
B. Q. R. Baptist Quarterly Review.
Ch. Q. R. Church Quarterly Review.
C. M. Q. Canadian Methodist Quarterly.
C. R. Charities Review.
C. T. Christian Thought.
Ex. Expositor.
Ex. T. Expository Times.
G. W. Good Words.
H. R. Homiletic Review.
K. M. Katholische Missionen.
L. Q. Lutheran Quarterly.
M. R. Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)
M. H. Missionary Herald.
Miss. R. Missionary Review.
N. C. Q. New Christian Quarterly.
N. H. M. Newbery House Magazine.
N. W. The New World.
O. D. Our Day.
P. E. R. Protestant Episcopal Review.
P. M. Preachers' Magazine.
P. Q. Presbyterian Quarterly.
P. R. R. Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
R. Ch. Review of the Churches.
R. Q. R. Reformed Quarterly Review.
R. R. R. Religious Review of Reviews.
S. A. H. Sunday at Home.
S. M. Sunday Magazine.
T. Tr. The Treasury.
Y. R. The Yale Review.
- Abby Hopper Gibbons, Mrs. Sarah S. Thayer, CR.
 Agnosticism, The Weakness of, L. Theodore Conrad, CT.
 Alfred Rethel, J. M. Gray, GW.
 American Folk-Lore, J. Owen Dorsay, PER.
 Anarchy, Socialism and the Labor Movement, Walter B. Hill, CT.
 Andorre, The Republic of, Bernard Moses, YR.
 Apostolic Churches, The, Robert A. Watson, PM.
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 Assyrio-Babylonian Inscriptions, The Decipherment of the, II., Robert Francis Harper, BW.
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 Bible Texts, Light from the Orient on, I. G. Kitchin, TTr.
 Bible, Exploring the, W. A. Labrum, PM.
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 Biblical Theology, Philip Schaff, HR.
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 Catherine Pennefeather, James E. Mathieson, MissR.
 Charity, The Greatest is, E. J. Wolf, TTr.
 Charles the Great, His Relation to the Church, Bishop J. F. Hurst, MR.
 Christian Literature, The Societies for Producing and Circulating, R. N. Cust, RRR.
 Church Patronage, System of, I., The Church of England, W. R. Buckland, RCh.
 Churches, Progress of the, Archdeacon Sinclair, J. Reid Howatt, Dr. Mackennal, Dr. Clifford, P. W. Bunting, RCh.
 Church of Scotland Disruption, The Jubilee of, James Stalker, SM.
 Church Life in England, Impressions of, R. A. Edwards, PER.
 Church, The Ship of the, G. R. Fetherston, NHM.
 Church, Movement of 1893, A Layman's Recollections of the, G. W., NHM.
 Christ on Character, The Influence of, Bishop of Eipon, GW.
 Cider-Making, S. Baring-Gould, GW.
 Confucius as Seen in Japan, The Ethics of, J. H. De Forest, AR.
 Congregational Martyrs of 1593, Tercentenary Celebration of, RCh.
 Constantinople Station, The, Joseph K. Greene, MH.
 Coral Sea, A Glimpse in the, Helen Milman, GW.
 Daniel, Professor Kamphausen on the Book of, John Dymley Prince, BW.
 Decoration Day Service, Thirty Years After, Charles Wright, TTr.
 England, Notes from, Joseph King, AR.
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 Galilee, The Lake of, George Adam Smith, Ex.
 Gospel According to Peter, The True, Duston Kemble, MR.
 Gospel in North Africa, The, John Rutherford, MissR.
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Chicago, May, 1893.

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 9, 10.
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 scriptions, II.

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New York, May, 1893.

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 Philanthropy and Politics.
 A Chapter of Industrial History.
 The Tee-To-Tum Club.
 Mrs. Abby Hopper Gibbons.

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New York, June, 1893.

Anarchy, Socialism, and the Labor Movement.
 The Conservation of the Family.
 The Heart of Personality.
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THE EXPOSITOR.

London, May, 1893.

The Lake of Galilee.
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Edinburgh, London, May, 1893.

Professor Ryle's Contributions to Old Testament
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London, May, 1893.

At Home with the Lord.
 The Scilly Isles.
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THE HOMILETIC REVIEW.

Toronto, New York, London, May, 1893.

The World's First Parliament of Religions.
The Testimony of Physical Science to the Truth of Scripture.
Biblical Theology.
Essential Changes in the New Testament.
Light on Scriptural Texts from Recent Discoveries.
Our Lord's Reference to Psalms cx.
Sociological Studies of London.

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Freiburg im Breisgau, Mal, 1893.

Der Verein der heiligen Kindheit.
Eine Reise nach dem Sinai.
Unter den Trümmern eines untergegangenen Volkes.
Nachrichten aus den Missionen; Macedonien, Vorderindien, Äquatorial-Afrika, Ägypten, Westafrika.

THE METHODIST REVIEW.

New York, Cincinnati, May, June, 1893.

Charles the Great. His Relation to the Church.
The True Gospel according to Peter.
Hamlet, from the Standpoint of Theology.
The Sanctification of the Passions.
Wheels, Works, and Wages.
The Relations and Results of our Early Missionary Work in Oregon.
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Semicecentennial of the Scotch Free Church and its Memorable Disruption Controversy.

THE MISSIONARY HERALD.

Boston, May, 1893.

The Constantinople Station.
Letters from the Missions, China, Turkey, India, Africa.
Letter from the Evangelical Church at Tarsus.
Special Objects, Sunday Schools, People's Societies, and Churches.

THE MISSIONARY REVIEW.

London, New York, Toronto, June, 1893.

The Gospel in North Africa.
The Present Religious Condition of the Negro in the United States.
The Relations of Missionaries in Foreign Lands to their Governments.
Catherine Pennefeather.
A Voice from South Africa.
Samuel Methabathe.
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London, May, 1893.

Mourning for the Queen, Madagascar.
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OUR DAY.

Boston and Chicago, May, 1893.

Defects of New England Sabbath Laws.
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THE PREACHER'S MAGAZINE.

New York, May, 1893.

Lightness in Religion.
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Moses: His Life and his Lessons, X.
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Exploring the Bible: Its Gradual Growth.
The Apostolic Churches: Their Doctrine and Fellowship.

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Virginia, May, 1893.

Virginia's XIXth Canon.
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Church Work among the Negroes of South Carolina.
The Burial of Sir John Moore.
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London, May, 1893.

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Home Missions of the Church, IV.
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London, April, 1893.

The Progress of the Churches.
System of Church Patronage.
The Sacraments.
Rev W. F. Moulton.
Inspiration and Revelation.
The Tercentenary Celebration of Congregational Martyrs of 1593.

SUNDAY MAGAZINE.

Edinburgh, London, Dublin, May, 1893.

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The Light of the World.
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THE TREASURY.

New York, May, 1893.

The Indignation of a Fine Soul.
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The Greatest is Charity.
Rev. David Gregg.
The Indian Problem.
Injuring your Pastor's Influence.
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THE YALE REVIEW.

Boston, May, 1893.

Individualism as a Sociological Principle.
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The Unrest of English Farmers.
An Athenian Parallel to a Function of Our Supreme Court.
The Natural History of Party.

THE JUNE MAGAZINES.

The contents of HARPER'S for June are: "Don't you want the Cigarettes?" frontispiece; "An Artist's Summer Vacation," John Gilmer Speed; "The Evolution of New York," second part, Thomas A. Janvier; "The Empress of Austria," by one of the ladies of her court; "The Handsome Humes" (a novel), Part I., William Black; "Wyoming—Another Pennsylvania," Julian Ralph; "The Refugees: A Tale of Two Continents," Part VI., A. Conan Doyle; "New France under British Rule," Henry Loomis Nelson; "Pogit Way" (a story), Grace Livingston Furness; "Vivisection and Brain Surgery," W. W. Keen, M.D., LL.D.; "Horace Chase" (a novel), Part VI., Constance Fenimore Woolson; "Editor's Study," Charles Dudley Warner; "Monthly Record of Current Events;" "Editor's Drawer."

THE JUNE CENTURY contains: "The Juno of Argos: Discovered in 1892 by the American School of Athens," frontispiece; "Caught on a Lee Shore: Pleasures and Perils of a Cruise on the Florida Coast," Lieut. William Henn; "Where Helen Sits," Laura E. Richards; "The Death of the Prince Imperial," Archibald Forbes; "The Father of Modern Illustration" (Vienna), August F. Jaccaci; "College Athletics," Walter Camp; "Notable Women: Christina Rossetti," Edmund Gosse; "The Juno of Argos," Charles Waldstein; "My White Rose," Killarney, Jennie E. T. Dowe; "The White Islander," Mary Hartwell Catherwood; "The Story of a Day," Grace King; "The Hermit-Thrush," drawing by Mary Hallock Foote; "An Hour with Robert Franz," Henry T. Finck; "The Public Health: The Duty of the Nation in Guarding It," T. Mitchell Prudden, M.D.; "If Spirits Walk," Ellen Burroughs; "With Tolstoy in the Russian Famine," Jonas Stading; "Writing to Rosina," William Henry Bishop; "Art," Florence Earle Coates; "The Widow," Charles Sprague Pearce; "In Cowboy Land," Theodore Roosevelt; "Heart Song," Lucile Du Pré; "Benefits Forgor," Wolcott Balestier; "Mrs. Pettibone's Dinner-Horn," Charles Battell Loomis; "Poems," Grace Denio Litchfield; "Uncle Obadiah's Uncle Billy," William Henry Shelton.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE for June contains: "The Fall of a Giant Redwood," frontispiece; "Life in a Logging Camp," by Arthur Hill; "Under Cover of the Darkness," by T. K. Sullivan; "An Artist in Japan," by Robert Blum; "The Trouble in the Bric-à-Brac Mission," by William Henry Bishop; "Egotism," by E. S. Martin; "The Birds that we See," by Ernest E. Thompson; "Endymion and a Portrait of Keats," by Edith M. Thomas; "The Opinions of a Philosopher," by Robert Grant; "To-morrow," by W. G. Van Tassel Sutphen; "The Haunt of the Platypus," by Sidney Dickinson; "De Profundis," by Anne Reeve Aldrich; "The One I Knew the Best of All," by Frances Hodgson Burnett; "An Old Song," by H. C. Bunner; "The Point of View."

The contents of LIPPINCOTT'S for June are: "The Translation of a Savage," Gilbert Parker; "Amateur Rowing," John F. Huneke; "Life and Death," Frank Dempster Sherman; "The Philosophers" (Lippincott's Notable Stories, No. IV.), Geraldine Bonner; "Love and the Locksmith," Clinton Scollard; "How Men Write," Frank A. Burr; "Success," Harrison S. Morris; "Ambition," Johanna Staats; "Poetry," Joel Benton; "The Foreign Correspondent," Theodore Stanton; "Armistice," Graham R. Tomson; "A Glimpse into Walt Whitman," John Burroughs; "An Old Good-by," Lorimer Stoddard; "The Practical Jester," W. S. Walsh; "Two Pictures," Philip Bourke Marston; "An Actor's Art," Alfred Stoddard; "The Wooing of the Wind," Bliss Carman; "A Colonial Vista," F. H. W.; "When Doctors Differ," F. M. B.; "Men of the Day," M. Crofton.

MONTHLY BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS LITERATURE, CHRONICLE, OBITUARY, AND CALENDAR.

COMPILED BY THE REV. GEORGE W. GILMORE, M.A.

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[Any of these books may be ordered through the Christian Literature Co.]

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Westcott, Brooke Foss, D.D., Bp. The Gospel of Life. Thoughts introductory to the study of Christian doctrine. New York: Macmillan, 1893. Pp. xxiv., 806, 12mo, cloth, \$1.75.

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Zitelli-Natali, Zeph. Enchiridion ad sacrum disciplinarum cultores accomodatam. Editio quarta auctor et emendatio cura A. J. Mass. Baltimore: Murphy [1893]. Pp. iii., 244, 8vo, cloth, \$1.25. [A most useful book. Contains names and acts of the popes, list of general councils, principal editions of biblical texts, catalogue of heresies and schisms and peculiar doctrines of the same, outline of canon law, most important councils and synods and their decrees, and details of the U. S. hierarchy.]

CHRONICLE.

(Closes on the 30th of each month.)

April 17. Sixty-first annual meeting of the Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, in Boston.

April 22. Convention of Presidents of College Christian Associations, at Cambridge, Mass.

April 24. Meeting of the Baptist Union of England and Wales, in London, and of the Synod of the English Presbyterian Church, in Manchester.

April 25. First Convention of the Christian Engavor Missionary League of the Reformed Church in America, in New York City.

April 26-27. Twenty-third Annual Assembly of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, in Erie, Pa.

Annual meeting of the American McAll Association, in Albany.

April 27-30. International Convention of Young Women's Christian Associations, in Toledo, O.

April 30. Annual meeting of the American Sunday-School Union, in New York City.

May 1-6. Centenary of the organization of the General Synod of the (German) Reformed Church in the United States.

May 3. Meeting of the British Women's Temperance Association, in London.

Opening of the Unitarian Conference of the Middle States and Canada, in Washington, D. C.

May 2-9. Meeting of the College of Bishops and the General Missionary Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in Kansas City.

May 4. Inauguration of Rev. Robert Christie, D.D., to the chair of Didactic and Polemic Theology, in the Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny.

Annual meeting of the Presbyterian Historical Society, in Philadelphia.

Meeting of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, in Philadelphia.

May 7. Sixty-fifth Anniversary of the American Woman's Friend Society, in New York.

Beginning of the sessions of the United Presbyterian Synod of Scotland, in Edinburgh.

May 7-10. Annual meeting of the Woman's Board of Foreign Missions of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, in Nashville, Tenn.

May 8. Annual meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, in London.

May 9. Nineteenth anniversary of the Woman's Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America, in New York City.

Twenty-eighth anniversary of the National Temperance Society and Publication House, in New York City.

May 9-11. Women's General Missionary Convention of the United Presbyterian Church, at Omaha.

May 10. Annual meeting of the London Mission Society.

Thirteenth Council of the New York and Philadelphia Synod, in Philadelphia.

Sixty-eighth annual meeting of the American Tract Society, in New York City.

May 10-14. Thirtieth International Convention of the Young Men's Christian Associations, at Indianapolis.

May 11. Opening of the twenty-first Quadrennial Conference of the Church of the United Brethren, at Dayton, O.

May 12. Beginning of the thirty-eighth session of the Southern Baptist Convention, in Nashville, Tenn.

Seventy-seventh annual meeting of the American Bible Society, at the Bible House, New York.

May 15. Mid-year meeting of the Board of Managers of the Woman's Centenary Association of the Universalist Church, in Chicago.

May 15-22. World's Congress of Representative Women (Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary), at Chicago.

May 17. Beginning of the seventieth session of the General Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, in New York City.

May 18. Jubilee anniversary of the Scotch Disruption, in Edinburgh.

General Assembly of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, at Little Rock, Ark.; of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., in Washington, D. C.; of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., at Macon, Ga.; and of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, colored, at Providence, Ky.

Columbian meeting of the Woman's Centenary Association of the Universalist Church, in Chicago.

The following changes have been made in the faculties of theological seminaries: Dr. Henry M. Booth has been elected President of Auburn; Rev. T. R. English, Professor of the English Bible and Pastoral Theology at Hampden Sidney, Va.; Rev. B. L. Hobson to the Chair of Apologetics in McCormick Seminary; Dr. John O. Wilson to the Chair of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government in Allegheny Seminary; Dr. A. D. Hall to the Chair of Theology in Cumberland University. The trustees of the new Theological Seminary at Louisville, Ky., have also elected the Rev. W. W. Moore, D.D., to the Chair of Old Testament Exegesis; the Rev. C. R. Hemphill, D.D., to the Chair of Systematic Theology; the Rev. W. H. Marquess, D.D., to the Chair of English Bible and Biblical Theology; and the Rev. T. D. Witherspoon, D.D., to the Chair of Homiletics and Pastoral Theology; the Rev. Dr. McGiffert, of Lane Theological Seminary, has been elected to the Chair of Church History in Union Theological Seminary, New York City, and the Rev. William Adams Brown instructor in Systematic Theology.

Dean Lawrence, of the Cambridge Divinity School has been elected Bishop of Massachusetts to succeed the late Bishop Brooks. The Rev. Dr. Gallor has been chosen Bishop of Tennessee, and the Rev. Dr. Capers, Assistant-Bishop of South Carolina. The Rev. Isaac Oluwole and Rev. Charles Phillips have been appointed (Anglican) Assistant-Bishops of Yoruba, Africa.

OBITUARY.

Baird, Rev. Samuel John (Presbyterian), D.D., at Clifton Forge, Va., April 10, aged 76. He studied theology at New Albany, Ind.; completed his literary training at Centre College, Ky., 1843; devoted three years to missionary work in Kentucky; became pastor at Muscatine, Ia., 1847, and at Woodbury, N. J., 1850; labored in Virginia under commission from the American Bible Society and the Virginia Bible Society, receiving his commission in 1865. He is best known by his "Collection of the Acts, Deliverances and Testimonies of the Supreme Judiciary of the Presbyterian Church," but has published besides, a "Bible History of Baptism," "History of the New School and of the Question Involved in the Disruption of the Presbyterian Church in 1838," and "Elohim Revealed."

Bissell, Rt. Rev. William Henry Augustus (Episcopalian), D.D. (Norwich University, 1832; Hobart College, 1838; University of Vermont, 1876), at Burlington, Vt., May 14, aged 79. He was graduated from the University of Vermont, 1836; was ordained deacon, 1839, and priest, 1840; became rector of Trinity Church, West Troy, N. Y., 1841; of Grace Church, Lyons, N. Y., 1845, and of Trinity Church, Geneva, N. Y., 1848; was elected Bishop of Vermont, 1868.

McAll, Rev. Robert Whitaker (Congregational), F.L.S., in Paris, May 2, aged 72. He first studied architecture in Manchester, and then engaged in the study of theology in the Lancashire Independent College, Manchester; he was graduated from London University 1874; was for twenty-four years pastor of various Congregational churches in England; visited Paris in 1871, and resolved to serve there the working classes. He founded then the McAll Mission, which has since become so noted for its evangelical and successful work among the working people.

Mitchell, Rev. Arthur (Presbyterian, D.D. (Williams College, 1875), at Saratoga, N. Y., April 24, aged 58. He was graduated from Williams College, 1853, and from Union Theological Seminary, 1859; was tutor in Lafayette College, 1858-56; was ordained and became pastor in Richmond, Va., 1859; removed to Morristown, N. J., 1861; became pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago, Ill., 1869, and of the First Church, Cleveland, O., 1880; was appointed secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, 1888, holding that position till his death. He was noted for the fervor, vigor and grace of his oratory, and has published many sermons in pamphlet form.

Stearns, Rev. Oakman Sprague (Baptist), D.D. (Colby University, Me., 1868), at Newton Centre, Mass., April 20, aged 75. He was graduated from Waterville College, Me., 1840, and from Newton Theological Institute, Mass., 1846; became instructor in Hebrew in Newton Institute, 1846; pastor at Southbridge, Mass., 1847; at Newark, N. J., 1854,

and at Newton Centre, Mass., 1855; was called to the chair of Interpretation of the Old Testament in Newton Theological Institution in 1863. He translated Sartorius' "Person and Word of Christ," and was author of "A Syllabus of the Messianic Prophecies of the Old Testament" and "An Introduction to the Old Testament."

Upham, Rev. James (Baptist), D.D. (Colby University, 1860), in Chelsea, Mass., May 3, aged 92. He was graduated from Waterville College (now Colby University), 1836; became principal of the Farmington, Me., Academy the same year; entered Newton Theological Seminary, 1837; was ordained and became professor in the Theological Institute at Thomaston, Me., 1840; became pastor of the First Baptist Church in Manchester, N. H., 1842, removing the next year to Millbury, Mass.; became professor in the New Hampton Literary and Theological Institution, 1845; followed the school on its removal to Fairfax, Vt., 1853; became president of the same, 1861; retired from educational work and became editor of *The Watchman and Reflector*, 1866; became associate editor of the *Religious Herald*, in Richmond, Va., 1877; and about the same time became editorially connected with the *Youth's Companion*, of which he was health Editor at the time of his death.

CALENDAR.

June 1-3. Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, at New Haven, Conn.

June 6-8. Missionary Congress appointed by the Presbyterian Synod of New York, at Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

June 8-11. Twentieth National Conference of Charities and Corrections, at Chicago.

June 9. Third Annual Meeting of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the Northwest, in Milwaukee.

June 8-16. Canada Presbyterian General Assembly, at Bradford, Ont.

June 14-21. The Tenth Annual Meeting of the International Missionary Union, at Clifton Springs, N. Y.

June 20-28. Young Women's Conference, at Northfield.

June 22-July 7. The Kentucky Chautauque, at Woodland Park, Ky.

June 29-July 2. International Epworth League Conference, at Cleveland, O.

July 1-9. World's Student Congress, at Northfield.

July 5-9. Twelfth International Christian Brotherhood Convention, at Montreal, Canada.

July 12-16. Third International Convention of Baptist Young People's Union of America, at Indianapolis, Ind.

July 15-August 6. Roman Catholic School, at Plattsburgh, N. Y.

July 24-30. Baptist Grove Meeting at Lake Winnepesaukee, N. H.

THE THINKER:

A Magazine of Christian Literature

AND

Review of World-wide Christian Thought.

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1893.

THE THINKER:

MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

JULY, 1893.

No. 1.

THE SURVEY OF THOUGHT.

AND HELPS TO THE STUDY OF THE BIBLE.—The chief distinctive of this new edition of one of the most widely circulated books in the English language—for up to 1888 as many as a million copies had been sold—is the presence of a large number of illustrations taken, with only a few exceptions, from ancient monuments. Instead of the freaks of imagination which Biblical works used to be burdened rather than adorned, we have accurate representations of texts from manuscripts and inscriptions, of coins, medals, and other memorials of the lands referred to in the Bible. Sixty-four neatly engraved plates, which are accompanied by explanatory notes, constitute an educational aid of the first importance. Multitudes of the best teachers who have hitherto had extremely confused and inaccurate ideas about the writing, costumes, art, and religions of the ancient East find in this pictorial portion of the helps exceedingly instructive; and those who are well informed themselves will prize it as a valuable adjunct to oral teaching. The notes are usually excellent, but a few are open to criticism. The statement in explanation of Plate 1 that the Hebrew and Phoenician alphabets were derived from the hieratic characters of the Egyptians is too positive. The problem of the origin of the alphabet is still unsolved. The reproduction of the Rosetta Stone in Plate 3 would have been more intelligible had the order of the three texts been indicated. The inscription at the foot of Plate 35 that the inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser III. in Rezin, Menahem, and Azariah are curiously incomplete. Why not mention the three other kings named in the Bible—Ahaz, Pekah, and Hosea—who are also referred to? The 635 pages of letterpress which follow are a wonderfully rich storehouse of information bearing on the study of the Bible. The whole work has been brought down to date by the careful revision of portions, the re-writing of others, and the addition of fresh matter. The most notable contribution under the last head is the section entitled "Lessons of Modern Discoveries to the Old Testament Narrative," which is by Canon Girdlestone, Dr. Rost, and Dr. Bezold, with the co-operation of Prof. Budge and Maunde Thompson. It is rather surprising that in this section, the whole of which occupies only nine pages, contains two errors: 1869 instead of 1868 as the year of the discovery of the Moabite Stone, and "Ahaz" instead of "Azariah" as the king named on the Assyrian tablets "Azriyau." The style also of the last two sentences of this section is unaccountably clumsy. Perhaps the want of finish and exactness is due to the number of the writers. The Glossary of Antiquities, Customs,

&c., which has been revised by Dr. Budge, is exceptionally good. The account of Jewish sects and parties, &c., is one-sided, owing apparently to excessive dependence on the writings of the late Dr. Edersheim. It would have been far more satisfactory had more use been made of the masterly researches of Professor Schürer. As it is, some of the statements cannot be said to represent the views of scholars generally. How many, for instance, would endorse the explanation of the term "Pharisee" as referring to separation from the heathen world; and the assertion that the term "batlanim" describes the rulers of the synagogue? Other points on which there is room for difference of opinion might be mentioned, but it would be invidious to dwell further on the defects of a work which vast multitudes of lovers of the Bible in many lands will rightly hail as a boon of incalculable value. The volume closes with an indexed atlas of fifteen maps, compiled by Mr. Courtier from the most recent authorities.

THE DECADENCE OF THEOLOGY.—In an article in the *North American Review* John Burroughs maintains with great vehemence that of the two rival or conflicting conceptions of the universe, the scientific conception and the theological conception, the one is waning or becoming feebler day by day, and the other growing stronger day by day. "The difference," he says, "between our times and the times of our fathers is mainly in the greater light of our day, the light of exact science. We see things as they are; we see how and where the delusions of the past arose, that they were incident to the general obscurity, that these portentous forms that were so real and threatening to our fathers are either shadows or harmless, inanimate objects." He considers that belief in the supernatural has almost vanished; that the belief in miracles is narrowed down, among Protestants, to a very small span of history, namely, the New Testament miracles, and that even these will probably soon be given up. It is, however, questionable whether there is much basis for these wild and sweeping assertions. The assumption that for many centuries the whole of Christendom has been labouring under delusions is, on the face of it, very difficult to accept. It is more easy to believe that the mind of an individual is disordered than to agree with him in the opinion that the whole of the rest of the world is insane. It is interesting to notice the description Mr. Burroughs gives of the form which Christian teaching should assume in order to be in harmony with altered circumstances. "If a preacher were to say, 'My friends, we are all brothers of the man Jesus Christ, flesh of His flesh, and bone of His bone; what He felt we may feel; what He saw we may see; what He did we may do; we have in kind, though maybe not in degree, the same power and capacities He had; we can live as pure, as noble, as disinterested a life as He lived; we may show, in a measure, the same meekness, gentleness, humility, unselfishness, lovingness, charity, truthfulness, brotherliness as He showed, and the coming to Him means coming to our better selves, to the Jesus within us, to our capacity to be and do like Him,' we should

understand him. He would be speaking words of soberness and truth. If he were to say that salvation by Jesus Christ meant salvation by cultivating Christ-like qualities, not the believing this or that about Christ, but by living up to the Christ-like ideal—if he were to say these or the like things his words would be strong by the whole weight of science and of human experience. What he does say or do is to unfold the plan of salvation in which such terms as the council of the Godhead, the fall of man, imputed guilt, vicarious atonement, &c., play the leading parts." If the writer had been more familiar with the current teaching of the Christian pulpit he would have known that fellowship with Christ, imitation of Christ, and transformation into the likeness of Christ, are constantly being dwelt upon in the exhortations given by the preacher. But one would like to know how, upon the writer's assumptions, the example of Christ can be made use of at all. From what sources can we get to know anything whatever about Him except from the four Gospels? And are not His history and teaching, as they give them, inextricably interwoven with supernatural and miraculous elements?

THE SERVANT OF THE LORD IN DEUTERO-ISAIAH.—The elaborate work on *The History of the Religion of the Old Testament* from the pen of Professor Smend, of Göttingen, which has just been published as one of a series of theological manuals, contains an interesting study on "The Servant of the Lord in Deutero-Isaiah," which shows plainly that "the higher criticism" is as far as ever from a final solution of this fascinating problem. The traditional explanation is of course repudiated, but no satisfactory substitute seems to be forthcoming. The "collective Israel" theory is partially accepted, but with grave modifications. The passages in xlii. 1-4 and xlix. 1-6 are thought to be best interpreted on this hypothesis, but the wonderful picture in the 53rd chapter is confidently referred to an individual. This individual must be looked for in the time preceding the composition of the Ebed Yahveh hymns. His portrait is not a prophecy of Christ, but a sketch from life. Professor Smend agrees with Professor Duhm in supposing that there was some Israelitish saint of rare piety and meekness who was misunderstood and martyred, and whose sufferings and death were believed to atone for the sin of his people, of whom no distinct trace can be found in any other part of the Hebrew Scriptures or in Jewish tradition. This unknown martyr was regarded by the equally unknown author of these hymns, and by the not less unknown compiler usually designated as Deutero-Isaiah, as the spiritual father of men who would establish a new Israel, which would be converted to Jehovah, and would obtain pardon from Him on the basis of the atonement provided by the martyr's death. The innocent sufferer would, by his unmerited humiliation and death, atone for and restore the sinful people, and so live again in Israel, and thereby carry out Jehovah's purpose for the world. The age which witnessed this unprecedented martyrdom is virtually pronounced indiscoverable by Professor

Duhm, although he half hints that it may have lain between the Exile and the Maccabean Period. Professor Smend is less cautious. There underlies the representation of the Servant of the Lord, we are assured, "the image of a prophetic martyr who must have lived somewhere about the time of Jeremiah, and was more than he. This may be asserted, although we are acquainted with this man only through the impression which he made on the author of the Ebed Yahveh pieces." Reasons for this date are, unfortunately, not given. It seems to follow from the assumption mentioned above, which, however, is stated as an obvious fact, that these Ebed Yahveh hymns were earlier than the time of Deutero-Isaiah. Duhm, on the contrary, puts them later, most probably between the Exile and the Age of Ezra. This curious divergence between two writers of the same school is singularly suggestive. The critical methods which lead these two accomplished scholars to opposite conclusions must be very far indeed from infallible. Although the atoning efficacy of the Servant's sufferings and death is admitted, it is regarded as secondary. More stress is laid by the prophet on the final glory which is the reward of the martyr's fidelity, than on the deliverance of the sinful nation. It was part of Jehovah's purpose, but only a part, that the Servant's sufferings and martyrdom should make atonement for Israel. The new element in these hymns, which are considered the culminating point of Old Testament prophecy, is the thought that the continuance of humanity before God rests on the fidelity displayed by suffering innocence. In this we have a real type of Jesus. This feature exhibits in a very remarkable way the inward relation in which the prophecy stands to Christianity. So Professor Smend, notwithstanding his nominal rejection of the Messianic interpretation, substantially endorses it. For him, as for most Christian teachers, the suffering and dying Servant of the Lord who bears the sins of many foreshadows Jesus Christ.

OETTLI ON DEUTERONOMY, JOSHUA, AND JUDGES.—The series which has furnished the well-known commentaries of Orelli on Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, is coming to a close with expositions of the Pentateuch and related writings by Professors Strack and Oettli. The former is dealing with the first four books of the Pentateuch, and with the Pentateuchal question as a whole; but since his exposition has appeared only as far as the middle of the 17th verse of the 46th chapter of Genesis, and the introduction is reserved for the last number, the examination of his work must be postponed. The volume by Professor Oettli, who has already written on several books of the Old Testament in this series, will be a welcome addition to the Biblical student's library, although it will doubtless be received with dissatisfaction in "advanced" circles on account of its distinctly conservative character. Yet it is a thoroughly critical production. The letters JE, P, and D are as prominent in its pages as elsewhere. Professor Oettli, it is true, condemns much which is found in recent literature on the Pentateuch as an unprofitable display of acuteness, and protests against the excessive assurance which

undertakes to point out the origin of every verse and portion of a verse, but he is nevertheless unable to resist the prevailing tendency. Whilst declining more than tentative criticism, he dissects books and chapters as minutely as any of his brethren. The various parts of the Book of Joshua, for instance, are divided between JE, P, and the Deuteronomistic editor or redactor with a precision which would be startling were it not so common in the products of German scholarship and their English imitations. And the following analysis of the 27th chapter of Deuteronomy is as fine an example of the conjectural criticism which is now in vogue as could be found:—"Vv. 1-3 Dt (designated D by Driver), 4 R (the redactor of the Hexateuch), 5-7a JE, 7b-8 R, 9-13 Dt, 14-26 R." Nevertheless, as hinted above, Professor Oettli is a far safer guide than many Continental expositors. He accepts the narrative as historical with the exception of a few accretions, and finds it pervaded by a far higher purpose than the exaltation of a particular tribe or dynasty, or the inculcation of special religious dogmas. The possible date of the nucleus of Deuteronomy is put as early as the eighth century B.C. The Book of Judges may have originated in the course of the same period. As the Book of Joshua indicates acquaintance with P, it must in its present form, at least, be later than that document. Since the sources of Joshua are the same as those of the Pentateuch, the latter term is exchanged for Hexateuch. In respect of the alternative, which some writers on both sides declare to be inevitable with reference to the Book of Deuteronomy—that it was either composed by Moses, or must be classed with the Pseudepigrapha—Professor Oettli's remarks are sufficiently striking to merit reproduction. Their substance is as follows. After observing that the supposed alternative is due only to misunderstanding, he proceeds, "The Spirit who was mightily revealed in Moses did not die with him, but continued to work in Israel and to select and endow fitting instruments. One of these, a majestic figure in the procession of witnesses for Yahveh, was the author of the greater part of Deuteronomy. He took what his age required out of full communion of spirit with the mediator of the covenant, who stood at the cradle of Israelitish history and with all in subsequent times who had been moved by the Spirit of Yahveh. If he chose the literary expedient of speaking in the name of Moses, because he considered it most appropriate and most effective, he was entitled to do so by a genuine prophetic commission in his inmost soul, and his work does no dishonour to the name of Moses. If this standpoint be adopted, it matters little whether the origin of the document be put a little earlier or a little later in the period of the Israelitish monarchy." This ingenious attempt to escape an awkward dilemma cannot be pronounced perfectly successful, but it moves, perhaps, in the direction of a satisfactory solution. One of the most striking features of the volume is a large and unusually elaborate map of Palestine by Guthe and Fischer.

PROGRESS IN THEOLOGY.—It is feared that to many in the present day the word "theology" suggests ideas very different from those in the minds

of those in past ages who hailed it as "the queen of the sciences"; and they expect to find a theological treatise to be a dull, unreadable, dry-as-dust production, having very little to do with practical religion, and quite out of harmony with modern scientific thought. It would be well if those who are of this opinion would read Professor Bruce's review in the *Contemporary* of Principal Fairbairn's new work on *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*. We take the liberty of quoting a couple of paragraphs from it. "The chief occupation," he says, "of theology for the last half century has been the quest of a lost Christ, and its present joy and ground of hope for the future is the re-discovery of Him. Christ had been lost in the creeds, lost in the cloister, lost in sacramentarian theories, lost even in the Bible. He had become once more, as at the beginning of His earthly career, 'One among ye whom ye know not.' Within the memory of men now living there were not a few professional theologians who could not say for themselves as much as the evil spirit of whom we read in the Book of Acts. 'Jesus I know, and Paul I know,' said the demon. Not so very long ago there were theologians who, speaking according to the fact, would have been obliged to confess, 'Paul I know, but Jesus I do not know.' But the Christ of history has been restored to the knowledge of the Church. The angelic message has been spoken: 'He is not here, He is risen; behold, He goeth before you into Galilee, there shall ye seek Him.' Multitudes of devout souls have seen Him there, and been satisfied; the beatific vision has been the great event of their lives." Professor Bruce argues very ably and convincingly against the idea that there can be no progress in theology. "It is a very plausible suggestion," he says, "that at the end of eighteen centuries there can be very little new to be said on the subject of Christianity. Surely, argues the man of average prosaic common sense, the meaning of the New Testament or of the Gospels has by this time been pretty well explored, and its theological import finally determined! This Philistine attitude of finality is one of the most depressing elements with which the man of fresh insight has to reckon. For as wise as it looks, it is utterly unsupported by the facts of history. If there is anything which the story of the past makes clear, it is the slowness with which thought advances, especially in the religious sphere. One step in a millennium is a fairly good pace for the theological wayfarer. Think of the Church being content for a thousand years with the grotesque idea of Christ's death being a price paid to the devil for man's redemption, till at length Anselm came and proposed another solution considerably more rational if not final! Think again what a dreary time elapsed before the Church found out that the Christian ideal of life was not ascetic! Not till the sixteenth century was it discovered that the typical Christian was not the monk, but the man who lived a true, godly, beneficent life in the family, in the State, and in connection with his secular calling; and even yet this is not a universally-accepted truth. Consider once more how radical the cleavage which still exists on the subject of sacraments! Nothing less than two totally incompatible conceptions of Christianity is involved. And yet

we live in the nineteenth century of the Christian era! With these facts before us it cannot be presumptuous to think it possible that the Church has not yet fully realized the import of Christ's doctrine concerning *the Fatherhood of God and the sonship of men*, and that there is room for a new improved statement on these cardinal themes and other correlated topics."

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS. — In the *Jewish Quarterly Review* Mr. F. C. Conybeare gives a very interesting account of his researches into the Armenian versions of the apocryphal book bearing the above title. Hitherto, this work has been known only from Greek MSS., and has been reckoned among the earliest monuments of Christian literature, and considered to date back to the first half of the second century, or possibly to the end of the first. In an edition published by the distinguished scholar Græbner, however, which appeared in 1698-9, the theory was propounded that the Testaments were the work of a Jewish writer living in pre-Christian times, and that as they at present exist, they contain interpolations due to the translator who turned them from Hebrew into Greek. As Mr. Conybeare shows, this conjecture of the seventeenth-century critic is now decisively confirmed by an examination of the ancient Armenian version of the book. "In it," he says, "there is a text, earlier than any yet known of these Testaments, in which the passages on which those have mainly relied who have upheld the Christian authorship are found to be, many of them, altogether lacking, and the place of others occupied by passages of a tendency not distinctly Christian, and often even essentially pre-Christian and Jewish." Curiously enough, the Armenian version still retains a passage describing the signs and wonders connected with the sufferings and death of the Messiah, which closely corresponds with Matt. xxvii. 45-53. It is of course possible that in this we have an indication that the Armenian version is not quite free from Christian interpolations, and that we have not yet reached the ultimate and truly Hebrew form of the document. The conclusion to which Mr. Conybeare comes as to the result of his researches is: "At the same time that the Testaments thus lose all value as an early monument of Christianity, composed between the taking of Jerusalem by Titus and the revolt of Bar-Kokheba, they gain a new value as a record of the feelings and aspirations of the Jews in the age immediately preceding Jesus Christ."

BIBLICAL THOUGHT.

DANIEL: IN RELATION TO THE CANON.

By REV. J. E. H. THOMSON, B.D.

In a previous article we showed that Daniel was known and popular at least forty years earlier than the date assigned to the book by critics, and we have seen the valuelessness of the silence of Siracides. There is another line of

proof which is appealed to by both schools, and diametrically opposite conclusions have been drawn from its evidence. We mean the evidence from the canon. If the orthodox party are right in their assumptions in regard to the canon, the early date of Daniel is proved beyond dispute; if the critical, its late date is equally clear.

When we turn to Josephus *contra Apionem*, we find that he maintains that the Jewish canon was fixed a long while before the date, even at the earliest, of Siracides. "We have not ten thousands of discordant and conflicting books, but only two-and-twenty, embracing the history of all time, which are rightly believed to be Divine. Of these, five indeed are by Moses, which contain both laws and history from the creation of man to his own death—a period of almost three thousand years. From the death of Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes, who succeeded Xerxes as king of the Persians, the prophets, after Moses, wrote down events in thirteen books; the remaining four containing hymns to God, and advices to men concerning conduct. From Artaxerxes to our time each event has been recorded, but these writings have not been thought worthy of like credit with those, because there was not the clear succession of the prophets."

Here, then, we have the following facts, that in Josephus' day the canon was fixed and numerically arranged under the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Further, that the canon was supposed to be closed in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus. These two opinions must have been general among the Jews, Pharisees, and Sadducees alike, else Josephus would have notified this among the differences between these two sects. If so, any change introduced by one sect would be resented and resisted by the other. These opinions must go back, then, at all events, to the formation of the two sects.

As to the date at which we ought to place these two sects, there is discussion. Under the rule of John Hyrcanus, we find them fully developed. Their roots, however, go much further back; the Hellenizers representing the Sadducees, and the Hasidim the Pharisees.

An earlier evidence of the existence of the canon is to be found in the introduction to Siracides, in which the translator refers to his grandfather's acquaintance with τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πατρῶν βιβλίων, clearly the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, or K'thubim. The attempt to invalidate the conclusion drawn from this as to the fact that the class K'thubim was already formed is answered by the fact that the same tripartite division reappears a few lines below in slightly different words. This certainly was written not later than 130 B.C., possibly a hundred years earlier. Canon Driver's assertion that books *may* have been added after this is devoid of proof, and, as it seems to me, of probability.

Daniel was in the canon in his day, as may be proved by the use Josephus makes of Daniel. If Josephus' opinion is to be trusted, then we could at once go back to the days of Ezra and Nehemiah. But against this it is urged in the first place that the canon was not fixed so early as 425 B.C.

Professor Ryle, who follows Canon Driver and Dr. Cheyne, fixes the date at which the canon was complete as 105 B.C. It is difficult to see what reasons have led to this date, save the conclusions they have come to as to the late date of certain books and portions of books. In the first place, one ought always to suspect the judgment of a person who has committed himself to one side unless he brings complete evidence. If the reasons are purely individual, then they have value only for the individual. To any one who bears in mind the changing possibilities of history, Dr. Cheyne's method of reconstructing the surrounding circumstances in which the individual Psalms were composed is very hazardous, especially when one remembers how continually hymns are changed in use. Let any one take a hymn-book of thirty years ago, before the purist tide set in, and compare the text of any of the more favourite hymns as it appears then with the text as it came from the author's pen, and he will see how many alterations, additions, and omissions have taken place. Has Dr. Cheyne any right to assume that no interpolations are to be found in the Psalter? If there have been any interpolations, how can he be sure that the very points on which he builds his historic background have not been interpolated? To make additions to a book already in the canon was a very different thing from foisting a book into the canon.

Is there any indirect evidence in favour of the correctness of the opinions advanced by Josephus? It would seem that only on the ground of this opinion being true can we explain the exclusion of certain books from the canon.

It is admitted on all hands that Ecclesiasticus was written at latest about 180 B.C., and not impossibly a century earlier. We shall not here discuss this matter of the date of Ecclesiasticus, which we do below, only would remark that to us the earlier date seems the more probable. It should be added that Winer decides for the later date, and De Wette follows him in this, not because of any grammatical reason, but because "the ideas are too advanced for that early date." What evidence have critics but their own "inner consciousness" of what were the ideas of the canon at that date? They have therefore no right to assign a chronological position to documents simply because of the necessities of their theories. That is to test facts by theories, not theories by facts. Whether written 180 B.C. or 280 B.C., it was at all events written before the canon was closed, according to the critics. Why, then, was it not included in the canon?

The orthodox have their answer, that it was written too late. The critical answer is, that it had not the name attached to it of some famous worthy of old time. That, it seems to me, really admits that at the time Ecclesiasticus was composed the canon was regarded as closed, and only books that claimed to be composed before the date assigned by Josephus to the close of the canon would have their case considered. If, however, the arrangement referred to by Josephus by which the books were paralleled under the letters of the Hebrew alphabet were in vogue thus early, there is difficulty in imagining how any books could be added.

Leaving this, what can be said against the admission of the Wisdom of Solomon? Why was it not admitted into the canon? for if later than the critical date of Daniel, its date is probably earlier than 105 B.C. If it is argued that it was not composed in Palestine, that is assuming a new criterion, one that would exclude the Deutero-Isaiah and Ezekiel; if the objection be that it was written in Egypt, that would exclude some of the chapters of Jeremiah. If the criterion be further altered, and it is said not to have been written in Hebrew, this would exclude portions of Ezra and, as we know, Daniel. If it is further alleged to have been written originally in Greek, Professor Margoliouth against this asserts it was written in Hebrew.

But it cannot be maintained that a famous name was necessary to secure for a book inclusion in the canon. There is no author's name attached to Ruth or Esther. With Canon Driver I feel compelled to regard Ruth as early; but if its antiquity was the reason of its inclusion, then the principle of Josephus must be admitted. Esther cannot be much earlier than the end of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus. If so, why has it been admitted into the canon? We know that lists of the canonical books of the Old Testament, otherwise complete, are defective in regard to Esther. It might easily be because it was so near the boundary line that inclusion or exclusion was for some time a moot point.

Why was Tobit excluded? There seems no reasonable doubt that it dates from the Persian period. There is no reference in the part where Tobit takes on him the guise of a prophet of his having any expectation that the Greek monarchy would overthrow the Persian. He refers to the rebuilding of the Temple, and looks forward to the restoration of the ten tribes as immediately following. If it were composed in Palestine, as seems evident, and in Hebrew in the Persian period, why was it excluded and Daniel included? The criterion with which Josephus supplies us would explain this. It claims a much greater antiquity than Daniel, so the claim to antiquity was not accepted without examination. If Daniel were known to be ancient, while Tobit was not *known* to be so, that would explain the matter.

If we take 105 B.C. as the date when the canon was fixed, how is it that Enoch was not included? Most critics acknowledge that at all events the first and third books were written either in the reign of John Hyrcanus or during the Maccabean struggle. I, for my part, strongly maintain the latter, and indeed can only understand the opposition to the earlier date from the difficulty of bringing it so near the date these critics have determined must be the date of Daniel. But even grant this later date to Enoch, say it is dated 130 B.C. instead of 160 B.C., still why was it excluded from the canon? It bears as the name of its author Enoch, a name that more impressed the spirits of men than even Daniel did. He, too, prophesied of successful struggle against external foes. Why is Enoch left out? It was written in Hebrew, it was composed in Palestine, and had annexed to it a name of vast antiquity and one that filled the mind with strange imaginations. Why

was it left out and Daniel included? The criterion of Josephus will supply us with an answer.

While we take up this position it is argued on the other hand that the position of Daniel in the canon shows that it is late. Of course if the arguments above advanced seem sufficient, no more need be said late or early. Daniel is in the canon, and the canon must have been completed long before the received critical date. But let us grant that the reasons advanced are not conclusive, and examine the arguments critics adduce for asserting it to be late. Canon Driver assumes, without reason assigned, that it is highly probable that the tripartite division of the books, current from antiquity among the Jews, has an historical basis and corresponds to three stages in the historic process by which the canon was formed. The only thing in the nature of proof advanced for this is the alleged fact that the Jews never transferred a book from one class to another. Even though this were true, it would not follow that the reason of the division was historic; but it does not seem to be true. Josephus evidently had the same books in the main as we have, and reckoned them as twenty-two, as did the other Jews, but instead of assigning to the prophets only eight books, he says there are thirteen books written by the prophets, and only four are among the K'thubim, which he says contain "hymns to God and advices to men concerning conduct," a description that would only suit some of the present Hagiographa. It is clear, then, that with Josephus several of the books reckoned among the Jewish Hagiographa are by others, as by him, regarded as prophetic.

But further, grant that introduction into the canon was a process, and that the Law was first admitted to it, then the Prophets, and then the K'thubim. That proves nothing as to the relative antiquity of the writing so admitted, else the whole critical hypothesis that the Law came after the Prophets is proved utterly groundless. Certainly tradition unanimously declares the *Parashoth* of the Torah to have been in use as part of the Synagogue service before the *haftaroth* of the N'biim were thought of.

But further, if the chronological principle was at work at all it would reveal itself in the subordinate portions. We should find the order invariable. Let us compare the order in which the books of the Bible are given in the Talmudic treatise *Baba Bathra* with that in our Hebrew Bible; let us translate the enumeration of the books of the prophets and of the K'thubim from *Baba Bathra*, as the books of the Torah are invariable. "The books (ספרים) which belong to the prophets (נביאים) are Joshua and Judges, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the Twelve. The books which belong to the K'thubim are Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Daniel, and the rolls (מגילות) of Esther, Ezra, and Chronicles." No one can help noticing how Isaiah is put after Ezekiel and Jeremiah, an arrangement which suggests that size had something to do with the succession of the prophets. The order of the Hagiographa is more at variance with that in the Hebrew Bible. The Masoretes had another order of the

K'thubim still, which began with Chronicles, followed by Psalms, Proverbs, Ruth, Song of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah. Not one of these arrangements has the smallest sign that chronology had anything to do with the order.

Indeed, there seems rather a bold defiance of chronology in the order in most cases. When we consider this, we must bear in mind that the chronological succession to be considered is not the absolute chronology arrived at by careful and scientific study of the documents, but the chronology of tradition. We have seen that the position of any other view would reduce the critical school to a self-contradiction in regard to the succession of the three main divisions of the canon. In all the lists we have given, Psalms is placed before Job. The order followed in our ordinary Hebrew Bibles places Job after Proverbs. Everybody knows that the Talmudic tradition was that the Book of Job was written by Moses. If Talmudic tradition is worth anything in regard to any matter, it is in regard to such scholastic opinions as this. David also was credited with the Psalms, and Solomon with the Proverbs. However vague Talmudic chronology was, the Rabbins never had any doubt that Moses lived before both David and Solomon. What shall we say of the list which puts Chronicles first? The whole theory that any evidence for the date of Daniel can be got from its position in the canon seems utterly baseless, even when we draw our evidence from Palestinian and Hebrew sources.

When we pass to Greek sources, Alexandrian or Christian, the theory becomes only all the weaker. In the Septuagint the Hagiographa are not relegated to the end of the Bible as they are in Hebrew exemplars, but are placed in the middle, an order that is followed by our English Bibles. Among the Alexandrian Jews there does not appear to have been any idea that the Hagiographa were of more recent origin than the prophets. In the Septuagintal order it is to be noted that Daniel is placed among the prophets. We know that Christian usage followed the order of the Septuagint, though, as we shall see, with some variations, and some still more important exclusions. Eusebius (*Eccl. His.*, book iv. 26) gives an account of the writings of Melito, Bishop of Sardis, and in course of this gives a letter of his in which he states in order the books of the Bible as received by him. His order is of "Moses, five books—*Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy*—*Jesus Nave* (Joshua), *Judges, Ruth*, four of *Kings*, two of *Paralipomena* (Chronicles), the *Psalms of David*, the *Proverbs of Solomon*—which is also called *Wisdom*—*Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Job*; of Prophets, *Isaiah, Jeremiah*, one book of the *Twelve, Daniel, Ezekiel, Esdras*." It will be observed that Nehemiah and Esther are not included in this list. Almost certainly Nehemiah was included in Esdras. It is possible that Esther was also included under that title, but it is also possible that Melito did not regard Esther as canonical. Since this list is founded on the Jewish canon as to its contents, it is probable that it follows the order in vogue among the Jews of Asia Minor.

It is, however, argued that the only reason why the Book of Daniel is excluded from the list of the prophets is the lateness of the date of its composition. But we have seen that it is almost certain that Josephus included Daniel among the prophets, and quite certain that Melito did, and as we saw, probably Melito followed a Jewish order current in Asia Minor. But even if we grant that Daniel was in the Jewish canon excluded from the list of the prophets, and included in that of the Hagiographa, acknowledged lateness of date need not have been the reason for this. It is not denied that the Jews, at all events about the time of our Lord, professed to believe the Book of Daniel to have been written at the date it purports to have been written. When was it that they acknowledged its lateness? When and for what reason did they reverse that belief for a belief in its comparative antiquity? These are questions that the critical school ought to be prepared to answer if they will maintain as at all reasonable their contention that the position of the book in the canon has anything to do with its date.

Is it utterly impossible to find another reason than lateness of date for the inclusion of the Book of Daniel among the Hagiographa, and its exclusion from the books of the prophets. Hävernicks answer is more worthy of consideration than the critical school are willing to admit. He maintains that the reason why Daniel was not included among the prophets was that Daniel was not a professional prophet—the function of prophecy was an accident in the career of a statesman. To this it is answered that Amos was not a prophet, “neither the son of a prophet.” But if this statement shows that Amos, though not a prophet, was included among the prophets, this answer of Amos shows that only regularly educated “sons of the prophets” were expected to fulfil the prophetic function. His position is like that of Paul among the Apostles, claiming Apostleship by Divine call, though not among the regular number. Amos was not a regularly educated prophet, yet God had taken him. He became a prophet by Divine call, and so couches his prophecies in the ordinary prophetic language, and introduces his message with “Thus saith the Lord.” The point of his disclaimer is the denial of the merely professional character of his message. We know that the exhortations of clergymen are often put aside by people on the plea of “the Northern farmer.” They think, “he has said as he owt to ha’ said, an’ they coom awa.” The bold assertion of his non-professional character is intended to bring out the divinity of his call and his message more clearly. He was not a professional prophet to begin with, but became one.

Another reason seems to me more important, as well as one that has had more to do with the position of Daniel among the K’tubim than the professional idea. Moses was regarded as a prophet indeed in some senses by the Jews as *the prophet*, yet his five books are not included among the prophetic books. It may be said that the law was regarded as superior to the prophets, but it must be admitted that, whatever the reason, the Books of Moses were not regarded as prophetic books, although Moses was the greatest of the prophets. Further, David was reckoned a prophet. Not

only was he associated with Samuel in the school of the prophets when Saul first sent to take David, and then came himself, and under the impulse of the Spirit of God prophesied himself before Samuel, but in Apostolic days he is expressly called a prophet, (Acts ii. 29, 30). Peter says, "Let me freely speak of the patriarch David—being a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him." David is there called a prophet, yet in no list of the canonical books do the Psalms which are attributed to him appear among the prophetic writings. It would seem that the literary character of the composition chiefly determined the position of certain books among the K'thubim and their exclusion from among N'biim.

The most striking instance confirmatory of this position is to be found in the Lamentations of Jeremiah. This book was ascribed to a prophet. The occasion of the composition of the elegies that form it was fixed by tradition. Even though the traditional view that Jeremiah was the author be incorrect, Canon Driver correctly, as it seems to us, maintains that the author or authors were contemporaries with that prophet. Here, then, is a book attributed to a prophet, coming from pre-Exilian times, earlier not improbably than Ezekiel, earlier certainly than Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, relegated to the K'thubim. There was and could be no question of the alleged author's prophetic position. There was no question of its date, consequently it must have been the literary character of these compositions that fixed their place in the canon.

Few need to be told that there is a large number of books chiefly written in the period between the ordinary date assigned to the conclusion of the Old Testament canon and the beginning of that of the New that belong to a class of which Daniel is usually recognized as at once the type and the earliest example. We mean the apocalyptic writings. These resemble the books of the prophets in many particulars. Like the prophets, they foretell, or at all events profess to foretell, the future. That future is revealed to them by means of visions, or at least they profess that this is the case. But while there are these points of resemblance, there are many points of difference. The most striking difference is that while the Prophets are generally in verse and are always lyric in character, the Apocalypses are always in prose and are never lyrical. Revelations of the future are made to both by means of visions; but while in the case of Prophets the reader is led to deduce what the vision before the prophet was by the lyric accompaniment his song supplies to the picture, Apocalyptic describes the vision directly, and leaves us to deduce what moral lessons appear to us to be in it. Further, and partly due to this, a moral purpose is much more obvious in the case of the Prophets than in that of the Apocalyptists. In the latter there is none of the denunciations of evil, none of the withering contempt of idolatry, which are so frequent in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, and the other prophets. On the other, the Apocalyptist has incomparably the wider vision. All history from the beginning to the utmost end of all things is within his scheme.

It may be objected that there are large portions of the books assigned in the Hebrew canon to the prophets which have none of the characteristics of the prophets as described above. The books of Samuel and Kings are not prophetic in our sense of the word. That must be admitted to be true; but this including of history under prophecy is due to the idea that all these historic books, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, were penned by those that were prophets by profession, an idea that there seems nothing to confirm, at least to the extent of excluding all non-prophetic authorship. Of course the difficulty presents itself, why were Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther excluded? Jewish tradition credited Mordecai with the composition of the last of these books, but did not reckon him a prophet. The Book of Nehemiah also was attributed to the man whose name it bears, and he was not a prophet. Chronicles and Ezra have this in common, that they are much more obviously compilations than Samuel or Kings, and hence, for this literary reason, were excluded from the collection of the prophets.

It may be further contended that many of the prophecies of Ezekiel and the opening chapters of Zechariah are really Apocalyptic in character. While this is so it is to be noted that the mass of the books of which these visions form parts have not the Apocalyptic character. This applies even to Zechariah. Although we may now see reason to think that the latter chapters of this are by a pre-Exilic author, we must remember that the Jews of the Greek or the Persian period had no such idea.

The class of *Hagiographa* or *K'thubim* was, so to say, a purely negative one. It contained books, not because they were chronologically late, but because they did not agree in literary form or origin with those already collected together as "the Prophets." The five lyrical books of Psalms, the dramatic books of Job and Song of Solomon, the gnomic books of Ecclesiastes, and Proverbs, the Apocalyptic book of Daniel, the annalistic compilations of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, and the stories of Ruth and Esther, and the mournful book of elegies, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, these were collected into the *Hagiographa*, "the sacred writings," or, to give them their Hebrew title, the *K'thubim*. There was necessarily less of unity or resemblance in this class than in the others, but it does not follow from this that not logic but chronology regulated the position of books in it.

If we now rapidly sum up our argument, we see that there are unvariable references to Daniel in writings that may be dated with every show of reason as early as 210 B.C.; that there is at least one passage in the prophecies of Zechariah which looks very like a reference to Daniel. We have seen that the argument against our position from the silence of Siracides and Philo is valueless. And now, that no argument can be drawn from the position a book occupies in the Canon, we may claim, therefore, that external evidence requires us to date Daniel not later than the end of the Persian period—it may be earlier.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE HEBREW MONARCHY.

III.—COMMERCE AND SECURITY TO LIFE AND PROPERTY.

By REV. PROF. W. H. BENNETT, M.A.

THESE two subjects are so closely connected that it is most convenient to treat them together. Commerce is impossible without the maintenance of some kind of social order, but on the other hand the stability and prosperity of society are constantly and seriously influenced by commerce. In view of the long-established and world-wide activity of the Jews as financiers and traders, the exclusively agricultural character of the ancient Hebrew states always strikes one with a curious sense of contrast. There seems little in common between Shakespeare's Shylock or a nineteenth-century Rothschild, or Montefiore and the prosperous Hebrew farmer, whose wife disposed of the linen and girdles,¹ that were the fruits of her simple domestic industry, to the Canaanite pedlar. This use of the term Canaanite, as a synonym for trader, strikingly illustrates the absence of commercial ambition with which the Israelites contentedly abandoned the profits and risks of trade to their neighbours. But, after all, the change from the agricultural Israelite to the commercial Jew is only one instance of the influence of environment and opportunity upon the pursuits and fortunes of a race. Many others might be cited. Englishmen in modern times, and Greeks from the times of Jason and the Argonauts until now, have displayed peculiar aptitude for commercial enterprise. Yet once the trade of England was largely in the hands of the Hanseatic merchants, and there were very early days when the Greeks had not begun to compete with the Phœnician traders. These Phœnician traders were one main reason why the Israelites developed little or no independent foreign trade of their own. Along the coast, for more than a hundred and twenty miles, from Dor to Arvad, stretched the long line of trading towns, with the great cities of Tyre and Zidon for their capitals. These towns, with their colonies, their fleets and their caravans, had established a powerful and extensive commercial organization. The Israelites entered Palestine from the east as a group of nomad clans, and for a long time their settlements were almost confined to the highlands. In any case ancient and extensive trade relations are not easily interfered with. The Israelites had neither the inclination nor the opportunity to attempt to interfere. The population whom they conquered were allied by race and other ties to the Phœnicians, and circumstances would naturally bring the Israelites into commercial dependence upon the Phœnicians.

In all probability the Israelites had relations with the ancient system of commerce not mentioned by the Old Testament. Their territory lay across and between the caravan routes from Phœnicia to Egypt, Assyria, Chaldæa, Arabia, and the Persian Gulf, and from Egypt to the East. A universal analogy would suggest that, according to their strength and opportunities, the Israelites would levy tribute, blackmail, or plunder from passing caravans.

¹ Prov. xxxi. 24.

There would also be openings for more or less legitimate traffic, as in the case of the Ishmaelite and Midianite caravans, mentioned in the story of Joseph as passing by Gilead and Shechem on their way to Egypt.¹

Apart from the prior occupation of the field of commerce by the Phœnicians, the opportunities of the Israelites were limited by their want of access to the sea. For a long time they had no hold upon the Mediterranean coast at all, and even under the monarchy only the more powerful kings exercised an occasional and partial sovereignty over the coast towns. Their loss was not great, for the coast has only two or three bad harbours. Of these Accho, or Acre, north of Carmel, is only mentioned once in the Old Testament—in Judges i. 31, where it is said, "Asher did not drive out the inhabitants of Accho." Of the towns south of Carmel, Dor is similarly mentioned as having been left by Manasseh in the hands of the Canaanites.² Later on,³ the "region of Dor" is mentioned as one of the administrative districts of Solomon's kingdom, but probably the town itself merely became tributary.⁴ Even Joppa, which is often spoken of as the port of Jerusalem, is only referred to four times⁵ in the latest books of the Old Testament. On the other hand, the head-quarters of Solomon and Jehoshaphat in their maritime enterprises were at Ezion-Geber at the extremity of the eastern gulf of the Red Sea.

These facts make it easy to understand that, for the most part, the Phœnicians were either the partners or the agents of the foreign commerce of Israel. In the flourishing days of Israel's commerce under Solomon the navy of Hiram brought gold and almug trees and precious stones from Ophir; and the king's navy of Tarshish went once in three years with the navy of Hiram to bring gold and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks.⁶ No mention is made of the Phœnicians in connection with Solomon's trade to Arabia and Egypt; and the building of Tadmor and cities in Lebanon may have been intended to provide for trade with the East. It seems probable that some direct trade with the East, and Arabia, and especially Egypt, would be always maintained; but everything indicates that Solomon's commerce was altogether exceptional; it is spoken of as a proud reminiscence of long-vanished splendour, and the silence of later history as to trade is only broken by the brief record of the abortive attempt of Jehoshaphat. Even Solomon's transactions were more splendid than useful. Commerce was chiefly possible to ancient kings through the tribute of subject states. In money, or in kind, dependent kings provided the means for the extravagance and pomp of their suzerain. Such commerce had no permanent basis, it was liable to be cut short at a moment's notice by any change in the balance of power. While it lasted it mainly ministered to the luxury and ostentation of a court. We do not imagine that the general prosperity of Israel was much advanced by the gold and silver and precious stones, the ivory and apes and peacocks, the spices and almug trees and

¹ Gen. xxxvii.

² Judges i. 27.

³ 1 Kings iv. 11.

⁴ Cf. Judges i. 28.

⁵ Josh. xix. 46 (*Japho*); 2 Chron. ii. 16; Ezra iii. 7; Jonah i. 3.

⁶ 1 Kings x. 11, 22.

cedar wood that Solomon made so plentiful in Jerusalem. The net result of this ancient "boom" is sufficiently indicated by the revolt of Israel at Solomon's death. The times of Solomon remind us of the palmy days of a South American republic, engaged in contracting European loans and spending the proceeds in European luxuries. The reaction at his death corresponds to the later period when credit is exhausted, the Republic is bankrupt, and the recently acquired taste for European luxuries can no longer be gratified.

The disruption of the kingdom on Solomon's death must have gone far to ruin Israelite commerce. In the first place, the widespread supremacy over neighbouring states disappeared, and there was little or no tribute to spend in imported luxuries; and further, the hostile relations between Israel and Judah must have seriously interfered with the trade of both.

From this time their trade was probably for the most part in the hands of the Phœnicians, to whom they were always important customers. The permanent and legitimate trade of Palestine consisted in the sale of agricultural products to the Phœnicians. Judah and the land of Israel traded in the markets of Tyre wheat and honey and oil and balm.¹ Solomon gave Hiram wheat and oil for timber.² When the Temple was rebuilt the Jews gave meat and drink and oil to them of Zidon and of Tyre to bring cedar trees from Lebanon to the sea of Joppa;³ and in the time of Herod the country of Tyre and Zidon was still nourished by Palestine.⁴ Besides the imports of timber from Phœnicia, we also read of men of Tyre bringing fish and all manner of ware to sell at Jerusalem.⁵ Otherwise we have little information as to the imports obtained by the Israelites in exchange for their wheat and honey and oil. The importance of Phœnicia to Israel is shown by the interest taken in Tyre by the prophets. Ezekiel and Isaiah between them devote four important chapters to Tyre, and there are numerous references in the other books.

One branch of trade requires separate treatment, partly because of its special character, partly because it forms a natural transition to what little needs to be said about security of life and property. The slave-trade was a peculiar feature of ancient civilization; its peculiarity lay in its reciprocal character. Modern nations have traded in one or two coloured races; but in ancient times men traded in slaves of their own race and colour. Greek slave-dealers led strings of Greek slaves through Hellas; the Phœnicians traded in slaves from kindred and neighbouring peoples. In this respect the resources of civilization in ancient times were more varied than in these later days. The case of Joseph is no doubt typical. To kidnap a man and hand him over to the crew of a foreign vessel on the eve of sailing, or to a caravan that would march next morning, was an approved method of paying off old scores, or disposing of a rival suitor, or providing for a poor relation. Such incidents play the part in ancient literature of the press-gang in more

¹ Ezek. xxvii. 17.

² 1 Kings v. 10-12.

³ Ezra iii. 7.

⁴ Acts xii. 20.

⁵ Neh. xiii. 15.

modern times. Even Plato is said to have been sold in this way by the Syracusan despot Dionysus. Often the caravan or the trading-vessel would kidnap on its own account; as the Turkish fleet did when it was lying at Marseilles as the ally of the Most Catholic King. The existence of such practices in Palestine is shown by the severe laws against them. But, as we have said, the trade was reciprocal; the Pentateuch recognizes and provides for the acquisition of foreign slaves both by purchase and capture—in other words, for an import slave-trade. And it is easy to gather from the prophets and the history that the export trade in Israelite slaves was one of the darkest features of the life of the people. We are told that the Thracians and other ancient tribes regularly sold their children to the foreign slave-merchant. Even after the return from the Captivity, we find the Jews selling their children into slavery.¹ It is reckoned among the transgressions of Israel that they “sold the righteous for silver and the poor for a pair of shoes.”² Joel denounces Tyre and Zidon because they have sold the children of Judah and Jerusalem to the Greeks, and prophesies as a suitable punishment that the Jews shall sell the sons and daughters of Tyre and Zidon to the Sabeans.³ Probably, after the traffic in wheat and oil, the import and export slave-trade was the most important branch of Israelite commerce. Here, too, the Phœnicians, with their command of numerous good markets, would be convenient and willing agents. In an impartial, business spirit, they would be equally willing to relieve a victorious Israelite king of his Syrian captives or to act for Assyrian and Chaldean conquerors of the Israelites.

This liability to slavery has already been alluded to as a serious burden on ancient life; it must also be reckoned as a depressing influence upon enterprise and industry. It ranks with other causes which detracted from the security of life and property. We have already referred to the frequent petty and irregular wars, and the not infrequent invasions of powerful or even irresistible enemies, and we have seen how this frequent warfare, combined with the plundering habits of desert tribes and the comparative absence of international morality, seriously hindered external commerce.

At home there was similar insecurity. Evidently, the monarchy was regarded as having rendered considerable service to the cause of public order. Of the earlier period it is said, by way of disparagement, “In those days there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes.”⁴ But with no government and police to speak of, it is not difficult to imagine that the violent robbery and murder denounced by the prophets were only too common. The law, apparently, was often the instrument of the fraud and oppression by wealthy nobles or unscrupulous adventurers; but no State hitherto has been altogether able to guard against these abuses. On the other hand, the mutual loyalty of clansmen, public opinion, the sanctions of religion, went far to supply the lack of police

¹ *K. h.* v. 5.

² *Amos* ii. 6.

³ *Joel* iii. 1-8.

⁴ *Judges* xvii. 6.

and law and government. But, from the nature of the case, these family, moral, and religious forces would not do much for commerce even between different districts; such forces operated chiefly within each community, and in its relations to neighbouring communities. We may therefore conclude that the conditions of life offered a fair, but not very assured, guarantee of person and property to the farmer or artizan, but did little to encourage commerce.

THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE INCARNATION.

MR. GORE'S BAMPTON LECTURES, 1892.

By REV. P. E. PRATT, M.A.

THE doctrine of the Incarnation is always with us, and at certain seasons we are impelled to bring it prominently before our people. We all feel its extreme difficulty, and some of us, perhaps, have taken refuge in a kind of Agnosticism, feeling that it was hopeless to endeavour to penetrate further into a matter so far beyond us.

Is it possible that, after all, a little new light may be thrown upon it, if conventionality be entirely cast aside, and we permit ourselves to enter into a real honest investigation of the phenomena which it presents? Now, the Definitions of the Councils and the expositions of such great theologians as Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, our own Anselm, Hooker, and Pearson, seem only to make matters more difficult. For though the modes of expression (especially in the case of Hooker) are most careful and most felicitous, yet, after all, we feel that what we are reading is but a very precise, masterly, and exhaustive marshalling of propositions which are, nevertheless, mutually destructive of each other. I wish to press this point, because there is all the difference in the world between confessing that you have arrived at a point where reason can carry you no further, and deliberately pursuing an elaborate process of reasoning which is self-contradictory. How soon we come to the length of our tether when trying to explore the meaning of many common words, such as eternity, infinity, and the like, we all know.

Now, with the exception of Augustine, the great theologians obviously started with the Definitions of the Councils against Arius, Nestorius, Eutyches, and Honorius, and therefore held and enforced a *via media* by an equal balance of contradictory truths. You must hold the perfect Divinity, and you must hold the perfect Humanity, they said, but they gave us no help towards any reconciliation of the two.

Now, Mr. Gore very properly points out that the inductive method is the only reasonable method to pursue in a matter in which the whole case

is not before us, and which deals with things which are beyond any power of verification.

He means, no doubt, though he does not quite say so, that the Decrees of Councils are not absolutely fixed points, not absolutely final conclusions; but were stages in a course of evolution, being the natural and the best representatives possible at the time of the Christian consciousness of the Church.

He means, we suppose, that it is possible that that consciousness, as represented by the best minds, may have grown clearer; and that old conclusions may have to be reviewed. Going back, then, behind the Councils to the Gospel story, to the words of our Lord and His Apostles, what do they say, and what is plainly involved in the record?

We find, then, on the one hand, the clearest assertion of the Divinity of our Lord. In a variety of ways, both implicitly and explicitly, our Lord claims a true Divinity, and exhibits throughout what may be called a Divine consciousness; and He never takes lower ground. He speaks of the Father (the Jehovah of the Jews) as one with Himself. He speaks of Himself as having come forth from the Father, and as the Revealer of the Father. The relation involved is altogether unique, and belongs to Him alone. It is very different from that sonship, which, through Him, is allowed to men. Not only the voice from heaven at His baptism, but the whole tone of our Lord's life and teaching proclaims Him the only begotten Son of God. And so exalted is the position uniformly claimed, that we cannot but acquiesce in the saying, "Aut Deus, aut homo non bonus."

On the other hand, He does not descend from heaven in His Divine character and glory, but is born into this world like any other man; lives a human life, grows in wisdom like any other child, speaks and acts in terms of humanity, not in terms of Divinity, shows no more knowledge than was current at the time, makes no disclosures in physics or medicine, expresses surprise, offers prayer, and, though Himself the delegated Judge of all, does not know when the Day of Judgment shall come.

All comparisons are, of course, utterly inadequate; but, perhaps, some faint notion of the meaning of the Incarnation would be gained if we could fancy ourselves condemned to inhabit the body and soul (if it has any) of some tiny insect, tied down to its means of locomotion, to its sense of proportion, to its faculties, and only able to express ourselves, our thoughts, desires, and wants, by methods open to such a tiny insect.

Some such idea, perhaps, led Mr. Gore to propound his theory that it was part of our Lord's voluntary humiliation to make no use of His Divine prerogatives while He was on earth. By an act of voluntary abnegation He cut Himself off from any employment of them. It all lay in His own will. At any moment He might have summoned them to His aid, but not without violating the first condition of the Incarnation. We all remember the "twelve legions of angels," and the pertinent question, "But how then shall the Scriptures be fulfilled that thus it must be?"

And therefore Mr. Gore speaks of a "self-limitation"; a very pregnant phrase, which promises great results: the late Professor Aubrey Moore may almost be said to have died with it on his lips. These things are in the air, and find an utterance at the mouth of some foremost thinkers.

The doctrine of evolution, not as a final cause, but as a mode of creation, life, and growth, has gained ground; and now Biblical criticism has forced upon us questions which were long allowed to sleep. The difficulty about the 110th Psalm has re-opened the whole question of our Lord's attitude towards the Old Testament; and if on other occasions, and in other matters, it can be shown that our Lord forbore or refused to avail Himself of His omniscience, there will result a strong probability that such avoidance was the self-imposed condition of His incarnate life on earth.

"But, it may be asked," says Mr. Gore, "is such a process as that of abjuring the exercise of consciousness really thinkable?" And his answer, it must be confessed, is brief, and somewhat inadequate. The most he can say is that we have an adumbration of this mystery in our power of sympathy, the power of putting ourselves in another's place. Certainly, as regards acquired knowledge, we often assume no more in beginning to teach than the child to be taught already knows; or again, in controversy we can readily bring ourselves to assume no more than an opponent is willing to grant. Moreover, there is an intelligible difference between knowing all that is to be known intuitively, and learning it by a process, in which the mind travels through the field of reason, limited by the laws of reason. "Who knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him?" By the very creation of such a being as man, a separate personality was introduced; and the seeing, and knowing, and understanding *from without* by One who reads the heart and all that is in it, may be a different thing from actually experiencing *from within* the processes of sensation of pain or pleasure, and the processes of acquiring knowledge or estimating relations. May it not be that what the Son of God knew intuitively must be the case. He yet learned experimentally, so as to be touched with the feeling of our infirmities from His own experience of them?

But is it not possible to go a step further, and ask for a clearer definition of "Personality" on the one hand, and of "Nature" on the other, as they are employed in this controversy?

In the old disputations there does seem to have been a persistent ambiguity. When the era of definition first set in, did those who affirmed a Divine "Nature" mean more than this, that our Lord's Personality was *truly Divine*? Is it not probable that Nestorius was misunderstood, and wrongly condemned? Surely what he meant was that our Lord did not derive His Divinity from the Blessed Virgin, who was the Mother of no more than His human nature, and could not properly be called "the Mother of God." And in this, no assertion of two persons appears to be involved. And if it be replied that the title of Θεοτόκος is admissible because the Person of the Son of God was born of her—apart from what arises from the special intervention

of the Holy Ghost—the question occurs, Is Personality in any case derivative? May it not be infused?

Do we not want a clearer definition of Personality? Is it not something indivisible? Not a bundle of faculties, sensations, and wishes, but that which possesses them? Not a cabinet of capabilities, but the prime minister? Not a nation composed of all sorts and conditions of men, but the sovereign and supreme ruler?

And, if this be so, is it not possible to think of a Personality alone taking upon itself a Nature? And is it not possible to think of a Divine Person taking upon Himself, entering into, and using a human nature by such a process of self-limitation, as that by it the Divine Nature, that is to say, the Divine attributes, such, for instance, as omnipotence and omniscience, should be left behind?

Might we venture to define Personality as that which lives in continuous consciousness, and expresses itself by Will? And does not all else lie in the nature? Does not the Personality go down into the nature, choosing, adopting, and using its several constituent parts and qualities as it chooses; exploring the field of reason by processes proper to it, and yielding to or opposing the blind forces of passion? *Cogito, ergo sum*. True, but the cogitation is not the person, but a process employed by the person. Desire or wish is not the person, but something indulged in or overruled by the person. But can this be said of Will? Is not Will the very expression of the person, rather than something employed by him?

You see a great organ with all its parts, keys, pedals, pipes, complete; and when it is filled with wind it is one of the nearest analogues to a human nature; but it is the personality, the will of the player, which evokes its music. A person wills to think, and he thinks; he enters upon a process bounded by its own laws; he employs the thinking apparatus and power which lie in his nature; yet it is not the nature, but the person who does this.

Now, if anything of this sort be true, all the tremendous difficulties of contradictory propositions as to the two natures and the two wills of our Lord's Incarnate Person fall to the ground; and that, without touching the creeds, which on these points have steered clear of definition to a degree which is exceedingly remarkable. Is it not the case that the more closely we read the Gospel story, divesting ourselves as far as possible of all prepossessions, and, above all, the more closely we interrogate the words of our Lord Himself, the more satisfied we shall be that what is there disclosed is a Divine Person, living in a continuous Divine consciousness, and exhibiting always the Divine Will, which is the very manifestation of the Personality—but having left the Divine Nature or attributes behind: a Divine Person thinking with the brain, loving with the heart, and praying with the soul, which a specially sanctified humanity has provided for Him?

But, you will say, our Lord wrought many wonderful miracles, and must have done so in right of His Divine Nature. Nay! for so did the

Prophets. That He should work more and more wonderful works than they is only natural and fitting. But He Himself claimed to work them through the assistance of the Father; and there were times when He openly prayed for this assistance. What does this mean but that He had cut Himself off, as a condition of His life on earth, from the employment of His own proper powers?

And may not this help to explain the cry from the cross? The Divine Person does not lose consciousness of His relationship to the Father; it is "*My God*,"—but the wonted assistance and communion which He had all along enjoyed in His human soul in answer to prayer is for the moment withdrawn, and a darkness falls, not upon the Person, but upon the soul through which the Person receives spiritual impressions, and which is deprived for the moment of the heavenly presence.

In like manner the Agony in the garden does not necessitate the introduction of two natures or two wills. Surely, in a unique manner, and in relation to a unique matter, it represented no more (only in an intenser degree) than that conflict which we have all experienced (especially in some great crisis of our life) between the indeterminate wish arising in the soul and the determinate will which marks the person. But *none* of us claims two natures or two wills. May we not truly and rightly hold that it was *not* the Nature, but the Person, which became incarnate? Does any Scripture say that the Nature was incarnate? But then it will be said that the Natures are joined now in the Person of the Son of God most High, never to be divided. The "never to be divided" is perhaps somewhat of an assumption from a supposed necessity of the case, nevertheless let it be granted. But then with our Lord's disappearance from this earth all difficulty about limitation is gone. He is no longer limited to the earthly life. The manhood is taken into God, possessed, extended, infinitely enlarged by the Godhead, till the glorified body and soul have become the "fulness that filleth all in all." The difference between the incarnate life of voluntary humility and the exalted life of glory being that the Divine nature and attributes have been resumed. And must we not suppose that the voluntary humiliation earned a greater glory than had been before? "Wherefore" (says the Apostle), "wherefore God also hath highly exalted Him, and given him a name above every name, that at the name of Jesus"—the name given at the Incarnation—henceforth "every knee should bow, of those in heaven, of those on earth, and of those under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

LEADERS OF THOUGHT IN SCOTLAND.

No. III. — THE REV. PROFESSOR A. B. BRUCE, D.D.¹

By REV. ARTHUR JENKINSON.

MODERN Christianity has awakened to a new feeling for the historic Christ. Everywhere the cry is heard: We would see Jesus. The world was never before so interested in Him. Even in general literature He holds a larger place than in any previous age. The long centuries that divide us from Him in time have really brought us near to Him in spiritual and historic sympathy. We who live in these "last days" turn with eager, wistful gaze to that sweet early dawn of our era, and would gladly take our place among the little group of disciples who first followed the Master. We want to see with our own eyes that gracious and august Person who moved about the towns and villages of Galilee and Judæa "preaching the Gospel of the kingdom," from Whom first flowed forth the rich stream of spiritual life and truth that still quickens and refreshes the world.

This new feeling for Christ, Principal Fairbairn has just reminded us in his noble book, *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, is not an individual or incidental thing, "but represents the tide and passion of the time." It is, he declares, "the sum and essence of the living historical, philosophical, and religious spirit."

But great movements are often best studied as they are seen mirrored in the spiritual strivings of individuals. More especially in the foremost thinkers of an age may its characteristic features be seen. In their intellectual and religious life, we see, as in a kind of microcosm, the tendencies and aspirations of the time. It is this which makes any true insight into the life of a great man helpful and interesting.

From this standpoint, the life and work of Professor Bruce, of the Free Church College, Glasgow, are specially instructive. No one represents this modern return to the Christianity of Christ so adequately or consistently as he does. The whole endeavour of his life has been to get back to the Christ of the Gospels. Almost everything he has written has been an illustration and vindication of this movement. Through spiritual sympathy and imaginative insight, it has been his life-long effort to understand Jesus; to enter into His character and aims, His joys and sorrows, His enthusiasms and hopes. He has sought to emancipate himself from bondage to traditional and dogmatic systems, so as to study the life and words of the Divine Master with an open mind.

There is a passage in his biography of William Denny, the shipbuilder, which throws a clear light upon the inner spirit and scope of his ministry, from the time when it was first begun in the delightful parish of Cardross.

¹ Works: *The Training of the Twelve*, 1871. *The Humiliation of Christ*, 1875. *The Chief End of Revelation*, 1881. *The Parabolic Teaching of Christ*, 1882. *The Galilean Gospel*, 1883. *The Miraculous Element in the Gospels*, 1886. *The Life of Wm. Denny*, 1888. *The Kingdom of God*, 1889. *Apologetics; or, Christianity Defensively Stated*, 1892.

Speaking of Mr. Denay as a man who honestly went to Christ's school and learnt from Him the ethical ideal of life, Dr. Bruce says :—

"There was a certain fitness in his coming my way for a season, as I had passed through an experience similar to his. The Church's presentation of Christianity, whether in creed or in life, had failed to lay hold of me ; and I had been obliged to dive into the deep sea of doubt in quest of the pearl of faith. During those Carlross years, I was as a man who had found a thing of inexhaustible price, *genuine Christianity, the Christianity of Christ, found by searching in the Gospels.*"

And yet Professor Bruce would readily admit that this regress to the Christ of the Gospels is not a mere negative movement—a return of wanderers who had lost their way. Christian thought and experience have not been fruitless. The return to Christ is from the vantage ground of eighteen Christian centuries. The regress is really an advance. It is a profounder study and interpretation of the origin and fundamental principles of Christianity in the light of its long growth and progress. Those in whom this movement is most perfectly mirrored are like a man of long experience and philosophic thought who returns to the simple religious faith of childhood, but to whom it is now far richer in meaning, for it is really pregnant with the significance of a life-time.

It would, I think, remove much of the prevailing misunderstanding regarding Professor Bruce if the *positive* nature of his aim and work was kept steadily in mind. It has been the strenuous and consistent labour of his life to aid faith in Christ. He has consecrated all his splendid abilities to the task of helping men who are baffled and tormented with modern doubt to hold on to Christianity as taught by its Divine Founder. It is strange that any one should look upon him as a destroyer ; that he should be accused of unsettling the minds of men. No doubt our age is full of unrest. Questions touching the foundations of faith are heard on all sides. But such men as Dr. Bruce did not create this state of things. It was inevitable. It has arisen from causes that lie at the root of modern civilization. And there are hundreds of young men in Great Britain who would thankfully acknowledge that when they were sorely smitten with the malady of doubt, when the ground seemed slipping from them on all sides, the writings of Professor Bruce brought them just the help they needed. In those writings they found one who knew all about their trouble, who had himself passed through it all, but who had come out of it with a faith in Christ strong and steadfast, and who could make all new knowledge the handmaid of faith.

All Professor Bruce's work has had this positive aim. He has not written a line in the spirit of a destroyer. Everywhere he seeks to clear away misconceptions, and to remove veils that have hindered men from seeing the glorious face of the Son of Man. In so far as he has accepted and advocated the conclusions of the Higher Criticism, he honestly believes that they prepare the way for a truer and deeper apprehension of the truth as it is in Jesus. And it should be distinctly understood that every assault

made on him, as a man dangerous to the interests of Evangelical Christianity, is really an attack upon a great and independent thinker, who, having found for himself that Jesus is the true Light of Life, has made it his one endeavour to bring other men into direct and living communion with Him.

It says much for the native strength and independence of Professor Bruce's mind that this "return to the Christianity of Christ" was begun at so early a period of his life. Unrest and dissatisfaction with Ecclesiastical Christianity are common enough now. The inadequacy of the old formulas is realized on all hands to-day. But it was not so forty years ago. And in the Free Church of Scotland a generation back it was almost unheard of. That Church came into existence very largely as a revolt against what was considered the latitudinarianism of the Old Kirk. It started on its splendid career as the rigid and determined upholder of the faith of the Covenanters. In it the old orthodoxy kindled into new fervour.

All through his childhood Professor Bruce must have heard the din of the "Ten Years' Conflict" which preceded the Disruption. He was born in 1831 in the rural parish of Aberdalgie, near Perth, and his father was an elder in the Parish Church. Those were anxious and stirring times. Some of the most bitter controversies and troubles of that period sprang up in Perthshire. Keen discussions took place during the long winter nights concerning religion and the difficulties of the Church, and when, in 1843, the great Disruption took place, Professor Bruce's father threw in his lot with the Free Church. And when, two years later, Alexander Bruce, still a mere boy, went up to Edinburgh and began his long course of study, first at the University and afterwards in the new Divinity Hall of the Free Church, the evangelical fervour was at its height. Chalmers was still living, and Candlish, Cunningham, and Guthrie were the leading ministers of the city. The Free Church was bursting with new life and enthusiasm, and seemed to be sweeping everything before it.

"You must have been deeply influenced by the life and movements of those stirring years," I ventured to say to Professor Bruce not long ago, when speaking to him of his early life in Edinburgh.

"Yes!" he replied. "I recognized the splendid abilities of our leading men, and honoured them for their sacrifices and services. It was a period of great evangelical fervour and enthusiasm. I took special interest in the great debates in the Assembly, more than I have taken since. Many of the laymen then were exceedingly able men."

"Is not that the case still?"

"There is a difference. They go in now more for preaching and evangelistic work. In those days they were occupied with building up the Church; some of them showed great gifts for administration and debate."

"What surprises me, Dr. Bruce, is this. You seem to have felt, even in those early years, that a new departure was required in Christian belief and practice. Now, I should have thought that the fervour of those times would have fallen upon every noble and enthusiastic mind, and blinded it to criticism."

"Ah! but you forget that other influences were at work. A great intellectual movement had already begun, and many of us were feeling its presence. At that time I was reading Thomas Carlyle, and, like thousands of other young men, I looked up to him with passionate admiration and reverence. You who read him to-day do not know what he was to those who read him more than forty years ago."

I could not help thinking, whilst Professor Bruce was speaking, how much his face and head reminded me of the portraits of Thomas Carlyle. He has the same large, massive forehead and shaggy eyebrows, and thought-worn features. And, if the outward man, still more did the speech suggest Carlyle; so simple, homely, honest, unaffected.

"But in the Free Church you must have been alone in yielding to this new movement?"

"Not wholly. There were others, most of them have since passed away; but some are with us. There was Dr. Walter Smith, a noble man; he was before me by a few years. We were dissatisfied. We felt we wanted something deeper, broader, sweeter than what we saw around us. With some the feeling came to nothing; others of us found, at last, what we wanted."

"I see, Dr. Bruce, that you received licence in 1855; but you were not ordained until 1850. What about those four years?"

"They were years of darkness and spiritual trouble. I was groping my way to the light, and at last I found it in the Jesus of the Gospels."

"Then the chapter entitled 'Jesus' in your book on *Apologetics* must express much of your own experience. You think that the best way of commencing the Christian life is 'to begin at the beginning, to learn Christianity *de novo*, as the disciples of Jesus learned it; becoming acquainted first with the man, and then advancing gradually to higher views of His person and work?'"

"Just so. It is not, and never will be, the way of the majority, and yet it may be the better and the best way."

"Have you seen what Professor Orr says about that in the March number of *THE THINKER*?"

"No."

"He says that he does not see how your theory can be carried out. We cannot retrace the steps of the first disciples as if we were exactly in the same position as they—as if nothing had happened in the interval."

"I understand; but I still think that in the chapter to which you refer I indicate the best and highest way of faith, especially in an age of perplexity and doubt like this."

In this way, then, Alexander Bruce found "genuine Christianity, the Christianity of Christ, found by searching in the Gospels." With this experience he went to Cardross in 1859. There by the beautiful shores of the Clyde he lived a quiet and studious life. His congregation was small, but was deeply attached to him. I have met with people who attended his

ministry in those far-away days, who look upon them as the ideal period of their lives. He is said to have never given much care to the cultivation of the charms and graces of the popular preacher. But he possessed powers of a higher order. His ministry was stimulating and helpful; it was the ministry of one who sought to "see Jesus" for himself. There is no period when a preacher's words are richer in blessing than in those fresh and early years when the truth is first dawning on his own mind and heart. There may not be the full-orbed splendour, the mists have not wholly cleared away, much remains indefinite and uncertain; but there is the joy of the "first love," and of growing conviction and strength. It was so with Mr. Bruce. According to his own confession, and those who heard him, his preaching was mainly about Christ.

"From the Gospels were drawn most of my texts in those days and all my inspiration. My sermons, I am sure, contained many crudities; yet I venture to believe they were wholesome in their main teaching. The Christianity of Christ differs from Ecclesiastical Christianity in many ways, but above all in spirit; the Galilean Gospel is more worthy of acceptance than any Gospel stated in terms of a rigid theological system, and it is the test and standard of what is genuinely evangelic."¹

Thus he sought in the Galilean Gospel what could be found neither in the "platitudes of a merely traditional 'evangelicalism,' nor in the cold unsympathetic negations of an anti-evangelic reaction not far removed from pure unmitigated naturalism."²

The fruit of those ten years study at Cardross is seen in his beautiful book on *The Training of the Twelve*. In the brief Introduction he tells us that it embodies thoughts that had occupied him from the beginning of his ministry, and the keynote of the whole book is struck in the sentence which declares

"That all thoughtful men know that the great need of the present time is to make a new start in Christian belief and practice; and they would not thank any one for writing a book on Christianity as taught by Jesus to His disciples, without applying it as a plumb-line to the Christianity of the nineteenth century to see how far it is off the perpendicular."

In this book we have his first endeavours to get behind the elaborate creeds of Christendom, and traditional moods of regarding Christ, into the presence of the Master Himself. A hallowed repose and calm like the soft breath of evening pervades its pages. You think of Mary of Bethany sitting at the feet of Jesus, and hearing His words. It is very much more than a solid contribution to the study of the life and teaching of Christ. It is full of spiritual insight and inspiration; pre-eminently a book for ministers. In it we see its gifted author endeavouring to realize his own ideal of preachers of the Gospel, "Men to whom return to the evangelic fountains has been a necessity of their own spiritual life, possessing the power of historical imagination to place themselves side by side with Jesus as if they belonged to the circle of His personal companions and disciples, so gaining a clear vivid vision of His spirit, character, and life, and becoming thoroughly

¹ *Life of Wm. Denny.*

² *The Kingdom of God*, p. 332.

imbued with His enthusiasms, His sympathies, and His antipathies; and with this experience behind them, the fruit of much thought and careful study, coming forth and saying to their fellow-men in effect: 'That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, declare we unto you.'"¹ *The Training of the Twelve* is not occupied with questions of criticism. The standpoint, on the whole, is that of cultured, reverential orthodoxy. It is a book of vision, fellowship, inspiration. And yet most of the fundamental ideas that are more fully developed in the later works are found here in germ. There is hardly a page which has not some suggestive remarks bearing on present life and thought. To the young and hard-wrought minister it should prove an invaluable book; but the same remark applies to all Professor Bruce's writings.

The Training of the Twelve was published in 1871, after the translation of the author to Broughty-Ferry. In 1874 he was appointed Cunningham Lecturer, and selected for his subject "The Humiliation of Christ." The lectures were published the following year, and at once took a foremost place in theological literature. They revealed the fact that a fresh and powerful mind had appeared in the Free Church, and was bringing to the discussion of the deepest questions a "sweet spirituality," a wealth of learning, and a reverential freedom seldom found in Scottish ecclesiastical life. But the Free Church had the wisdom to recognize these great gifts, and appointed him to the Chair of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis in the College at Glasgow. In this important position he is able to influence, year after year, a large number of young men preparing for the Christian ministry, and to send them forth inspired by his teaching and character. By the numerous works with which he has enriched theological literature he is continually reaching an ever-widening circle.

The limits of this brief article will not permit more than a slight reference to some of the leading features of Dr. Bruce's teaching.

1. *Philosophical Systems and Theories of the Universe.* In *The Miraculous Element in the Gospels*, and again in *Apologetics; or, Christianity Defensively Stated*, Dr. Bruce deals with the fundamental problems. Scientific Materialism, Deism, Pantheism, Agnosticism, Modern Speculative Systems are considered in their order; and over against them are placed the Christian Facts, and the Christian Theory of the Universe. On all these subjects he shows himself widely read, tolerant, sympathetic, profound; a man thoroughly abreast of modern speculation and research. He has thoughtfully considered great principles like evolution in relation to man's higher life and hopes. For the student who does not feel specially called to deal with philosophical problems no fuller consideration of these questions is needed.

But it is not in the sphere of pure philosophy that Professor Bruce turns out his best work. He has not the delight in abstract thought which makes the philosopher *par excellence*. These studies have not been a "spiritual

¹ *The Kingdom of God*, p. 332.

necessity" to him in the sense in which there was a personal need for returning to the "evangelic fountains of faith." Hence his criticisms often seem to me external and incidental, as of one who looks upon philosophy very much from the outside. It does not arouse in him enthusiasm and delight. Hence there is a deeper insight, and an intellectual and spiritual glow when he turns away from these abstract systems to the Christian Facts, and to the Person and Teaching of Christ.

2. *Revelation and the Bible.* Professor Bruce's teaching on these subjects is exceedingly calm, clear, and reasonable. They are dealt with especially in *The Chief End of Revelation*, and in Book II. of *Apologetics*. Some interesting aspects of these questions are also considered in the Critical Introduction to *The Kingdom of God*. In all his books he combats the idea that "*Revelation* is to be identified with the *Bible*, and that the Bible was given by God to men for the purpose of communicating doctrinal instruction on certain topics of importance."¹

"Revelation," he says, "does not mean causing a sacred book to be written for the religious instruction of mankind. What, then, does it mean? It signifies God manifesting Himself in the history of the world in a supernatural manner and for a special purpose."²

These words were written *twelve years ago*; but the same position is maintained in his last book, just published.

"To say that God gave a special revelation to Israel is not the same thing as to say that He gave to Israel a collection of sacred books. Revelation and the Bible are not synonyms. There was a revelation long before there was a Bible. God revealed Himself in history as the God of the whole earth. . . . He revealed Himself as a gracious electing God to the *consciousness* of Israel, through spiritual insight into the true significance of her history communicated to the prophets."³

The bearing of this distinction on present-day questions is obvious. It is thus stated by Professor Bruce: "If once we get it into our mind that Revelation is one thing, Scripture another, though closely related thing, being in truth its record, interpretation, and reflection, it will help to make us independent of questions concerning the dates of books. When the various parts of the Bible were written is an obscure and difficult question on which much learned debate has taken place, and is still going on; and we must be content to let the debate run its course, for it will not be stopped either by our wishes or by ecclesiastical authority. And one thing which will help us to be patient is a clear perception, that the order in which revelation was given is to be distinguished from the order in which the books which contain the record thereof were written."⁴ On the delicate question of the relation of some of the conclusions of the Higher Criticism to Inspiration, Professor Bruce makes the following remarks:—"If the critics are right, Hebrew editors could do without hesitation what we should think hardly compatible with literary honesty—mix up things old and new, ancient laws with recent additions, &c. . . . But what then? This may be crude morality, but it is not immorality. We must beware of laying down

¹ *The Chief End of Revelation*, p. 6.

² *The Chief End of Revelation*, p. 57.

³ *Apologetics*, p. 293.

⁴ *The Chief End of Revelation*, p. 54.

hard and fast abstract rules as to the conditions under which inspiration is possible."¹ The whole of Book II. in *Apologetics*, dealing as it does with the Old Testament, and the Religion of Israel as a Historical Preparation for Christianity, is of special interest, and contains much luminous and suggestive writing.

3. *The Christianity of Christ.* Here we return to the theme, in dealing with which Dr. Bruce puts forth his full strength, and is seen at his best. All else that he has written is but introductory and subsidiary to the work of leading the Church of the Nineteenth Century back to the Historic Christ. "Every man," he says, "has his bias. My sympathies are with the cry, 'Back to Christ,' and my aim is to show that the tendency it represents is fitted to exercise a wholesome influence on the spiritual life of the age."² The reader will notice, on looking over the list of Dr. Bruce's works, that this has really been his one theme throughout his life. In dealing with this great subject I know of no works that will compare with *The Kingdom of God* and Book III. of *Apologetics*. Dr. Bruce closes this last book with a serious question, "Is it possible by a wrong use of the Bible to-day to miss Christ; to miss Him, not in the sense of forfeiting all share in His salvation, but in the sense of utterly failing to do justice to His claims as the Supreme Master in religion?" He refers to the experience of Dr. Harrison, as he relates it in *Problems of Christianity and Scepticism*. "How I found my way out of the darkness is easily told, for it was, in fact, the only way. It was by finding Christ Himself: I had lost Him even in the Bible. At last I turned to the four Gospels, and stayed there." And Dr. Bruce goes on to remark that, if it be asked how such a thing could happen, the answer, which both experience and theory supply, is, "It comes about through not realizing that the Gospels are the core of the Bible. Here, at last, is the elect Man towards whom for many centuries the history of elect Israel has been pointing. Here is He who, as one having the standing of a Son, speaks God's final word to men. Surely one ought to give supreme attention to what He says by word, deed, character, and experience!"³

A few days ago I asked Professor Bruce when he wrote *The Galilean Gospel*. He could not remember the year; but he knew it was written in the month of August. "It was a beautiful August," he said, "the world was full of joy and sunshine, and of the wealth and ripeness of summer. I was happy. The religion of Jesus seemed to me like the bright golden days, and I tried to write a book which would help men to feel that the Galilean Gospel was like God's summer, beautiful, life-giving, soul-satisfying."

When I got home, I opened the book with those words still in my mind. The first lines that arrested my attention were these—they may fitly close this paper:—

"We desire to bring you back to the Galilean lake, to the haunts of Jesus and to the

¹ *Apologetics*, p. 309.

² THE THINKER, vol. iii., p. 29.

³ *Apologetics*, p. 509.

spirit of Jesus, to the brightness and sunny summer richness, and joy, and geniality, and freedom of the authentic Gospel preached by Him in the dawn of the era of grace. Some have not come to that happy place; many linger by the Dead Sea, and are disciples of John, to their great loss. For it is good to be with Jesus in Galilee. An evangelic faith, and still more, if possible, an evangelic temper, in sympathy with the Galilean proclamation, is a grand desideratum. It is what is needed to redeem the evangel from the suspicion of exhaustion or impotence, and to rescue the very term 'evangelic' from the reproach under which it lies, in the thoughts of many."¹

SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT.

*THE GLACIAL NIGHTMARE AND THE FLOOD.*²

BY REV. D. GATH WHITLEY.

SIR HENRY HOWORTH is a most persevering and painstaking writer. He is well known in the literary world through his *History of the Mongols*, but more particularly by his geological writings. In 1882 and 1883 he published a series of papers in *The Geological Magazine* of great interest and value, entitled *Traces of a Great Post-Glacial Flood*, in which he endeavoured to prove that the superficial deposits of the Pleistocene Period, such as the lœss, the brick-earths, the angular gravels, the marine drifts, &c., were not deposited by fluvial or glacial action, but were formed rapidly by a sudden and overwhelming deluge.

In 1887 he published an elaborate and fascinating book called *The Mammoth and the Flood*, which still further developed the argument of the before-named papers, and was, as he himself declares, an attempt to confront the theory of "Uniformity" with the facts of recent geology. In this book Sir H. Howorth described the occurrence of the bones and carcasses of the mammoth in Siberia, and in the islands in the Arctic Sea, and he further showed, from a review of the geological facts in Northern Europe, and in North and South America, that the great Pleistocene mammalia were swept away by a great flood. Continuing his argument, he next demonstrated that man was present when this deluge took place, and was overwhelmed by it, for this flood closed what geologists call the Palæolithic Age, in which man used only rude stone weapons, while in the later or Neolithic Age he was armed with weapons of polished stone. There is a great gap between these two periods. They are quite distinct as to their animals, climate, and physical geography, and the gulf between these two ages was occasioned—according to our author—by the great flood, which took place in comparatively recent times, so far as geology is concerned. Sir H. Howorth next referred to the well-known fact that there are traditions of a deluge preserved amongst most races, rude and civilized, and he concluded his argument by

¹*The Galilean Gospel*, p. 6.

²*The Glacial Nightmare and the Flood.* By Sir Henry Howorth, K.C.I.E., M.P. F.G.S. Two vols. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co. 1893.

declaring that the flood, which geology showed closed the Pleistocene Period, was the same as these traditions refer to, and was, in fact, the deluge of Noah described in the Book of Genesis. Such is a brief summary of this striking book, which its author declared to be a challenge to those geologists who had pushed Sir Charles Lyell's theory of "Uniformity" to extreme lengths, and had overlooked the powerful arguments brought forward on the "catastrophic" side by many able foreign geologists, and by such leaders of English geology as Sir Roderick Murchison, Dean Buckland, Professor Sedgwick, and Hugh Miller. The argument in the book was worked out with wonderful power, and showed a perfect mastery of Palæontological details, and after reading it, it was almost impossible to resist the conclusion that a great deluge, or a succession of deluges, had taken place, and had swept away, by a mighty catastrophe, the great Pleistocene mammalia, and man along with them. Whether this flood was Noah's deluge might well be debated, but certainly the result of the inquiry demonstrated that great floods were geologically probable events, that climates could change quickly, that alterations of physical geography could take place with great rapidity, and that groups of animals instead of dying out very slowly, could be swept away suddenly by a great catastrophe.

In different parts of *The Mammoth and the Flood* the author stated that he intended to write another book which would present fresh evidence on the same subject, and, after nearly six years, this new book is at last published.

Sir H. Howorth may well be congratulated on the accomplishment of his task, and on the value of his work. The two large volumes, of which the book consists, form a perfect mine of geological information, and, whatever opinion may be formed of the reasoning therein contained, all readers must concur in admiring the author's amazing industry and untiring perseverance. In order to make an outline of this book intelligible to the student, it will be necessary to give a slight sketch of the opinions of the extreme glacialists, whose ideas Sir H. Howorth so strongly opposes. According to these geologists, the Pleistocene Period in geological history (which is the era that immediately precedes the recent epoch) was characterized by a fearful time of ice and snow, commonly called "The Glacial Period." At this era the whole of Northern Europe, from Ireland to the eastern frontiers of European Russia, was buried under a prodigious mass of ice, which was several thousand feet in thickness. This ice filled the bed of the North Sea, and also that of the Baltic; and, in central Europe, came as far south as the Carpathians, so that in Europe the ice-sheet must have been 3,000 miles long and 1,500 miles broad. In the same manner nearly all the northern portion of North America was buried beneath a vast ice-sheet which reached as far south as the 40th parallel of north latitude, so that we may say, speaking roughly, that in the Great Ice Age, Great Britain, Scandinavia, Northern Germany and Russia, as well as the northern parts of North America, were at this period over-

whelmed by ice and snow. Even the southern hemisphere did not escape, for ice, in vast sheets, filled the ocean in southern latitudes where at present there is open sea, and in South Africa, New Zealand, and South America traces of former ice-sheets are abundant!

What caused this terrible "Glacial Period"? We do not certainly know, for scientists are not agreed on the point. Some hold that it was occasioned by the gradual cooling of the earth from a state of incandescence, but geology does not show that *all* earlier periods were hotter than the later ones. Others maintain that the Ice Age was caused by astronomical changes, such as the passage of the earth through a cold portion of space, variations in the amount of heat emitted by the sun, or changes connected with the orbit of the earth; but these are all unsatisfactory, since the early life-forms in the world's history show no evidences of any former period of intense cold. Some geologists think that the Glacial Period was due to alterations in the position of land and sea, but this cause is plainly inadequate to produce the result. Opinion, therefore, is in a state of confusion, and it is consequently not surprising that some geologists have abandoned the problem in despair, and have declared that while the *existence* of the Glacial Period is an undeniable fact, its *cause* is an insoluble mystery, which human knowledge cannot fathom.

Into this labyrinth of perplexities and contradictions Sir H. Howorth boldly plunges, and powerfully argues in *The Glacial Nightmare* that many of the phenomena connected with the Great Ice Age have been strangely misunderstood, and that their testimony has often been misinterpreted in a most extraordinary manner.

It is somewhat tantalizing to find Sir H. Howorth in his preface informing us that he intends to write again on the subject, and that the evidence from the geological nature and distribution of the superficial beds in Germany, Russia, and South America will be dealt with by him in *another* volume. We earnestly trust he may be able to accomplish his great work, for the labour of discussing the problems presented by the Quaternary deposits of foreign lands, as well as the task of replying to the numerous criticisms which the advocates of geological uniformity are certain to make on his present book, will be truly Herculean. Our author commences his task by describing the occurrence and distribution of boulders over Northern Europe. Scattered thickly over the land in Scotland, Sweden, and Northern Germany and Russia are vast numbers of huge boulders, about which, in olden times, strange stories were told. Many of these boulders—or "erratics" as they are called—have come from a great distance, even from a source hundreds of miles away from their present position, and it is well known that the boulders which strew the plains of Northern Germany have most of them come from Scandinavia. How did they reach their present position? Geologists first fancied that vast waves of rushing water swept them along, and Sir H. Howorth devotes the first three chapters of his book to a description of the views of those

whom he terms "The Champions of Water," because they declared that these great blocks had been washed hundreds of miles by vast waves and by tremendous deluges.

But a change in geological opinion of the most extraordinary character soon took place, and, led by Agassiz, geologists—as a body—began to discard the theory that the great boulders had been distributed by rushing water, and adopted the view that they had been brought where they are now found by floating ice. Icebergs floating over an icy ocean carried huge blocks of stone upon them, and when they melted the boulders were dropped at the bottom of the ocean, and when the bed of the sea became dry land, the boulders were found lying on its surface. This view, of course, compelled its advocates to believe that all Northern Europe was, shortly before the advent of man, submerged beneath an icy sea, and was afterwards elevated to its present position. This theory was long held, but at length it had in its turn to be modified. Ice was held, by a new school of geologists, to have been indeed the agent which transported the boulders to such great distances; but this ice was not in the form of *icebergs*, but of *glaciers*. Land ice in vast sheets carried along the boulders for hundreds of miles, and when these stupendous glaciers and ice-sheets melted, the boulders were deposited on the surface of land over which the ice had flowed. Now, as the boulders are found scattered over nearly the whole of Northern Europe, and also over most of North America, and as the marks of the old glaciers are found up to 4,000 feet *at least* on the mountain sides in these regions, the advocates of this view were forced to admit that in the Glacial Period, Northern Europe and America were overwhelmed by vast sheets of moving ice many thousands of feet thick! This is the "Glacial Nightmare" against which Sir H. Howorth most vigorously protests. He freely admits that in the Pleistocene Period glaciers abounded in regions where they are not now found, and grooved the rocks beneath them, and transported boulders upon their surfaces, but he denies the existence of ice-sheets thousands of square miles in extent, and thousands of feet in depth, covering Northern Europe and America, and cutting out lake basins and valleys. After having discussed these theories, he examines the evidence brought forward in favour of the existence of glacial periods in former geological ages, and considers it to be utterly unsatisfactory; and he then criticises at great length the assumed causes of the Great Ice Age. He shows that such a Glacial Period as the extreme glacialists declare to have existed, could not have been caused by any astronomical, geographical, or meteorological causes that we can imagine, and he gives his opinion that if such a terrible period of ice really *did* occur, its cause is an unsolved mystery. Sir H. Howorth then proves from palæontology that all the evidence from the ancient life history of the past is against the theory of recurring glacial periods in ancient times. He also argues that the so-called glaciation of the southern hemisphere—in which it is declared that the southern parts of America and Africa had also their ice age—is quite destitute of proof, being contradicted by

evidence both from geology and palæontology. He examines minutely the theories of glacier motion, concerning which so much has been written by so many talented and industrious observers, and he concludes that the asserted work of ice-sheets, in carving out the land surface of continents and in excavating deep valleys and profound lake basins, is contradictory to the physical evidence now before our eyes. The last two chapters of the book will be read with great interest, as in them the author declares that the action of ice must be supplemented by that of water, moving in great waves, and acting by means of an overwhelming deluge, which swept along the boulders which we find scattered over the northern hemisphere, and distributed in the same regions the superficial deposits known as the "drift" beds. This deluge he maintains closed the Glacial Period, and swept away primitive man as well as the great Pleistocene mammalia; and, in Sir H. Howorth's opinion, it is probably the flood which is described in the Book of Genesis, and is preserved in the traditions of ancient civilized and modern barbarian races. This theory is certain to be violently attacked. The glacialists will declare that no deluge of rushing water could possibly transport huge blocks of stone weighing 2,000 or 3,000 tons for many hundred miles. They will argue that as glacial markings are found thousands of feet above the sea, therefore ice-sheets covered most of the land and sea in the northern regions of the globe; and they will scornfully maintain that the views set forth in Sir H. Howorth's book are out of date and behind the time. Doubtless it will be a most instructive controversy, and one which every intelligent student of the Bible, as well as of science, should follow with the greatest interest.

A book like *The Glacial Nightmare* is most valuable to the defenders of Holy Scripture for many reasons. It shows how doubtful are the details of geology, and that opinions connected with that science which have been accepted for many years are being continually abandoned, because new discoveries show them to be utterly erroneous. Of course it is granted that the leading facts of geology, such as the age of the earth and the succession of the strata, are established. But when we come to discuss details, we find such a mass of contradictory opinions, and we so often observe that conclusions which were said to be firmly settled have to be modified or finally abandoned, that it is absurd to say that the testimony of geology can invariably be trusted. Timid theologians who have never studied geology thoroughly, are apt to think that its statements must all be accepted as absolutely certain, and that if they seem to contradict the Bible, then either the Scripture statements must be abandoned, or explained away as "myths" and "allegories." The study of such a book as *The Glacial Nightmare* will convince them of their folly, as it will show how rapidly geological opinion changes, and how its apparent facts must be either modified or given up in the face of new discoveries. More than this, we learn that as the Glacial Period is the last great era before the present state of things, and as geologists are utterly unable to explain its cause or

its character, then they are still more unable to explain the *older* periods, which are removed from our time by perhaps millions of years. If geologists cannot account satisfactorily for the very *latest* and *plainest* phenomena on the earth's surface, how can they be trusted when they give their explanations of the *ancient* deposits, the phenomena of which are difficult to be studied? Moreover, if the geologist believes in the reality of an *ice-deluge* overwhelming part of the earth because of its *general* evidence, although he is quite unable to explain all its problems and harmonize all its difficulties, why in the same way should not the theologian believe in a *water-deluge* overwhelming part of the earth because of its *general* evidence, although he also is unable to explain all its problems and to harmonize all its difficulties?

The discoveries of geology are now clearly demonstrating that a great flood took place at the close of the Glacial Period when man was on the earth. Most geologists are now agreed on this point. Those who hold that the Glacial Period was marked by the existence of gigantic ice-sheets, thousands of miles in extent and thousands of feet in depth, maintain that when the ice-sheets melted vast floods were occasioned in this manner, so that what might be called a "Flood Period" took place. Other geologists who agree with Sir H. Howorth declare that the great flood was caused by sudden movements of the earth, which set in motion deluge waves of tremendous extent and power. Be the cause what it may, it is most satisfactory to find that geological discoveries are slowly and surely tending to support the Bible in this matter, and to show that science indicates that Noah's Deluge has left proofs of its occurrence in the extinction of the great Pleistocene mammalia and in the distribution of the superficial deposits of the Quaternary era.

CURRENT AMERICAN THOUGHT.

THE PERSON OF CHRIST—THE SUPREME TRUTH OF CHRISTIANITY. By PROFESSOR T. G. APPLE, D.D., LL.D. (*The Reformed Quarterly Review*).—The central truth of all Christ's teaching was Himself, His person and character. The main purpose of His ministry in the world was to make Himself known to men, and to be believed in by men, in order that they might be saved. The assertion of His Divine-human person as the God-man and Saviour of the world is mainly the truth to which He refers when He says, "If I speak the truth, why do ye not believe me?" Christ claimed to be believed on the ground of His sinless character (John viii. 46). He could not be a deceiver, because He bore a perfect moral character. It is said that this claim of Christ was invented by His disciples after His death. But it was not within the ability of the disciples to invent such a scheme of Christ as the Scriptures present. We cannot think that Christ mistook and overrated Himself. For a mere man to make such claim as Christ made would be such a stupendous infatuation that any

one making it must have been either out of his mind or else an arch-deceiver; and it is wholly impossible to regard Christ as such.

Many persons make His *teaching* central in their belief and conception rather than His person. The Sermon on the Mount is taken as embodying a moral code, and this is the chief thing to be preached. "Christ came, they suppose, to put aside the errors that had crept in and beclouded men's faith and knowledge, and to present the truth as regards our duty to God and our fellow-men." Or Christ is held up as the perfect model for imitation. But Christ claims to be more than this; He claims to be the source of life to those who believe on Him. Man's salvation centres in what Christ *is* as the God-man, and in what He *does* to save the world. But we distinguish between what He is and what He does. The central act, or work, for man's redemption was His death on the cross, but His person is more than His death. His death derives its significance from the character of His person. He became man to reveal God to man, and to be a source of spiritual life to him, so the incarnation is a deeper, more far-reaching mystery than even His death.

We must distinguish Christ from a doctrine of Christ. In the Scholastic period of Protestantism, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, true and sound doctrine was sometimes put in the place of Christ Himself. A man's Christian character was largely judged by his orthodoxy. The Scriptures were regarded as a treasury of proof texts by which to support orthodox doctrine. Confessions and theologies must be constructed or organized with reference to this central truth; Christianity must be Christological as well as Christocentric. The Protestantism of the Reformation claimed the Scriptures as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and justification by faith alone as its material principle. Lutheran theology tended to emphasize the material principle, the Reformed theology the formal principle, of the infallibility of Scripture. The doctrine of inspiration was indeed made central in theology. But if modern Biblical criticism succeeded in proving errors in Scripture, Christ would still live as the Head of the Church, and the fountain of life to all true believers. The Church for one hundred and twenty years after Christ left the earth was without a written revelation of the New Testament in the form of a canon.

If it were a question touching the person of Christ that is now agitating the theological world through the Higher Criticism, if His Divinity were denied, then we might feel that the foundations of the Christian faith were being jeopardized; but surely no such danger need be apprehended from a discussion of the character of the Bible. Where criticism holds firmly to Christ as the Son of God, and to the revelation contained in Scripture as inspired, the discussion surely cannot disturb the Christian faith, and should be judged and met by scholarship, not by discipline. The light of investigation cannot harm the Scriptures, much less Christianity.

The supreme duty of men who hear the Gospel is to believe in *Christ*. But what is faith? and how can it be a duty to have faith in Christ? Faith in Christ includes two conceptions—one, that it is an apprehension of the supernatural mystery of His person; and the other, that it implies sincere and hearty trust (*fiducia*) in Him. Faith is the spiritual activity or organ that apprehends supernatural reality or truth. We have knowledge of natural objects around us by the natural understanding through the senses. We have knowledge of generalized or abstract truth through the logical reason, and through the intuitions of the reason. The apprehension implied in faith includes the moral and spiritual in man, as well as the intellectual, as in the apprehension of goodness. To know or recognize a good man implies an affiliation for the good in us. In the case of those who came in contact with Christ some

spiritual sympathy or affiliation with absolute goodness and truth was necessary in order to recognize the Divine in Him. This is the one function of faith. Another consists in full and hearty trust in Him. It is like the confidence and trust reposed in a physician when we entrust our life into his hands. The two go together in one act. One must recognize the Divine in Christ in order to trust in Him as God. This spiritual sight differs from mere knowledge. It is not, at first at least, intellectually defined. Such faith is consistent with a very imperfect intellectual knowledge of the constitution of Christ's person. Man's highest duty here is, not so much to know the right doctrine in regard to Christ, as to believe in Him. But this faith needed to be guarded from both impiety and error, practically and theoretically, and so Christological controversies arose, and Christological definitions were given.

How can faith be a duty? If there is sufficient evidence a man will, nay, he must, believe. But there is a difference between a mathematical truth and a moral and spiritual truth. Our Saviour declared that if His hearers were of God they would hear His words. But here comes in a moral obligation. It is a duty to be of God, to be in sympathy with immaculate goodness and truth, and to be drawn to it in faith. No mere logical proof will serve here. It depends on character, and the difference in character involves moral obligation. What could God do more to reveal Himself than He did in Jesus Christ? Then it was the duty of every man to believe in Him; and man's supreme sin consists in the rejection of Christ. All sin starts in the principle of selfishness. At first this works in the sphere of bodily gratifications, then it comes into higher and more spiritual relations, taking form as pride, ambition, avarice, &c. Finally, sin becomes a ground principle of character as a confirmed love of sin as sin. Sin also depends for its development on the measure of light revealed in the soul. The highest form of Divine revelation is made to the world in the person of Christ, and therefore to reject Him is the worst form of sin. Christ lays obligation upon all who hear His Gospel to believe on Him. They cannot stand neutral or indifferent.

The old Apologetic that struggled in England against Deism in the eighteenth century proved itself insufficient. The argument based upon prophecy and miracle was not sufficient. So, too, the defence made to rest on the inspiration of the Scriptures could not bear the weight that has been made to rest upon it. The question at last turns upon the person of Christ; and the arguments He employed to authenticate His character and mission must be repeated. Just here there is room for the Church to strengthen its Apology. The strongest argument is the strongest statement. The life of Christ must be studied and set forth in its true character. The two fundamental errors, Ebionitism and Gnosticism, still strive in different ways to obscure to men's minds the perfect revelation made in Christ. The strongest and best argument, or apology, that can be presented from the Christological standpoint, in order to accomplish its purpose, must be joined to the practical exhibition of the Church's faith in its own life and work. Christ's image, reflected from His millions of followers in every age, is the light of the world.

WEALTH. By A. P. PEABODY, D.D., LL.D. (*The Andover Review*).—This subject includes some consideration of the great majority of the community who are in some way dependent on the few that are rich. We constantly hear of the *rights* of capital, the *rights* of labour, and the like. But the New Testament, which is a manual of ethics and sociology no less than of religion, says nothing about rights; it lays supreme stress on *duties*. Rights are contingent on duties. No real right can be acquired by the violation of duty, or can remain unimpaired by neglect of duty. If the world were Christianized, the word "rights," in the sense of claims,

would fall out of use. Wealth gained in violation of fundamental duty has no right to be. Gambling, when successful, is stealing. It is no less criminal to take advantage of one's ignorance, credulity, or cupidity in the Stock Exchange than of his defenceless physical condition on the highway. It is the essence of gambling that one man receives from another that which the other does not mean or want to give, and for which he that receives it creates or confers no value in return.

But the greater part of the wealth in America is in the hands of men who ought to have it. The average rich man who does not inherit his wealth fairly earns it. In the past generations commerce has made most of the great fortunes that have a right to be. Commerce does the bartering for the civilized world. Of many commodities, the largest part of the value is created by their transportation from the maker or producer to the consumer. It may be said, however, that if these classes of men earn their wealth, their children do not. These men have only a life-right in their earnings, and at their death their property ought to return to the State. It may be answered that in every civilized country the State does put limitations on the *post-mortem* disposition of property, only it has been the unanimous opinion of legislators, that the wisest and best thing to be done with the property of a deceased person is distribution in accordance with his will, or among the members of his family. Men will seldom do their best work for themselves alone. They want property more to leave it than to use it. The chief enjoyment of busy men often is providing for their children. Large fortunes are not likely to be so transmitted as to create an hereditary aristocracy, or to preclude new men from successful competition for the few great prizes which combined brain-power, skill, training, and industry can merit.

It may be said emphatically that large fortunes are needed. They are essential to the public welfare, and are of benefit to all of every condition above the rank of tramps and paupers. They are necessary for the great public works which make our modern world what it is. Equalized wealth, moderate competency, would never have built our railroads, or started our lines of ocean steamers, or established those solid financial institutions and firms that facilitate exchange and make foreign commerce possible and foreign travel easy. Most of such enterprises do not yield an immediate revenue. Rich men can afford to wait, men of slender means cannot. To the rich, too, belongs in many ways the special culture of science, learning, and art, not for their own exclusive advantage, but for the benefit of a growing number of those who can learn, appreciate, and enjoy what they cannot pay for. High art, whatever its nominal ownership, is public property. The socialistic division of property will never afford patronage for transcending genius. Still farther, there is no truer charity than generous living. It is worth much more than almsgiving, and supersedes a great deal of almsgiving. It sustains departments of manufacturing and commercial industry that would else languish. It employs many for whom the alternative would be enforced idleness. And the fact is, that there is hardly a rich family that is not a centre of thoughtful kindness for a circle of no small circumference. There have been, and are, millionaires who have made and make the doing of good, not their avocation, but their vocation.

There are, indeed, some misers, and but for their own sakes one could wish there were more. As men they are pitiable, but as institutions they are of surpassing value. They are the bees in the social economy, hiving money without feeding on it. What is called his "hoarding" is keeping his wealth in perpetual circulation through the channels of protective industry, in which hundreds of operatives are better paid than he is. Then, when he dies, he either leaves himself a name by

magnificent endowments for the public good, or else his property goes to heirs whom his example has taught to be as free in spending as he has been intent on saving.

We may now deal with the relations of the rich to other classes. First, we have the unceasing controversy between the employers and the employed. In America men's labour is not ill-paid. The mere hand-labourer without skill can earn a comfortable subsistence, and he is not fairly entitled to anything more. As to the labourer's proportion of profits, capital pays him as much as it can afford. Capital increases no faster than the needs of the country demand. The capital invested in manufactures no more than suffices by its surplus earnings for the new investments needed for a growing population. Still, there is much in the relations of class to class that admits of improvement, and it is only by remedying such evils as really exist that peace and mutual good feeling can be established. Look at some of the remedies attempted or proposed. A foremost place belongs to the Knights of Labour and other like organizations; but while men certainly have a right to agree among themselves as to any plan of action, they have none whatever to compel other men to fall into their ranks under heavy penalties. Every individual among the employers and the employed has a right to make an honest contract. As for the regulation of the hours of labour, the case is clear and simple. Competition, and the necessity of replacing and increasing working capital, put impassable limits on the wages fund. A certain amount of work will earn a certain amount of money, and no more. If the labourers prefer to do in five days what they now do in four, they must be paid accordingly; but those who make this choice have no right to compel others to do so. Socialism is among the proposed remedies for such social evils as are alleged to exist. Socialistic experiments, which have a view, though a distant view, to communism as an ultimate end, are perfectly lawful, and are open to no objections except such as are inherent in them. They have been tried often enough, and under a sufficient variety of conditions, to have been fully tested; and they are all defunct or moribund. Profit-sharing is another device, harmless in theory but difficult in practice. Profit-sharing means loss-sharing, and only capitalists can afford this. Profit-sharing is partnership, and means a right to participate in the management of business; but this is a matter in which the proverb, "In the multitude of counsellors there is wisdom," does not hold good. Nationalism is the newest device. It belongs to a far-off Utopia. Affairs now under national control are not so managed as to invite confidence in the people at large.

With reference to these and similar remedies for social wrongs, real or imagined, the best thing ever said was by an intelligent operative in Robert Owen's famous establishment at Lanark; "Tis but patching up poor human nature; if it be stopped in one place, it will break out in another." But there is a power that can make it whole. This work is the prerogative of Christianity; it will be performed as fast as man is Christianized, and no faster.

It has already been said that in Christian ethics supreme stress is laid not on rights, but on duties. Just so far as duties are fulfilled on the one side, rights will be recognized on the other. The various classes of *employés* need this lesson. So far as they have less than their rights, it is in great part their own fault. The worst enemies of labour are the agitators. On the other hand, rich men, capitalists, employers, can make good their rights only by discharging their obligations. These include moral and educational services; and that true charity which is sympathy, fellow-feeling. "Wages may be all that they ought to be, and yet there may be

discontent on the part of those employed, which, whatever its pretence, has its real source in the impassable gulf between themselves and their employers, and which has on the other side for its counterpart supercilious indifference." Private employers ought to be aware that they have not met their obligations when they have paid the wages due. In and about their own homes their opportunities of beneficence in word or deed are constantly recurring, and opportunity means duty.

In conclusion—"there cannot be two best ways of living. The straight path to heaven is the only sure and good path through this world. No one can prize more than I do the hope full of immortality bequeathed to us by the risen Saviour; still, should that hope fail, and the soul perish with the body in the grave, he who had lived for the life eternal would have got the most and best that could be got out of this world."

THE AGE OF THE HUMAN RACE ACCORDING TO MODERN SCIENCE AND CHRONOLOGY. By Rev. J. A. ZAHM, C.S.C. (*The American Catholic Quarterly Review*).—This article deals only with the first part of this subject, the antiquity of man according to astronomy and history. After a sketch of the history of Rationalism in Europe from the Catholic standpoint, designed to impress the vagaries of the human mind when freed from authoritative guidance, such as the Church professes to provide, the writer gives illustrations of the haste and positiveness with which fresh theories have been adopted, only to be abandoned in the next generation: the assumption being that theories relative to the antiquity of the human race are likely to prove as untrustworthy as those on other Biblico-scientific subjects. The position of the most advanced German thinkers is somewhat extravagantly presented. According to them, the value and truth of dogma are to be estimated by the conformity of dogma with the latest results of scientific research. The principal dogmas of the Christian faith are belief in a personal God, the creation of the universe out of nothing, and the immortality of the soul. But these beliefs are not in accordance with the teachings of science, and are, therefore, false. "Astronomy has driven God from heaven; reason has deprived Him of His court and taken from Him His Angels and His Saints. Geology and palæontology have demonstrated the falsity of Mosaic cosmogony; linguistics and prehistoric archaeology have shown the futility of Biblical chronology; and historical criticism has proved that the Old and New Testaments are nothing more than a tissue of myths and fables. Religion is a bugbear invented by a wily priestcraft; morality is a name for something that does not exist; law and order are restrictions on personal liberty which should not be tolerated. Such is the last word of modern Rationalism; such the latest utterances of that science that has arrayed itself against the Bible, and against all forms of supernatural religion." The animus against Christianity and against an inspired Bible has to be taken into due account in considering the deliverances of scientific antagonists.

The variations in the history of heresies, so graphically described by Bossuet, are fully paralleled by the various phases assumed by the protracted and heated debate between Biblical scholars and scientists, regarding the character of Scriptural chronology, especially in its bearing on the question of the age of our race. The first serious onslaught was made in the latter part of the last century. The astronomical tables of the Hindus were stated to prove conclusively that the Indian astronomers had made observations on the heavenly bodies fully three thousand years before our era, and had cultivated the science of the stars twelve hundred years earlier than their first recorded observations. Four thousand two hundred years before the Christian era implies an antiquity for a civilized nation

unsuited to the received Scripture chronology. But further and more careful research soon corrected this hasty assumption. The earliest reliable astronomical observations, as given in the Sacred Books, do not date back further than 1421 B.C.; and their oldest extant treatise on astronomy belongs to a period not earlier than 570 A.D.

Then the zodiacs of Denderah and Esneh, in Egypt, were discovered. That of Esneh was dated by M. Nouet as 4600 B.C., and by M. Burkard as 7000 B.C. M. Dupuis estimated that the temples in which the zodiacs were discovered must have a minimum age of fifteen thousand years. But Jean François Champollion studied the zodiacs *in situ*, and was able to demonstrate to the satisfaction of even the most critical that, far from having the hoary antiquity claimed for them, they did not antedate the first two centuries. They did not belong to the times of some of the earlier Pharaohs, as many stoutly maintained, but were put in place during the Roman domination in Egypt, and some time during or between the reigns of Tiberius and Antoninus Pius. So the warfare waged in the name of astronomy against the Biblical chronology was a signal failure.

Then attention was directed to the histories and literatures of certain of the Oriental nations, especially India, China, Egypt, and Assyria. Hindu literature and history seemed to promise all that could be desired. The poems, mythologies, and genealogical lists of kings, as given in the Vedas, Purānas, and Sūtras were carefully scrutinized and compared; but the results arrived at, when above mere conjecture, were far from reliable or satisfactory to those who were in quest of weapons which they could use against the Christian cause. Sir William Jones, the great Orientalist, greatly disappointed the anti-Christian theorizers of his time by declaring, as the result of his investigations, that "we have the establishment of a government in India no earlier than 2,000 years before Christ, the age of Abraham, when the book of Genesis represents Egypt as possessing an established dynasty, and commerce and literature already flourishing in Phœnicia." Heeren says of the Hindu writings, "We cannot expect to find in them any critical or chronological history; it is one by poets composed, and by poets preserved." Klaproth even brings down the commencement of true chronological Indian history to a period as late as the twelfth century of our era. Lassen places the date of the establishment of regular government in India somewhere between 2000 and 1500 B.C. According to Max Müller, the oldest of the Vedas belong to a period not earlier than 1200 or 1500 B.C. The laws of Manu were fixed by Sir William Jones to 1,200 B.C., and by Elphinstone to 900 B.C. Of the literature of India, Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire says, "History is entirely absent, or if it tries to show itself it is so disfigured that it is absolutely unrecognizable."

The boasted antiquity of the Chinese fares no better in the hands of modern historical criticism. According to Chinese annalists, the history of the Celestial Empire stretches back to the venerable antiquity of three million two hundred and seventy-six thousand years before the Christian era. But the learned chronologist, Father Gaubil, as the result of calculations based on certain eclipses mentioned in Chinese annals, is disposed to regard the date when the Emperor Yao ascended the throne as the first event that can be fixed with any degree of accuracy. This event he dates 2357 B.C. But probably a much more recent date must be assigned to it. The oldest of the classical books of China is the Chou-King by Confucius, which is alleged to give the history of the country between 2357 and 627 B.C., but it is fully admitted that the Chou-King does not afford a means of establishing a system of chronology for the long period of time which it embraces. Klaproth denies the existence of historical certainty in the annals of China prior to the year 762 before

Christ. Lassen says the Chinese have no authentic history before the beginning of the eighth century before the Christian era.

Our knowledge of Egyptian chronology is derived from three different sources : from Greek travellers who visited the land of the Nile ; from the historian Manetho, an Egyptian priest, born about 800 B.C. ; and from various original monuments, papyri, and inscriptions, the most important of which have been brought to light during the present century. According to Solon, the Egyptian monarchy stretched back some 9,000 years. According to Herodotus, the earliest annals of the Egyptian kings dated from an epoch more than 2,000 years earlier. Like the Indian and Chinese authors, Manetho gives, as the first rulers of his country, long dynasties of gods and heroes. The reign of the gods lasted no less than 18,900 years. Passing these by, critics are disposed to accept the thirty dynasties of Manetho, which begin with Menes and end with Nectanebo II. Manetho's lists are, however, confused by the fact that he treats the dynasties as successive, whereas some certainly were contemporaneous. In some cases two kings of a dynasty occupied the throne at the same time. The Turin papyrus is the most authentic chronological document yet discovered ; and besides this, there are the tables of Abydos, Sakkarah, and Karnak ; but all together do not permit us to construct a system of chronology that can be considered even approximately correct. Mariette says, "The Egyptians themselves had no chronology." M. de Rougé says that the first event to which a certain date can be assigned is the expulsion, in the year 665 B.C., of the Ethiopians by Psamatik I. of the twenty-sixth dynasty. Astronomical calculations carry back the chronology of Egypt to the year 1822 B.C. Some historians think we can go back to the expulsion of the Hyksos, eighteenth or nineteenth centuries B.C. The dates assigned to Menes, the supposed first monarch of the first dynasty, range from 2691 B.C. Wilkinson, to 5702 B.C. Böckh. It has been said by the Abbé Vigouroux, "Genesis properly understood allows Egyptologists full liberty to attribute to Egypt any antiquity that a just study of its monuments may demand."

Berosus carries the history of Babylonia back to a period antedating the Christian era by over 468,000 years. According to Rawlinson, the earliest historical date of Berosus is about 2458 B.C. In the library of Assurbanipal, discovered by Layard, in 1850, there are certain tablets bearing astronomical records. Thanks to the computations and tabular statements of the old Chaldean astronomers, we are now able to fix the dates of many historical facts of Babylonian history as far back as the sixth century B.C. with almost mathematical precision. Assyriologists are able to carry back the history of our race to a more remote period than can possibly be claimed for it by the chronologies of India, China, or Egypt. If Egypt had a civilization 5,000 years B.C., we are quite warranted in claiming for the ancient peoples of Mesopotamia a civilization several centuries older, and thus fixing the beginnings of its history somewhere near unto six millennia before the time of Christ. The writer of this article thinks that the usual period of time assigned as the age of the human race must be extended to nearly ten thousand years.

Can these dates and figures be reconciled with Scripture chronology ? "We are firmly convinced that a careful and unprejudiced study of the question of man's antiquity will issue in proving, as has been so often done heretofore, in other matters, that the Bible and Science are at one regarding the question now under discussion, and will eventually render the same testimony."

THE ARGUMENT FOR CHRISTIANITY FROM TENDENCY: SYMPTOSIS. By PROFESSOR JACOB COOPER, Rutgers College (*The Reformed Quarterly Review*).—The claim of Christianity is, that if the doctrines of its Founder were completely obeyed, and, as a

consequence, embodied in the lives of His followers, sin would disappear, and suffering, its inevitable attendant, would cease. If it can be shown that, in proportion as this obedience is realized, in the same degree sin and misery vanish, then it is legitimate reasoning to infer that if these doctrines were completely obeyed, the full effect of their operation would be to introduce a life of perfect happiness. The Symptotic argument, as this line of reasoning may be called, combines the *a priori* method with the deductions of experience. The law of Causation is admitted to be the chief corner-stone of philosophy. If a cause in operation must produce some effect, what will be the fruits of its action? To discover this we have to consider the material acted upon, the amount and direction of the force, and the design in view. If the material be uniform, the direction in which the power acts invariable, and the design pursued with constancy, whatever effects we can see at one time resulting will perpetually continue, unless some extraneous influence interfere. This principle is admitted without qualification in mechanics.

In man's moral nature we have the object to be acted upon—wretched, corrupt human character. The force to act is the power of rational motives to influence the conduct of man. The direction in which they act is always to elevate his thoughts and purify his heart. The design directing the motives is to diminish suffering and increase happiness. What has been the result, so far as we have been able to trace the workings? It is of two kinds: internal, witnessed by consciousness; and external, testified to by experience. There is a clear connection between the duty enjoined by the Divine Law and our success in this life. What we have observed in ourselves is also paralleled in our experience with others. When our conduct towards them was dictated by kindness, fairness, and a sincere desire for their best interests, we saw them swayed by these motives as surely as physical forces impel the material universe. So the history of the world as embodied in the actions of men considered individually, or acting in concert, show that they are subject to moral influences. True, our wills can accept or reject by a power of their own. Yet this in no way contravenes the truth of our position, which is, that when the law of God is obeyed it purifies and ennobles human character. We can, of course, look for no effect from moral motives when they are not exerted, or when stronger sinister forces counteract them.

It is said that those who profess most vehemently to be guided by what they term the Divine Law are often themselves essentially bad. But it is because a man professes a doctrine that calls for a better life than he lives that he is justly called a hypocrite; yet by a glaring absurdity the doctrine which he does *not* obey is made responsible for his failure. It avails nothing against the argument that men do not fully embody in their life the doctrines of Christianity which they profess. What is material to this theory is that the doctrine, just so far as it is conscientiously believed and honestly obeyed, effects its avowed purpose by redeeming man, body and soul, from sin and all its consequences. The doctrine itself cannot be blamed for the caricature which bad men make of it. It is sometimes claimed that the culture and morals of the world are not due to Christianity, or any revealed religion, but to the recuperative power which humanity has within itself. A recuperative power need not be denied. If it be allied in its effects with that which revelation asserts to come from the direct influence of the Divine Spirit, it must also be allied in its origin. Whatever may be declared of this recuperative power can with more justice be predicated of Christianity. For there is not a single virtue recognized by those who advocate man's self-regenerating power, which is not taught by the revealed will of God with greater distinctness, earnestness, and persistence. Whatever, then,

humanity illuminated by natural religion can claim, Christianity may in an immeasurably higher degree.

But the question is of tendency towards a particular result. The more comprehensive and cogent the influences be, and the less they are diverted from their main object, the more effectual will be their work. If a part of those doctrines which believers accept can renovate the world in the development of ages, then more of the same truths, and enunciated with greater distinctness, will do the work sooner. If when a man conforms to the Divine law in one particular he increases his own happiness, and that of all about him, the inference is irresistible that if he were wholly consecrated, then all his energies would be efficient for happiness actively and passively. And if this were the case with each individual, as the number of those thus consecrated to the work of doing good increased, the amount of suffering would diminish until at last it would be reduced to a minimum and entirely disappear.

The counter tendency of Departure, *Apoptosis*, can be observed with equal clearness. Complaints are made against the Gospel and Creeds because they fail of accomplishing at once the renovation of the world. "The doctrines of the Gospel are caricatured till they cannot be recognized, and then all the infidel pack is unloosed to hunt them down." Those who oppose the truths of religion say, It matters not what a man believes, provided his conduct be right—as though conviction and conduct could be divorced without destroying the symmetry of human character! An ultra position of antagonism is not perhaps reached at a bound. There is a gradual swerving. One by one the doctrines of Christianity are surrendered; and looseness in morals is found to be inseparably connected with indifference in doctrine. What would be vile adultery in the humble peasant is Platonic love, and sublimated friendship, in those whose mental powers place them above the Moral Law. "The marriage bond, which the teachings of Christ declare holy and indissoluble, is pronounced a tyranny which may be shaken off at pleasure whenever it becomes burdensome; and a new alliance, sanctified neither by the rites of a despised Church, nor the dictates of common decency, may be entered into by Stuart Mill or George Eliot. These are as fair examples as can be found anywhere among those who deride creeds and oppose the Bible."

Thus we see alike in those who receive all the doctrines of Christianity, and endeavour to conform their lives completely to its sanctions, and in those who depart further from its morality at the same time that they are rejecting its teaching, the evidences of approach as decisive to confirm its truth. For human conduct testifies to the truth of moral ideas by the fruit produced both in their acceptance and rejection.

PRIMARY QUALIFICATIONS FOR THE MINISTRY. By Rev. D. N. BEACH, Cambridge, Mass. (*The Andover Review*).—There is a kind of service of man to man which is intrinsically priestly. It mediates between men and the Highest. The notion is widespread, but not well founded, that the priestly service of man to man is a method of access alone acceptable to the Highest. The truly priestly function is realized in the highest degree in Christ; but it is capable of realization in a very high degree also in men. Mr. Beach deals with the inner, spiritual, or, more exactly, primary qualification for the truly priestly function, or, as we more commonly say, for the ministry.

This function finds an analogy in the revelators and ministers of other high things. The poets are priests to the great, creative thoughts. It is thus with the sculptors, as regards form; of the painters, as regards colour; of the musicians, as regards sound; of the mathematicians, as regards space and numbers; of the

naturalists, as regards nature, and so on. But there are closer analogies to the priestly function than any of these. There is an office toward the mind and toward rationality. It is illustrated when a dull or indifferent student is, perhaps slowly, perhaps suddenly, aroused, almost electrified, and has opened within him the door to all scholarship. Some master-teacher has touched him, has struck the key-tone of his mind. Higher yet is a certain office toward life—the priestly function toward a certain complex of thinking, feeling, aspiring, and accomplishing. There are men who beget, as it were, a moral life. Sometimes these two functions are, to a high degree, combined in one person. It is our limitations, our need of a mediator, our need of a subtle and living touch, that necessitate these offices. So is it between man and the Highest. The Highest is approachable. It is we who, by mediation, need to learn how approachable He is, how to approach Him, and how to live consciously as in His presence. It is sometimes said that the ministerial vocation nears its end; it has seen its best days. It is said that books, periodicals, associations for study and research, will now do what the ministry once did. But the removal of this educating function, laid as a burden on the ministry in the exigencies of the past, is a great relief, freeing it for more legitimate lines of instruction, and for yet higher services. Or it is said, “When you reduce your profession to its proper place, it becomes a matter of ordinances—baptizing, administering the Communion, burying, alms deeds, &c.—all of which are in their desuetude.” Or from another side it is said, “These are the true priestly works. Abide, therefore, by the sacraments; get you to the cloisters to pray, and understand your times well enough to leave to other agencies that preaching which in past ages was often neglected, or if exercised, was exercised for lack of other and better means of instruction.” But those who urge these objections fail to perceive what is the characteristic and fundamental work of the ministry. It is priestly work: it is a mediating work. So long as it is in human nature to aspire after the Highest, so long as the souls of men want God, and so long as there are men whose lives have had, in some imperfect degree, visions of the Highest, and have walked with God, so long will the true ministry continue and be in demand. The essential catholicity of our calling is therefore evident. Whatever our differences of opinion on theological or ecclesiastical questions, we are one in the capacity to lead others to the Highest, one in our mediating, priestly power. The question of entering the ministry is really this—Has a man the capacity in him of becoming a priest in this profound and catholic sense? There must be something of true priestliness in the man who becomes a minister.

Mr. Beach contrasts Brainerd and Mackay, Payson and F. W. Robertson, to show that men who have followed the methods of Brainerd and Payson have gained the repute of being specially spiritual, and men who have taken the practical lines of Mackay, and the intellectual lines of Robertson, have been accounted unspiritual. Many men in the ministry without these propensities of Brainerd and Payson, but otherwise highly useful, have suffered their lives to pass under a heavy burden of regret at not having them. What is the truth concerning this conventionally estimated *spirituality*? There is an emotional element in man. There is an impressible and impressionable element. In the directions of truth, sublimity, mystery, Deity, this element may very naturally be specially strong. A man chances to have it. In dealing with men, more or fewer of whom also have it, it is found strikingly effective. But what is this susceptibility? It is only a gift, and if a man have it not, he is not therefore disqualified for the ministry, for men almost altogether lacking in it have admirably succeeded in the ministry. There

are other gifts, other powers, equally potent as moral and spiritual forces, perhaps more than equally likely to be lasting in their effects, certainly less attended with liabilities to distortion and unhealthy influence, which are left to a man.

Of the primary and basal qualifications for the ministry, four may be mentioned. (1) An infinite hunger after truth and after righteousness. Infinite in the sense of never being satisfied, but ever still seeking. A *hunger*, not their full attainment, though the fuller the better. There is no drawback from the true priestliness like sanctioned and persisting wrong in the priestly person, no matter how relatively slight that wrong may be. This hunger, while intrinsically one, has a twofold direction. It faces truth and also righteousness. It is directed, that is to say, toward entity and toward life. It is intrinsic and extrinsic. It is ideal and practical. To aspire after God, to reach out for Him, can indeed be sought by the method of concentration of thought upon Him, by meditation, by disengaging the mind from all things else, as heathens and Christians alike have done. But the true search, if it have an orbit, is elliptical—and its foci are truth and righteousness, that is, truth-seeking and truth-living. Engaged in this twofold task, one grows on all sides; one's perceptions and sympathies expand; one can the nearer and yet the nearer discover God, as it were, being pure in heart; and one can the more nearly, just in proportion as he seems to see God, be God's priest to those who would find Him. The openness and hunger of one's mind towards truth, the valorous exercise of one's mind towards applying truth in righteous feeling, thinking, speaking, and acting, are not only logical and exemplary first steps, but needful intrinsic preparations toward finding God, and mediating between Him and men. But the priest should beware of *dogma*. Dogma is self-sufficient. Dogma dries up a man and makes him a thing. Between dogma and spirit and life there is either perpetual war, or only an armed, fortified, and exhausting peace. (2) A Divine passion for men. But no mere enthusiasm for humanity is enough. It is said of some one, "he was so engrossed in efforts for man that he could do nothing for men." It is the individual, the personal interest and passion, that are needed. Individually no man is perfectly lovable. Most men are, in a greater or less degree, positively unlovable. It is love for the man underneath all this that is to the point. It is looking at men as God looks at them. Not ardour alone for humanity, but personal appreciation, personal prizing, personal love, an acute power personally to discover men, the unthankful and evil not excepted, are the requisites. Love can unlock all doors. (3) The poetic qualification. Not poetic in the conventional sense. The true priest may never make verses, never compose an eloquent sentence, never utter an original proverb or apothegm. The true priest must see more than is seen; must hear more than is audible; must think more than has ever yet gotten to itself thought-forms. He must be a "seer." With the Saviour it was all vision; He had the second sight. "Never man so spake." It was because He saw so much. There is a unity in the world, if the world is thinkable at all. To deny the unity and the heart in the world—a fool can do that. "But to believe the contrary; to be confident that upon the seen world an unseen world impinges; to have faith that, by the help of the seen, the unseen may be interpreted; to grasp this unity, as the Saviour did, so that everything to Him was full of meaning, of eloquence, and of pathos, and to transmute one's grasp on this unity, as He transmuted it, into confidence, hope, plans, reasonable life, right conduct, true thinking, noble aspirings, divine hungerings, satisfiyings, and peace—this is the seer's office, the priest's place." He is set to mediate between men and the Highest, to see God, and to help men to see him. God cannot be seen. But there is a luminiferous ether, a thought-bearing ether, through which He may be perceived. It consists of this.

eternal parable, this perpetual poem, by which seen things are spun, as it were, out of things unseen, are part of them, speak of them, reveal them. Hereby God is revealed. The spirit sees Him. And this transaction is not a piece of legerdemain. It is inductive, rational, suggestive; in a word, poetic in the old, and true, and sturdy sense of the word. This vision the priest must have. (4) The last qualification is called by the name of *prayer*. Under this name it has been nearly appropriated and shorn of its legitimate power in that psychic complication indicated in the contrasts between Drainord and Mackay, Payson and Robertson. But there it does not belong. Robertson broke away therefrom. In the lonely fastnesses of the Tyrol he learned where it belonged. He brought it back with him to England as a new concept. *He lived it henceforth*. He caused prayer to cease to be, in his own life at least, a psychic exercise, and made it a part of his being. The hunger for truth and righteousness, the Divine passion for men, the spiritual visions, cannot but lead the true priest ever to commune with the Highest.

THE SAVING POWER OF MERCY. By JOHN BASIL BARNHILL (*The Christian Register*).—This may be illustrated in three spheres—politics, literature, and art. As nations, literatures, and arts acquire mercy, they find life, and find it more abundantly. There are those who tell us that art is justified when it promotes in the least degree the happiness of an isolated worshipper. Those in highest repute in the world of art tell us that there is no art worthy of the name which is not in some way related to the happiness of all, which does not find its themes in aspirations that are universal, and make for the happiness of an undivided humanity—in short, in themes of absolute unselfishness, of democratic devotion. William Morris says, the supreme duty of artists, as a mere act of highest service to the interests of their mistress, is to lay other objects entirely aside, and combine for the effectual increase of human happiness. Art has ever found its most kindling themes in the loftiest mercies and sacrifices of history, in the Passion of Jesus and other inspiring martyrdoms. In proportion as it has been guided by mercy it has wrought for itself upon tablets, not of stone, but of the human heart, an unwasting immortality. The least mechanical of the arts is music. Berlioz says, "Music is a heavenly art, nothing supplants it but true love"; not the "egotism of two souls," but a love responsive to the yearnings of humanity. When Beethoven heard that Napoleon had proven false to his professions of republicanism, and had assumed the emperorship, he tore the page on which was the dedication to the "First Consul" from the manuscript of his masterpiece, and trod it beneath his feet. Liszt says, "True art, like the solution of all opinion, lies in the feelings of humanity."

It is in the domain of literature that the growing power of the spirit of mercy is most abundantly displayed. The masterpieces of fiction, exemplifying as they do, for the most part, the loftiest moral and religious sentiments, have exerted a unique effect upon our thinking and our conduct. What do we find to be the one quality indispensable to the highest success in the novel? It is a spirit of exquisite sympathy with suffering, combined with the gift of a noble eloquence which has power to inflame the hearts of men with that pity which is akin to love. Whether it be Hugo, constructing the black catalogue of society's crimes; or Mrs. Stowe, describing the wrongs and sufferings of an empire of slaves; or Dickens, reproducing the lowest depths of degradation and suffering among his own people, or depicting the nameless outrage which arrogant aristocracies have dared to commit—there is still in every great work of the imagination in our day the same appeal to the feeling of our common humanity, evoking these feelings either as indignation toward the oppressor or as sympathy for the oppressed. The greatest types in fiction

are either victims of unspeakable wrong, or workers of measureless mercy. Marguerite, the eternal type of the unfortunates of earth—type of the victims of man's Mephistophelian infamy; Mignon, type of those who, torn from home and loved ones, perish in their prime for lack of a sympathetic environment; Jean Valjean, a nineteenth-century incarnation of Divine love—these, and such as these, are the creations at the mere mention of which our feelings are awakened to a dance of breathless ecstasy, tears of mysterious tenderness unforbidden flow, and the heart beats with a wild and strange emotion. Our acquaintance with these creatures of mercy constitutes the most impressive part of our education, for that only really educates which quickens and inspires. These exemplars of mercy, whether they exist in actual history, or only in the inspired pages of the novelist, teach us more than aught else we ever learn. They are the real monarchs of thought, the puissant conquerors of the future, the unacknowledged legislators of the race.

Is it not true that the feelings rather than the intellect point out the path of duty? Do not the greatest thinkers even of this age of peerless rationalism attest the supremacy of the heart? Herbert Spencer has told us that the feelings govern the world, and that the utmost that mere mind can hope to do is to guide the feelings. This is found to be pre-eminently true in the field of political and social endeavour. The teaching of universal history is, that those nations which have sought after mercy have found life and prosperity, but the deep penalty of extinction has overtaken those nations which have failed to seek or find this mercy. Rome, though she conquered the world, was at last self-conquered by the inhumanity inherent in her institutions.

Men oftentimes wonder if we have reached a civilization that will endure, and they discuss the question, "How are we to tell?" There need never be any doubt. We may be sure that no civilization has ever perished which was worth preserving. The departed nations have all alike failed in some important degree to stand for the highest humanity. Wanting in humanity, wanting in morality, wanting in that justice which is the basis of all morality—they all alike perpetrated or connived at inhuman treatment of some part of their people. Browning said that every wrong heaped upon man is an insult to God. God will not confer immortality upon inhumanity. We may be sure that those nations which have dared to shut the gates of mercy on mankind—nations which, like Russia, are the perfection of cruelty and injustice—must yet expiate, in frightful afflictions, their insults to God and their wrongs to man. A despised class, or a class unjustly treated, is an element of danger and disintegration to any nation. If you would know the strength of any state or society, go to its most despised or maltreated subjects, estimate the extent of their humiliation, measure accurately the depth of their injuries, take the dimensions of the inhumanity heaped upon them, and by the light of such calculations you can determine at once the quality and quantity of their attachment to the government that oppresses them; and thus you may perceive the worth or worthlessness of the foundations on which that government rests. Despotism and injustice may insult the people's rights for a while, they may even rob the people of their eyes and strength; but the people at last will not hesitate till vengeance is recorded, even though to do so, like Samson Agonistes, they must pull down the fated fabric upon their own heads, and plunge oppressors and oppressed into one common and irretrievable ruin. If the institutions of a nation continue to breathe the atmosphere of humanity, they cannot die. If they are false to humanity, their doom is already written. We should bow down and worship that principle of justice overruling the destinies of men, that principle which destroys the inhumanities and

perpetuates the humanities, that principle which, though it slay us, we must still trust in it; for in it are bound up the welfare and happiness of our children and our children's children to the remotest generation. "Humanity, though crushed to earth, will rise again, the eternal years of God are hers."

It is in the sublime capacities of the human heart—capacities which the passing centuries do not exhaust, but only bring to greater and more exquisite perfection; it is in this human heart whose infinite variety of mercy age cannot wither nor custom stale; it is in this human—ay, this Divine—depository of inexhaustible love, mercy, and tenderness that we may find God's chosen means of governing the world and preserving our planet from permanent wrong. Supreme above all sects and all creeds, uncribbed, uncabined, unconfined, for ever unsatisfied with her past achievement, the spirit of mercy marches far in advance of the present generation, points as to the distant centuries and asks, "What legacy do you purpose leaving your unborn descendants?" Her leadership is absolute, imperious, unconditioned: we must either follow her suggestions, or sink back into aboriginal barbarism. This is the most authentic voice of God—the voice of humanity, claiming for our relations Mercy, Pity, Peace, and Love.

THE DOUBLE ADVANTAGE OF THE MODERN PREACHER. By the EDITOR (*The Andover Review*).—The ministry of to-day, and still more the ministry of to-morrow, is to have a twofold advantage: (1) extensively, in enlargement of scope or field of operation; (2) intensively, in respect to the truth of Christianity itself, as it is better apprehended in its significance and in its motive power for the individual and for society. An impression prevails that the minister's sphere is contracting, and that the minister is more limited in scope than he was in earlier times. But this impression is owing to a change rather than to a contraction of external conditions—a change by which apparent limitation on one side is more than compensated by enlargement on other sides. The parish church does not now practically include the whole population, but what corresponds to the old parish church is still of the first importance. It is continued as the permanent congregation made up of families, or the family church. The parish is determined now, not by locality within certain geographical limits, but by selection through denominational, doctrinal, or social affinities. In nearly all churches at the present time the preacher faces, Sunday after Sunday, the same congregation, as the parish minister did in the earlier period. These churches are attended by the best, the most intelligent, and the most influential people in the prosperous communities of this country (America). The religious instruction of such congregations is of the greatest consequence. The opportunity it furnishes to the preacher is unsurpassed. The demand it makes on him for work of a high intellectual and ethical standard is most stimulating. Such congregations are constantly recruited, also, from those who attend occasionally, who are drawn in from outside, and become regular attendants. Actually the number of regular church-goers far exceeds the entire population at the close of the last century and well on into the present century, and it is thought to have been gaining during recent years in its proportion to the increase of population.

But a widening of the field of church and preacher is now making rapid way by reason especially of changed economic conditions. A distinct field both of investigation and service is opening in every place of considerable size, on account of industrial and social transformations. The diversification of industries, the growth of manufactures, the division of labour, the use of machinery, and other causes requiring different grades of skilled and unskilled labour have produced a variety of social classes, and brought in large numbers of labourers from foreign countries. The

population is no longer homogeneous, but decidedly heterogeneous in respect to possessions, education, and nationality. The Church until recently has tried to do its work, in a social community so radically changed, by the methods which were sufficient when the conditions were more simple. But now at last the ministers and the churches are alive to the new conditions, and are entering the larger field. The social question or problem is fairly before the Church. The preacher of to-day is not prepared for his work when he has studied the Bible in the original tongues, and the history of doctrine, and theology, and the art of constructing sermons. He must be well informed on industrial and economic conditions, on the relations of employer and employed, of capital and labour, on the causes and relief of poverty, on crime and reform, on the education of the children of labourers, and the like. The work of the ministry is taking on a large importance to educated and earnest men who are not themselves clergymen, now that they can co-operate with preachers on lines of service which are in the direction of the great social and economic problems of modern life, but which it is seen cannot be solved merely by economic methods without those religious influences which the preacher and the Church introduce. The widespread interest in the moral and religious welfare of those who labour with their hands, and the thoroughness of method and of consecration with which the work has been begun, justify the opinion, if there were no other reason, that the modern preacher has an advantage in the extension of his field.

Another tendency extending the preacher's scope by removing some existing limitations, is the tendency to unity. The denominational spirit is declining. Another extension of the field is the occupation of regions lying somewhat remote from the commercial centres, and having a scattered population in small villages and in the open country. The extension of the field in other lands has been more rapid than the occupation, so that those who are impelled to preach the Gospel of Christ among foreign nations find great and effectual doors opened on every side where formerly no entrance could be gained.

Quite as important as the enlargement of the preacher's sphere in extent is the apprehension of the truth of Christianity itself in its significance and motive power. There is an advantage in this respect, intensively. The preacher has a great advantage in the modern recovery of the Gospel to its reality and influence *for life*. One result of historical and literary criticism is what might be called the humanizing of the Gospel. When Strauss's *Life of Jesus* appeared, the Christian world was shocked. But Christian scholars began to study anew the sacred records. The actual growth of the literature was ascertained. The several accounts were compared. The theory of myths and legends was proved inadequate. Lives of Christ poured from the press in rapid succession. The actual, historical, human Christ was restored to the Church and to the world. Whereas formerly a theological Christ was preached, now the humanity of Christ became real again, and He was known as the Son of Man, as the teaching, sympathizing, suffering, conquering Jesus. Whereas formerly a scheme of salvation was preached, an arrangement by which sin is forgiven, the cross everything and the life of Christ nothing, now Jesus is known as One who introduced a type of life, a principle of love, a law of service which may be reproduced by men as the true type of personal life, the law of social regeneration. All that was true in the older theology was preserved; but now the reality of the redemption is perceived in the method of it as wrought out in the actual human experience of the Man Christ Jesus, who reveals the Father to the world. The Gospel is not now made wholly dogmatic; it is also made ethical. It is known as truth for life, as motive-power, as trans-

forming influence. Salvation is moral renovation. The older sermons constituted "bodies" of divinity; they discussed and defended doctrines; they explained the Divine attributes. But the sermons of the period which began in England with Maurice and Robertson, and in America with Bushnell, are spiritual, ethical, human, and real. In every sermon there is an attempt to make connection between truth and life.

And the truth of the Gospel is well understood now to be for society, the Gospel of social salvation. The object of the preacher and of the Church is not merely to rescue an individual here and there from the wreck of things, and to carry him to a place of safety, but also to redeem society on earth. The Gospel is seen to be for men in their existing relations; for individuals in their connections of family, industry, education, government, and religion. This, again, is a recovery of the original Gospel. It is no injustice to the earlier period to say that the salvation of individuals was the burden of preaching, a salvation which was thought of more in relation to the other world than to this world. This recovery of the idea of the "Kingdom of God" has been made just at the time when the social problem is pressing on all good Christians and good citizens.

And the Bible is the preacher's book now as it never has been before. It is the book of life, of human life in its deepest needs, in its aspirations, beliefs, sins, and redemption. It lies open in the preacher's hand, that he may see in it and preach from it the truth which finds men in their questionings, sins, sorrows, and duties. The contentions which are raging in some sections of the Church over the authority of the Bible will be productive of good, for they will lead inevitably to the separation of the spirit which giveth life from the letter which killeth.

Other things referred to as advantages of the modern preacher are, the possibility of using the contributions made by science, philosophy, history, and culture, for the illustration and support of the truth of Christianity, and the enrichment of worship. Barren forms, and long, extemporaneous prayers, are replaced in part by worship in which the congregation participates, such as certain forms of prayer and confession, reading of devotional portions of Scripture, hymns giving a truly poetical expression of religious feeling, and music adapted to them in stately choral movements and in joyful or tender strains. People are educated in religion by worship which embodies feelings of trust, penitence, and consecration as truly as they are by direct instruction and persuasion.

The modern preacher should be an honest, manly, intelligent Christian. He should have some ability as a public speaker, some scholarship, much common sense, and a desire to help men in the highest and best things. Intellectual and moral *sanity* he should have. Healthy body, mind, and character are needed. It is not necessary, it is not desirable, that he should at times be wrought up into states of spiritual exaltation, into mystical frames of feeling, into intense experiences of penitence and of faith. Whatever inspiration he naturally gains from the contemplation of truth, whatever zeal is quickened by sympathy with men, whatever discipline of character he acquires in the service he attempts, whatever humble dependence on God he feels under his important responsibilities, may be welcomed. But when such moods and feelings are directly sought, one may become morbid and self-conscious to such a degree that he is separated from men, and remote from the simple realities of Christian truth and life. He is to be different from other Christians only as his occupation makes him different. It is more desirable that the minister of to-day should be a thoroughly sane man than that he should have the reputation of being a saintly man. The preaching saint of one age is an ascetic, of

another age a mystic, of another a reformer, of another a theologian, and of the present age a sensible, vigorous, educated, sympathetic teacher of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, ready in the countless emergencies and opportunities of modern life for every good word and work.

A great and effectual door is open to the ministry of to-day. One who has qualifications for the work may be certain that he can make the best use of his life as a Christian preacher.

THE ETHICS OF CONFUCIUS, AS SEEN IN JAPAN. By Rev. J. H. DE FOREST, Sendai, Japan (*The Andover Review*).—The history of Japan has been very markedly influenced by the moral teachings of the Chinese sage. Eighteen years of life in Japan have convinced this writer that the terrible stories given in Mitford's *Tales of Old Japan*, and Greey's *Loyal Ronins*, are simple history, revealing a state of society in which cool determination, desperate courage, and fearlessness of death in the face of duty are quite unique, and must have their basis in some powerful, though abnormal, code of ethics. This code is The Five Relations—Sovereign and Minister; Father and Son; Husband and Wife; Elder and Younger Brothers; and Friends. These Mr. Forest sets forth in their Japanese dress; showing first those underlying ideas that control the practical working of the code.

It is difficult to get suitable terms for translating Eastern ideas. Even in cognate languages it is by no means easy to find words that exactly correspond. The same word in different ages comes to have an entirely different meaning. "Virtue," "family," "despotism," "people," "rights," "love," "reverence," when taken in connection with such widely differing civilizations and developments as those of the East and West, are words that mean one thing here, and something considerably different there. It follows that when we attempt to look at the practical effects of a system of ethics we often fall into errors, which only a wider study, and perhaps a later generation of writers, can fully correct.

The First Relation is that of *Sovereign and Minister*. For ages past the sovereign of Japan has had no relation to the people. The sovereign never saw the people, nor were the people ever so privileged as to see their ruler. The relation of the sovereign was solely with those about his sacred person—his ministers. This first relation has various translations. After the sovereign came *Dainyo* and *Shomyo*, great and small lords, with their castles and retainers. In this stratum of society this first relation was called *Lord and Retainer*, and embraced about two millions called *Samuria*; this was the warrior and literary class. Farther down in the social scale were farmers, artisans, merchants, and coolies. Among them this first relation meant *Master and Servant*. The underlying thought that bound such separate duties into one was loyalty, the loyalty of an inferior to his superior. It was more poetry than prose when the sovereign was called "the father of the people," and the nation was likened to a great family. It was only through grade after grade, rank after rank, that the sovereign could be reached from the people. He was the high, they the low. Everything went on the up and down plan, in accordance with the all-prevailing thought of superior and inferior. The moral ideal that was expressly taught in connection with this first relation was Uprightness or Righteousness. The idea of this righteousness was that the retainer's life was not lived for himself, but for his lord. To belong, body and soul, to one's lord, to be ready to die for him or with him, was the meaning of righteousness. The ruling thought that runs from the bottom to the top of society is, that the inferior owes his superior unquestioning loyalty and reverence, while the superior owes his inferior benevolence or love. The duties of the inferior, however, claim by far the

most attention. The inferior, while he has rights, seldom ventures to claim them. He considers even his rights to be privileges, and so speaks of them.

The Second Relation is that of *Father and Son*. Easterns put this relation before that of husband and wife, because the relation of father and son gives the line of succession by which the *house* abides for ever. To keep up the house, and not let the family name be extinguished, is the supreme wish. This is the immortality of the East. If there be no natural heir, adoption readily supplies the deficiency. Also by concubinage the house is kept unbroken. The imperial line, that is claimed to have existed over twenty-five thousand years, has stood by means of both adoption and concubinage. And the woman of the East holds a different place from the woman of the West. What concerns the line of succession is more important than what concerns a woman. Filial piety means obedience, but of a different degree from the obedience of a Western home. There is an absoluteness about it which is abnormal. Parents may to this day command their daughters to lives of infamy, and take the gains. The obedience a father might require is extreme, and is not balanced by a corresponding responsibility on the part of the parent. We can hardly use the word "parent" without thinking of the duties he has to his child, but in Japan the prevailing thought in this relation, as in all others, is that of duty from the inferior to the superior. A man's first duty was to his parents rather than to his own children or his wife. And this obedience lasted for life. No coming of age freed the man from it. Filial piety means *reverence* rather than love. The son, the inferior, is never taught to love his parents, but to reverence them. Letters to parents begin with reverential words, not with terms of endearment. In strictness, a child should look not so high as to his father's face, no higher than to his girdle. On entering the room of his father, he sits at a distance and bows with reverence. It is not meant to assert that children do not love their parents. There is love, but not in the free, open, joyous way we have learned it—not in the deep, intense manner of the West. The third element in filial piety is duty towards the dead. The parents are kept in remembrance by tablets, on which their sainted names are written in golden letters, and they are honoured with floral offerings.

The Third Relation is that of *Husband and Wife*. Generally speaking, there is no courtship. Parents, or "go-betweens," settle who are to be partners. The wife is not only inferior to her husband, but to his parents, under whose roof he goes to live, and whom she is equally bound to obey. She is never said to love her husband, but to reverence and obey him. The emotional nature is guarded by cultivating the spirit of reverence. A husband and wife never walk out together side by side, but she goes behind, to follow and obey being synonyms. If she dies the husband does not go to the funeral, but sends the children. The wife must be chaste, but the husband is perfectly free, and none but a bad wife will venture to complain of any excess on the part of her husband. Nevertheless, woman in Japan is woman still. Occasionally there were higher ranges of motive and action that put to defiance the up and down relation, and that revealed the truly heroic and noble nature of woman. Seven reasons for divorce were recognized, but just what was their practical effect is difficult to realize now, seeing that Japan has broken from old standards, and in the social confusion has not yet found new ones. Divorce is now amazingly common.

The Fourth Relation is that of *Elder and Younger Brother*. Neither in China nor Japan is there any well-known word that means simply *brother* or simply *sister*. The family and all society being built on the perpendicular rather than the horizontal plan, rank, order, distinction, are all-important. Every term that refers to a member of a family must, at the same time, describe the relative position. So it is always "elder

brother," "younger brother," &c. These are expressed by the short terms *Kei*, *Tei*, and female *Shi*, *Mai*. Reverence and obedience are due from the younger to the elder as to a parent. The elder brother comes before the mother. The elder brother becomes the successor in the family line. The younger brother is often given, by adoption, to some near family where there is no son, but where there is a daughter, whose husband he becomes. He then drops his own name, and takes that of the *house* into which he is adopted. In this relation the elder brother had his duties and responsibilities. They were not formulated in any such way that a younger brother would claim his rights, but there was a strong ethical idea that modified the assumption of selfish authority, and made the family a moral power in society.

The Fifth Relation is that of *Friends*. This is a narrow relation, and has no reference to mankind. "Confucius knew nothing of universal philanthropy." What a friend owes a friend in the common intercourse of life is about the size of it. The word "friends" had its interpretation practically limited by the rank or grade or the ever-recurring "order of nature." The merchant and the Samurai could hardly be called friends.

Something needs to be said on the practical workings of the Five Relations since the Restoration. "Western ideas are coming in like a flood. New political ideas have already revolutionized the form of government. New family ideas are revolutionizing family life. The words 'home,' 'rights,' 'person,' are being widely used. The true character of woman as wife, mother, and daughter is being recognized. Family, parents, love, liberty, are growing into new meanings. The distance between superior and inferior in the State and in the family is being greatly lessened. The result is that the traditional interpretation of the Five Relations, so far as it concerned the old 'order of heaven,' is being badly wrenched, and cannot possibly be preserved. They must now be interpreted so as to accord with a constitutional government and codes of law that recognize the rights of the individual, even of a woman. The interpretation of this brief system of ethics will progress, just as theology progresses, with new discoveries in science and psychology." "Many able writers in Japan are showing loud dissatisfaction with Confucianism, and are giving much thought to the family. It is being more and more seen that the living family, apart from dead ancestors, is not the moral power it might be. The line of succession will remain a very important point, but it will not be, as in the past, so much with reference to the dead as to the living and future descendants. The wife will more and more share responsibility with her husband; and the time will come when the relation of husband and wife will take precedence of that of father and son. The 'order of nature' will be better understood when personality is better understood. Love in the family, and equality before the law in society, will weaken the force of the once universal relation of superior and inferior, and a wider righteousness will be the result."

CURRENT GERMAN THOUGHT.

SPURIOUS WRITINGS OF ATHANASIUS. By Dr. J. DRÄSEKE, Waudsbeck (*Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1898, No. 2).—Great liberties seem to have been taken with the name of Athanasius in early days. Witness the Athanasian Creed, which had nothing to do with the saint. The names of Athanasius and Apollinaris of Laodicea were strangely

mixed up. Even Cyril of Alexandria quoted a confession of Apollinarius as the work of Athanasius, and the Council of Ephesus in 431 followed his example. In former publications Dr. Dräseke has proved that three dialogues on the Holy Trinity, which passed under the name of Athanasius, were the work of Apollinarius, and that the two books against Apollinarius, reputed to be by Athanasius, were probably by Didymus and his scholar Ambrose. In the present elaborate article he claims to have shown conclusively that two other treatises, which have always been included among the works of Athanasius, were not his, but most probably by Eusebius, of Emesa, a theologian of the Antiochian school. These are the *Discourse against the Greeks*, and the treatise *On the Incarnation of the Word*. Dr. Dräseke's conclusions are thus summarized by Professor V. Schultze in the *Theol. Liter.-blatt*:—"1. Athanasius cannot be the author. The peculiar rhetorical style, the philosophical culture and plain allusions to the author as an experienced man, forbid this. 2. The theological manner of the author is not Alexandrine, although he shows acquaintance with Alexandrine conditions, but Antiochian in the use of Scripture and Christology. 3. Historical references (the Arian controversy, Persian war, &c.) point to the middle of the fourth century as the date. 4. The author is probably Eusebius of Emesa, a distinguished theologian of his day, who played a conspicuous part under Constantius, and died about 360 at Antioch. The internal characteristics of the two writings quite suit Eusebius, and the writing, 'Adversum Judaeos et gentes,' ascribed to him by Jerome, is identical with the two treatises, which form one whole and were composed to defend the truth of Christianity against Jews and heathen. The original heading therefore should be restored." In reference to the first point mentioned above, it may be remarked that the two treatises have been generally assigned to the youth of Athanasius.

THE PROBLEM OF THE GOSPELS. ALFRED RESCH (*Theol. Liter.-blatt*, 1893, April 28).—It may be worth while to call attention to a series of works announced by A. Resch, a well-known investigator in this field. The complete list is as follows:—A. *Agrapha. Ausserkanonische Evangelienfragmente* (already published). B. *Ausserkanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien*. 1. *Textkritische und quellenkritische Grundlegungen*. 2. *Das Kindheitsevangeliem* (Matt. i. 2; Luke i. 2). 3. *Das Johanneische Evangelium*. 4. *Das Mathäus- und Markusevangeliem*. 5. *Das Lukasevangeliem mit der Apostelgeschichte*. C. *Kanonische Evangelienparallelen in den apostolischen Lehrschriften*. Of the second section (B) the first part is also published (*Textkritische, &c.*), and of this part, as well as of the scope of the entire work, the author gives a brief description. The first part expounds the principles followed in criticism of the text and the sources, so preparing the way for the parts to follow. A tolerably full synopsis of the contents of this part is then given. Passing this by, we give the author's account of the general drift of the whole work. Many readers, he says, have a deep-rooted aversion to all attempts at a criticism of the sources of the Gospels, believing that such attempts must issue in a depreciation of the Gospel history in general. "And I freely confess that where the Synoptics are regarded as a mere dull remnant of the original Gospel, and where, moreover, the Johannine Gospel is stripped of its apostolic authenticity, and of its character as a historical authority, such fear is not unwarranted. But whoever, as I have done in my work, *The Formal Principle of Protestantism*, calls the fourth Gospel, not merely for its pure evangelical teaching, but just as much for its unique historical value, in fact with Luther, 'the unique, tender, real Gospel,' and whoever through his whole life has held fast by this conviction, should be thoroughly safe from all suspicion of disparaging the Gospel history, and also serve as a proof that criticism of the Gospel-

source and investigation into the common source of the Gospels are very well consistent with a thoroughly positive conception of the Gospel history. Among the most positive and important results of my inquiries I reckon the proof that, like the Synoptics, like most of the New Testament authors, so especially Paul presupposes the pre-canonical Gospel and draws from it. It is hard to see why in a time when Judaism, as is admitted, was peculiarly active in the literary field, an early literary activity should be denied to the primitive Christian Church, even before the rise of the apostolical writings preserved to us. And it is further certain that the acknowledgment of a pre-canonical Gospel as the chief common source of the apostolical literature would involve a complete transformation of the science of New Testament introduction, and a final defeat of purely negative criticism, besides inaugurating a period of fertile positive research in the New Testament field." The writer complains that his chief proposal has been almost entirely ignored by critics of his former writings, Dr. Sanday being named as an exception. Professor Marshall's hypothesis of an original Aramaic Gospel is akin to the author's, and is mentioned by him. The writer concludes thus: "If strength and health are given me from above, the parts will follow one another quickly. I cherish the opinion that after the completion of the series, while the problem of the Gospels will be by no means solved, a new and much broader basis for investigation of the Gospels will be given in comparison with the previous narrow basis of the canonical Gospel-texts."

THE INSPIRATION QUESTION. By Dr. KÜDEL, Tübingen (*Neue Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.*, 1893, No. 2), Conclusion.—The writer refers to the impression made by the Bible as a whole, from which we may judge of the author as in the case of ordinary books. Some "offensive" sections of the Old Testament scarcely qualify this judgment when we take into account difference of time and manners, and the law of development in religion. Where is there anything like the Bible in this respect? "Let us remember that it springs mostly from times on which we look down, from a nation which the Old Testament itself calls the 'least of all peoples,' and which was an object of contempt to Greeks and Romans and many besides. And these times and this nation produced this literature! Produced from its own resources? No; let who will believe it, we hold this simply impossible. Certainly the men of this nation tell us their own share in the work; but to suppose that the presence of human action excludes the Divine power and Spirit is more than strange. And this is true even in regard to the confident statements that many of the leading ideas of the New Testament came from outside sources, *e.g.*, the idea of the second, heavenly Adam in Paul, and the Logos-idea in John. Even if this were correct, the Holy Spirit living in these men has acknowledged as true, while transforming and purifying it, something known to Jews and Hellenes."

"A pure, holy spirit it is, a mind remote from worldly corruption, which rules in this book, at least, as even foes confess, in by far its greatest portions. But where purity is, there is God. In Holy Writ a power works on our conscience, our moral and religious feeling—no doubt differently in different parts—such as we feel nowhere else or only in men in whom the Bible has become a living power, *e.g.*, a Luther, Paul Gerhard, &c. Is it necessary to mention what the Bible is to the wretched? A book which dispenses God's peace and power, does so originally, is from God. Even our intellect finds food in the Bible such as it finds in no other book; a new world opens to it, which approves itself more and more as the only real world; no book in the world gives to those who live in it such a perfect, clear, firm, at once sober and lofty, view of the world and life, inspires such inner conviction, as the Bible. And, indeed, the Bible as a whole. Even the writings which take a second place, *e.g.*,

the Epistle to the Hebrews, each one contributes its portion to the rich banquet of the Bible. The longer we reflect, the more we believe: not merely truths, but *the* truth it is, into which the Spirit of the Bible leads us; not life-blessings, but life itself. What certainly is not true of all Bible writings equally is yet true of the whole; what He who is the Lord and centre of the Bible said of His own words, they are spirit and life. And the more earnestly, even in a scientific way, we give ourselves to Scripture, the stronger the impression grows. It attests itself in our life as Divine, the Word of the Lord, which we believe and which we ought to obey. When Strauss quotes the saying of Michaelis: I have never in my life heard such a testimony of the Spirit, it is natural to ask, Whose fault is it? How can the blind man deny what he does not see? I think on this point, as indeed on almost all, the advocates of the old Bible faith and the deniers of inspiration should simply say: We do not understand one another, and it is simply impossible for us to come together. When a positive theologian, to whom every one must concede the greatest sobriety, a man like Beck, declares that for many long years, about fifty, he has conscientiously and thoughtfully read, laid to heart, and reduced to practice the whole Bible, doing this both as a Christian and a theologian, and in this labour of a whole life devoted to the truth the proof accumulates that this book is Divine, ought not such a sacred declaration of a man of God to receive at least so much consideration, that opponents should say: We do not understand this, but we cannot oppose it?"

Passing by Dr. Kübel's sketch of a theory of inspiration, let us hear what he says of the unity of Scripture. Notwithstanding the great diversities, one plan rules, one spirit breathes in the book. The different words combine to form one harmonious organism of the Word of God. "But now this organism on the one hand is not closed up, but elastic. The action of the Spirit of revelation has not ceased; we cannot say that new words of God in the indirect sense are absolutely excluded. On the contrary, wherever men really speak about revelation by the Spirit of revelation and in His strength there is an (indirect) word of God; and even prophet-like utterances cannot be pronounced impossible. Here lies the truth in the Catholic doctrine of tradition, which only converts into an institution bound to a human office that which is a concern of life, of the freedom of the Spirit. But, on the other hand, every new word of God which arises must prove itself such by agreement with the earlier ones, especially those spoken or written in the creative periods. Around these are grouped the written words of the more or less direct scholars, of prophets and Apostles, and in the witness of these messengers and servants of God lies the original organism of revelation and God's Word, closed and complete; and to it after-times are bound as the source and measure of all which claims to be revealed truth. But again, this organism of the original word of revelation, as it lies before us in Holy Writ, is not closed after the outward, legal manner of a codex. This could only, in any case, be asserted of the Old Testament so far as this, in its present form, is acknowledged as Scripture by the New Testament; and we have stated that this attitude of the New Testament to the Old is binding on us. Yes; but binding in the sense of a spiritual law, not a law of the letter. That is, such views in the New Testament certainly relate to the whole as such, but not to every particular in such a way that nothing in the entire body, not even what does not essentially alter its character, could be changed. Whether, *e.g.*, one ascribes to the Books of Chronicles or the Book of Esther (cf. Luther's opinion) the full dignity of an integral part of the Old Testament Word of God or not, makes no change in the estimate of the Old Testament as a whole. Moreover, for the New Testament no codex-like completion can be asserted. The

forming of what is called the Old and New Testament Canon, the combining these writings into a whole, their acknowledgment as a whole and in detail, is based on a work of the spirit of the Church—a spirit certainly itself springing from the Bible—a work which will never be finished. Genuine evangelical Christianity cannot allow this work to be shut up in fixed limits beforehand by conciliar decrees." Here lies the right of Biblical criticism. Theologians may err in judgment, as Luther did about James, yet the right of criticism cannot be denied.

The special danger of the evangelical Church in our days is the use of a merely subjective standard in judging of Scripture. According to this view, only that is Scripture which my experience verifies. Thus Scripture would vary with every one's ignorance and knowledge. "But this subjective experience of the truth and power of Scripture must lead to submission to the objective word, or, let us say, to acknowledge the Scripture word as an objective authority. And such acknowledgment is only possible when the word of Scripture is embodied in the form of a confession. Then I know what is Biblical; without this I never get beyond mere guessing, feeling, fancying; and since every one feels differently, one must either, as the ruling theology of our day does, accept the right interpretation of what one has felt or experienced from a human authority, or one must renounce all objective truth. And then a Church is made impossible. But now we have such a confession in the *consensus biblicus*, or what we call the 'Word in the Word,' on which Luther laid decisive emphasis. It is that living sum, or better, that organism of revealed truth, which we must perforce accept, on the ground of impartial inquiry, as the doctrine of the apostles and prophets."

"The question for us is, what is the relation of this 'Word in the Word' to the idea of the Biblical Canon itself? According to Luther, we must ask whether a writing treats of Christ. *i.e.*, whether it treats of the Christ of whom Paul, Peter, John treat. Testing the Holy Scriptures by this rule, we obtain an organism partly of truths and doctrines, some more and others less closely connected with that 'Word in the Word,' partly an organism of writings, some of which are more, some less, central." "Modern liberal theology" condemns any such idea, and yet practically it acts on it, for it is convinced that the fundamental truths which it advocates are the real teaching of original, *i.e.*, New Testament, Christianity. Such a distinction of more or less essential is formally or virtually acknowledged on all hands. "To test and arrange the Bible by the Bible is our task. But it is evidently a task for whose solution no legal rules can be given, but which must be left to free spiritual labour. Yet all labour must be absolutely excluded which does not from the first submit itself to God's Word."

Dr. Kübel next touches on the question whether the Bible and God's Word are identical. Is the Bible God's Word, or does it contain God's Word? He rejects the former in a hard, mechanical sense. "For us, of course, the Bible can only mean its contents. In this case the proposition 'the Bible only contains God's Word' must be altogether rejected if it denotes a quantitative distinction. With the reserve that those things do not come into account which, according to the Bible, must be set aside as unbiblical, we say: The whole contents of the Bible—but in different degrees—are God's Word, or God's Word is the Bible as a whole as to its collective import.

As to freedom from error, this is not to be ascribed to Scripture in any absolute sense. This is "a pure impossibility even in the case of inspired servants of God. Even in immediate sayings of God in the Bible, such as the Decalogue, we have different versions given us. The central thought is that Scripture has "the nature

and aim of revelation, and it fulfils this aim as fully as man's word can do so by God's power." "The Divine truth of Scripture is its perfect living power to fulfil its end as a spiritual record of revelation." "We know that only such weaknesses, errors, contradictions occur as do not alter the matter in hand. The classical example of this is the New Testament narratives of the Resurrection, whose differences in details do not in the least affect the harmony on the whole. If we are asked, is the possibility of fable and myth to be conceded in Biblical history? While not judging others, we for our part do not believe that for Jesus and the Apostles fables and myths were found in the Old Testament along with purely fictitious histories. But, on the other hand, we do not believe that, *e.g.*, the real meaning of Num. xxii.-xxiv., Joshua x., requires faith in an actual human speaking of the ass, a real standing still of the sun. We are further convinced that, according to the proper meaning of the author of Gen. ii., iii., everything need not be understood in outward literalness. Our first duty is to ask: What does Scripture itself mean to say and to have believed? And this we believe, nothing else. As to didactic writings, our view is soon told. Really erroneous doctrine no apostle and prophet of the Lord can teach; what he teaches as doctrine, we must believe, else we reject him as a false apostle. A theology which does not acknowledge this position is different from ours *toto cælo*. On the other hand, in that which the apostles do not teach as doctrine (*e.g.*, in the expectation of their own witnessing the Parousia), errors, discrepancies are to be conceded; nay, even in the didactic parts, differences of degree, incompleteness of statement, and such defects as do not alter the substance. Of course no law can be given for all this; scope must be left to the Biblical spirit in the inquirers. And yet there is an inviolable word, and this is the 'Word in the Word.' This, the living sum of the central truths of the whole of Holy Writ, represents the truth, and is the simple object of our faith, is our authority, even if we have not 'experienced' it all; we know that we shall 'experience' it more and more. God preserve us from the arrogance of making our experience the measure of God's truth! We demand that everything be tried by this Word in the Word. . . . We are convinced that, where the men of the Bible really teach God's Word, there is no error that hurts this body of faith. And where—to speak with Luther—we do not at once understand the matter, we bare the head and wait and know that we shall grow in understanding."

"But this leads again to the consideration of the entire Bible Word as the truth. The Word in the Word is nothing but the expression of the doctrine of all Scripture in its highest form. In the whole of Scripture is the truth, but not everywhere in the same force; one section brings us right into the Holiest of all, another into the Holy Place, a third into the Court; a very rare section perhaps into the borderland between the Court and the world. But even in the Book of Esther there is something of the Jehovah-Spirit, separating this literature from all else. But we have to do with the whole. God has not given us merely Moses, but also Isaiah and Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, not merely Synoptists, but also Paul and John. Is it not perverse to wish to get the truth from one of these writings, *e.g.*, the doctrine of Christ only from the Synoptists? Is not precisely the unity in diversity, the diversity in unity God's seal on this book? In the New as in the Old Testament God has spoken in divers portions and manners. Are we, then, to have no eye for the organic development in succession, especially of the Old and the New Testament, and for the organic connection in the witnesses of the same period, *e.g.*, of the New Testament? Are we to treat works, written from the life for the life, merely as literary monuments of certain individual and religious tendencies? Are we to sit in

judgment on the manifold wisdom of God, and either to mechanize the Spirit of God with the old orthodox view of inspiration, or with the modern denial of inspiration to resolve it into the subjective fiction of a religious mind? We do not understand our emphasizing 'the Word in the Word' to mean a fixed codex of dogmas, but an organism of truth, which is both in one—clear, tangible doctrine and fresh, pulsating life. And this character the whole of Scripture bears, which shows that it is God's Word."

THE PROBLEMS OF OLD TESTAMENT BIBLICAL THEOLOGY. By Dr. BERNHARD STADE, Giessen (*Zeitschr. für Theol. u. Kirche*, 1893, No. 1).—The first to treat Biblical Theology as a distinct subject from Dogmatics was J. P. Gabler a century ago. According to him, its province is to expound the thoughts of the Bible, both their resemblances and differences, in their order of development. But it was a long time before this idea was carried out. The influence of the old rigid orthodoxy, which regarded Scripture chiefly as a magazine of proof-texts, lingered long, preventing the growth of the historical spirit. Even works of Biblical theology arranged the teachings of Scripture under the old dogmatic headings. They were distinguished from the older theological works by the greater simplicity of style and the claim that they gave the oldest and most original form of the doctrine. A chief fault of the old mode of treatment was its want of discrimination in the use of Scripture; very often the New Testament was read into the Old, the differences between the two being obliterated or ignored. This "vulgar Protestant" method is contrasted by Stade with Luther's principle, which has never received full justice. According to it, "everything in Holy Scripture is to be judged by God's revelation in Christ as the centre, and the Bible is the record of God's revelation to mankind. It was possible to find progress and development in the revelation before Christ, diversities in the Apostolic teaching as the reflection of the teaching of Jesus and the reproduction of the impression of His person, and so to acknowledge and explain discrepancies in the contents of the Bible. Luther had a vivid sense of such discrepancies. On the other hand, the view of the Bible as the record of Divine revelation secures both its use in Church services and Church instruction, and also its importance for theology. The Reformation conception of Christianity had to establish its truth by means of the Bible. But these ideas never entered the general mind; nay, they have still a strange sound for many evangelical Christians."

Dr. Stade traces the effect of the old method still in two directions. First, treating the contents of Biblical theology from the standpoint of "doctrine." "In the case of the Old Testament, considerations of a general kind should have prevented this; for example, the fact that we have to do here with the religious development of more than a thousand years. In such a case, doctrine counts for little among the forces of history; personalities are almost all-important; doctrine is only important as it is translated into personal influence. And how much greater is the share taken in the religious life of individuals by customs, usages, tendencies, than by doctrine. They possess the latter generally only in the former. The subjects treated of in the Old Testament are the work of God and the prophets, faith, the morals and religious institutions of a nation, to which in the first place only the national tradition in harmony with God's will, and God's voice heard in the oracles of priests, seers, and prophets, are authorities, whereas Holy Scripture is only formed during the course of its history, and a body of doctrine only towards the end. It is *prima facie* highly improbable that such a varied life, which is pervaded by a thoroughly active and complex process of transformation, can be exhaustively treated under the narrow view-point of doctrine; it is rather to be

feared that on such a basis much will be passed by and much estimated wrongly. It is, generally speaking, a vulgar Protestant error to unite primarily the idea of doctrine with that of religion, the effect of the previous development of our Church and theology."

Dr. Stade refers to two eminent writers as examples of the influence of this tendency, De Wette and De Lagarde. The former was a leader in the path of Biblical criticism. Yet the title which he gives to his Biblical Theology, "Biblical Dogmatics of the Old and New Testament, or Critical Statement of the Religious Teaching of Hebraism, Judaism, and Primitive Christianity," shows that he summed up everything under the head of doctrine. De Lagarde also, while declaring the writing of a Biblical Theology of the Old Testament impossible until the text had been certainly settled, still holds that the task of such a theology is to ascertain the doctrinal purport of Scripture. "One cannot avoid the feeling that Lagarde assumes that the Canon in the Pentateuch has to Judaism the character of a codex of synagogal doctrine, as the Bible is to the evangelical Church according to the vulgar Protestant view."

Secondly, the evil effect is seen still more in the habit of referring only to the canonical books of the Old Testament in the Palestinian form for the materials of the Biblical Theology of the Old Testament, to the entire disregard of the apocryphal and apocalyptic Jewish literature. Even if the latter has no dogmatic value, it has great historical value. A historical science is bound to take into account all available sources of information. On this subject dogmatic and historical principles have been mixed, instead of being kept apart. "Scientific interest in the Old Testament depends on the fact that Christianity claims the Old Testament as a special preparation for Christ." After a description of the preparation in the heathen world for Christ, the writer proceeds, "How insignificant is all this in comparison with the historical dependence of Christianity on pre-Christian Judaism! The religious and ethical purport of the New Testament has everywhere the corresponding Jewish thoughts for its postulate, and can only be properly understood from them. Christ's appearance has for its postulate the Messianic faith of the Jewish Church. He claims to be the goal and fulfilment of its history. His preaching everywhere joins on to the religious and ethical ideals of Judaism, in particular to faith in the one God, the Creator and Lord of all things, who has revealed Himself in Israel's history, and His will in a law. His preaching deepened and transformed the religious and ethical ideals of Judaism, in a sense reversed them, and so filled the world of religious and ethical thought with new contents, but did not really create a new world. The reproach of Jewish controversialists that Jesus taught nothing new contains, if one forgets that the statement overlooks the main point, a grain of truth. Certainly the Sermon on the Mount contains the well-known antithesis, 'It was said to the fathers, but I say to you.' And by this antithesis the preaching, like the person, of Jesus transcends the limits of the old covenant; for the Redeemer thereby claims for Himself an authority which can be ascribed to no one within the old covenant. But even in the requirements here referred to the question is not one of new, specifically Christian commands, but of the elevating of Jewish into Christian requirement. Even in the conception of the supreme good, in which the contrast between Judaism and Christianity comes most strongly to light, since in the idea of God's kingdom this has assumed the form of a purely spiritual and ethical good, whereas Judaism always thought of the natural blessings and gifts of God's kingdom, this mode of view may be applied. The entirely new part of Christianity is the character of Jesus as the perfect revelation of the Father and the permanent Mediator, new the life with God

which Jesus lived before His Church, new the value of service to the brethren, in which He gave up His life. The import of the thought and of the life of Jesus is by no means exhausted in the conceptions of the Messiah found in pre-Christian Judaism. Since, however, it is characteristic of the thought of Jesus that He knows Himself to be the promised Messiah, and since He gives up His life in fulfilment of His Messianic calling, the Messianic hope of Judaism forms the bridge here, as the Jewish faith in God's kingdom does to His preaching of the kingdom of heaven." "Also the reflection of the person and preaching of Jesus in the apostolic preaching, the world of thought of the New Testament authors, has throughout the religious and ethical ideas of contemporary Judaism for its postulate. It presents a projection of the preaching of Jesus beyond Jewish thought, and is an attempt from the standpoint of Jewish faith, and with the resources of Jewish theology, to prove the truth of Christianity, as we see very plainly in the case of Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews. Behind the thoughts of the New Testament the intelligent reader sees everywhere the world of thought of contemporary Judaism. To his gaze it everywhere glimmers through, as in a palimpsest the vanished original writing between the later lines to the eye of the student."

Now, the religious faith of Judaism was a historical growth, beginning with Moses and continued in the prophets. It is embodied in writings, in which we can trace its different phases and stages. "To describe it in its genesis and progress, to follow it up to the form which it had in the time of Jesus and the Apostles, is the task of the Biblical Theology of the Old Testament in the system of theological sciences. It presents the specific previous history of Christianity under the old covenant. It has to do with the Old Testament as an institution, not as a canon. In this way we see how faulty the limitation of the sources to the Palestinian canon." On this basis the contents of the New Testament cannot be fully explained. Many new ideas had sprung up between the two periods, and these influenced the Judaism of Christ's days. The ideas of the kingdom of heaven, the Son of Man, Paradise, hell, the resurrection, the idea of the Logos, of pre-existence, the doctrine of angels in Jude's epistle, show this. A still greater difference between the Old and New Testament is seen in the different emphasis given to the future life. This doctrine is prominent in the New Testament. In Christ's time there is the general expectation of a crisis, which will be the beginning of a new age. "The piety of ancient Israel is earthly, and even in Judaism this phase is preponderant." In post-Exilic books there is the beginning of a change, as we see in the Psalms. "But the spirit of the New Testament age is only quite intelligible when we bridge over the gulf between Daniel and the New Testament by the aid of the Jewish apocalypses." Besides, Christ stood in conscious opposition to the Pharisaic religion of His day. "His general attitude to the law, His view of the Sabbath, His rejection of the ritual prescriptions of the scribes, His criticism of the ceremonial laws of purity, must have been just as offensive to the pious Jew as His views of righteousness and sin, and His intercourse with sinners." The Pharisaic phase of Judaism, the fence about the law set up by the scribes, cannot be explained from the Old Testament. It is, therefore, a necessity that everything must be used which will cast light on pre-Christian Judaism—the apocrypha, pseudepigraphic writings, Josephus and Philo, the Talmud and Midrash. The failure of Old Testament theologians to do this has led to the new study of *History of New Testament Times*, followed by New Testament theologians, of which Schürer's great work is an example.

"Accordingly the task of the Biblical Theology of the Old Testament is wider than the mere treatment of the religious and ethical contents of the books of the

Old Testament. It has to do this indeed, but it has to do much more. It has to treat of the specific preparation of Christian ideas under the old covenant in their entire extent. It has to describe how Judaism was formed out of the religion of Israel in consequence of the preaching of the prophets and the peculiar history of this people, and to trace its history up to the appearance of Jesus. Nay, if the exposition is to be complete, the preaching of Jesus in brief outlines must be included. In this all questions find their answer. Whoever would describe the religious life of Judaism in New Testament days in an exhaustive way must necessarily include the preaching of Jesus, as he who would clearly outline the preaching of Jesus necessarily has Judaism as his background. To theological study the preaching of Jesus is just as much the topstone of Old Testament development as it is the starting-point of the Biblical Theology of the New Testament, of the history of the Church and theology."

Two things have to be established, both the connection of the two covenants and their difference. The first is seen in the fact that the revelation of God seen in Christ exists in germ in the Old Testament, the second in the uniqueness of Christ's revelation. Ancient Gnosticism erred in denying the first, and yet had a presentiment of the second. Both principles are necessary even in a practical use of the Old Testament. "The law of teaching and life for the Christian Church in the full sense of the word is only the revelation of the Father given in Christ. Yet no intelligent person will neglect the use of the Old Testament in instructing the Church, a practice coming down from early days. Its variety of contents, the force and vividness of its language, fit it for this. But this rests on the condition that its religious and moral teaching be raised to the New Testament stage. In particular cases the Christian interpretation, not the historical understanding of the Old Testament, is the subject of instruction. It might seem as if the results of theological inquiry were of no importance for the practical use of the Old Testament. But just the contrary is the case. For one can only raise the Old Testament to the stage of Christian knowledge, and so use it in instruction to the Church without harm to its religious and moral ideals, when one is conscious of the gulf to be bridged over and is able rightly to estimate the interval. This is made possible by the Biblical Theology of the Old Testament. Thus, it is one of the best instruments of the Christian theologian. Erroneously understood, it only leads him astray, and awakens the notion that the Old Testament is needless for the theological understanding of Christianity. But, rightly defined, the impression it gives to one who under its guidance studies the preparations of Christianity is best summed up in the words of Peter, 'Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we know and are sure, that Thou art the Holy One of God.'"

CURRENT SWISS THOUGHT.

ST. CYPRIAN. EUGÈNE DE FAYE (*Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*).—Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, is one of those historical personages who are well worthy of impartial study. He has exercised an extraordinary influence upon the Church, and great controversies are associated with his name. We propose in this paper to point out the influences which went to form him and which to a large extent explain both the man and his work. There are first of all the influences under which he came before his conversion to Christianity, and then those which acted upon him after he entered the Church.

From the death of Marcus Aurelius in A.D. 180 down to the accession of the Illyrian princes in A.D. 268, the Roman world presents a most strange and contradictory spectacle. During all this time there was only one emperor of undoubted ability, Septimius Severus, who was able to retain power and to reign long enough to consolidate the empire: the others were either imbeciles, or debauchees, or madmen. And yet during all this time the empire was able to keep in check, and even sometimes to repel, the barbarian hordes on the banks of the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates. The truth is that the empire held its own in spite of the weakness and folly of emperors, because of those of its institutions which date back to the times of the Republic. These were the provincial administration, the municipal system, and the army. These creations of Roman genius were sufficiently supple to undergo ceaseless modification without losing their true character, and they gave consistency and solidity to the empire. Whatever might be the character of the ruling emperor, it was not within his power to break the bonds which kept together the whole Roman world. Military revolutions might disturb the surface of society, but they failed to dislocate the apparatus that secured order and stability.

Imagine now an African living in the midst of an organized society such as this. Is it not likely that he would be deeply impressed by the idea of order and discipline? In the little town where he lives, he sees municipal magistrates after the pattern of those of the Imperial City. He has before his eyes a living copy, on a small scale, of the political institutions of Rome: it suggests to him constantly the thoughts of order, rule, and administration. These are the impressions which he receives from his infancy: they unconsciously mould and form his mind. If he leaves his native town and travels in the province he sees everywhere the Roman administration. In the legions the very spirit of Rome is incarnate. They everywhere suggest the idea of the superiority and strength of well-organized bodies. We see from allusions to the army in the letters and treatises of Cyprian how deep was the impression it made upon him. In his eyes nothing is comparable to military discipline. We see that it inspired in him the greatest respect, and that the army realized in a large measure his social ideal. He wished, for example, that the confessors should be trained and made use of as a kind of holy militia. At times he gives us a glimpse of his secret desire to see a military order and discipline prevail in the Church. These touches betray the origin of that craving for exact order and severe organization which distinguish him in such a marked degree. Cyprian is a thorough Roman: he has the qualities and defects of a Roman citizen. If he had not been converted he would have made, not only a good advocate, but an excellent proconsul.

Another influence of his time must not be left unnoticed. In the third century there was an undoubted awakening of the religious conscience. Ancient religions regained a measure of power; new cravings sprang up in the souls of men. There was longing after holiness, expiation, certainty in matters of religion, and eternal life: and these aspirations were so strong and imperative that they drove those who felt them to try all known religions, to give themselves up to all forms of superstition, and even to combine all together in one. Apuleius, the most religious man of his time, was a worshipper of all the deities of the East and of the West. These cravings Cyprian also experienced. "I was still lying," he says, "in darkness and gloomy night, wavering hither and thither, tossed about on the foam of this boastful age, and uncertain of my wandering steps, knowing nothing of my real life, and remote from truth and light." *The Epistle to Donatus*, which Cyprian wrote shortly after his conversion, depicts a state of mind which was common to

him and to multitudes of pagans in his time. He found in Christianity the special satisfactions which his heart sought after, and consequently he was always disposed to conceive of Christianity after a somewhat narrow manner. It did not occur to him that there might be other cravings than those which he himself had felt, which Christianity could equally satisfy. He was not only a Roman, but a mystic of the third century, and the ideas of expiation, of holiness, and of the efficacy of good works which belonged to the neo-paganism of his time, affected his views of Christian truth.

The period from the death of Marcus Aurelius to the middle of the third century is an important one in the history of the Church. A twofold evolution was then being accomplished—the one in theology and the other in ecclesiastical organization. We may indeed say that Christianity was scarcely constituted, and had not come to its final shape until towards the end of the third century. The distinction between the Churches of the East and the Churches of the West began to appear. With Clement of Alexandria and Origen on the one hand, and Tertullian and Cyprian on the other, two distinct forms of Christianity came to light. That of the East was more theological and philosophical; that of the West was essentially practical and militant. The one created Christian dogmas; while the other organized the Church, and gave it a framework as powerful as that of the Roman empire.

Among the influences which powerfully affected the Church in Cyprian's time must be reckoned *the persecutions* to which Christians were subjected. These stimulated devotion and aroused an enthusiasm, which was not without its dangers; they created a deep abyss between the Church and the world; and they developed a vivid belief that the end of the world was close at hand. Deep traces of all these effects of persecution are to be found in the writings of Cyprian.

Another factor which exercised a powerful influence upon the development of the Church in the latter half of the second century, and during the whole of the third, was *heresy*. Gnosticism had run its course, and the form of heresy with which Cyprian was brought in contact was Montanism—an energetic reaction against the increasing worldliness of the Church and of its leaders. This movement left in the Church a leaven of austerity which was never henceforth lost. It began with reform of discipline; but in its later stages it intermeddled with ecclesiastical organization, and roused an opposition which finally excluded it from the Church. The Puritans became schismatics. We must understand this movement if we would understand the attitude of Cyprian in A.D. 251. It is this which explains his vacillation in the beginning of the crisis which the Church and Christianity passed through in the middle of the third century; and it is this also which explains the final position which he took up. This movement, in a word, is the principal factor in the elaboration of the principles with which his name is connected.

Cyprian was not only a man of remarkable personality, he was also the promoter of an ecclesiastical system, which was to minister successively to the greatness and to the decadence of Christianity—to its preservation and to its abasement. He has, therefore, a twofold claim to our most serious and impartial consideration.

THE MIRACULOUS BIRTH OF JESUS CHRIST. ALOYS BERTHOUD (*Le Christien Évangélique*).—The dogma of the miraculous birth of the Saviour is one of the most prominent subjects of discussion at the present day in Switzerland as in Germany. Hitherto, the whole of Christendom, with the exceptions of opponents of the supernatural, has been unanimous in holding it; but it is now being

questioned or assailed by a theology which calls itself liberal and wishes to remain believing. But it is a question concerning which there is great variety of opinion even among the adherents of "the new school." Some consider it as one of the distinctive and inalienable marks of evangelical Christianity; others, who have already rejected the doctrine of pre-existence, give it up boldly. A third section declare that it is a question of secondary importance, but that they still hold the orthodox view. They seem to have an involuntary fear of crossing the Rubicon. We think such fear is well-founded, and that Christians who do not wish "to burn their boats" have the very strongest reasons for maintaining energetically this article of the Creed of the universal Church.

Our course of argument in support of the dogma starts from the absolute holiness of the Saviour as He is revealed in the Gospels. We cannot read those records without being impressed by His Divine greatness—His supreme moral beauty. It is no use to say that we have only in them a broken narrative of two or three years of His public life, and that all the materials needed for forming such a judgment are not before us. It is not necessary for us to have full acquaintance with a man's whole career in order that we may decide upon his character: a single day passed in his company reveals far more than a detailed history of all his sayings and doings. And that which we know of Jesus of Nazareth is amply sufficient for establishing a most firm conviction of His absolute holiness. Such a Man as He, with His profound acquaintance with the human heart, with His ability to detect evil even in its subtlest forms, could have cherished no illusions concerning Himself. If He had been guilty of sin, He would have surpassed all others in the intensity of His remorse: words of humiliation deeper than those of St. Paul would have fallen from His lips, for the nearer perfection any one comes, the more sternly does he judge his faults and defects.

But in the history of Jesus Christ we have a totally different kind of experience from that common to all other men. Evil casts no shadow upon His Spirit; nothing disturbs the sweet and profound serenity of His relations with His Father. His immaculate holiness is as evident, as incontestable, as His true humanity. How are we to explain the appearance of such a unique Man, who stands alone in His victory over the power of sin? Ritschl's only reply is, "that it is a mystery which it is superfluous to attempt to elucidate or explain by formulas." But the Bible gives a solution of the question, and it is unphilosophical in the highest degree to reject that solution and to take refuge in mystery.

Keim, in his *History of Jesus*, felt obliged, in spite of his scientific premises, to admit a Divine intervention by which the infant Saviour was made perfectly holy from His birth. And M. Lobstein, in his learned dissertation on the question, follows in his wake. "The appearance," he says, "of one who initiated and dispensed the Divine life implies and presupposes of necessity a special manifestation of God, and a creative and sanctifying intervention of His Spirit." In other words, Jesus was like us in all things, sin included, but at some period in His existence He came under this miraculous influence by which He was made holy. At what period in His life can this have occurred? There are only two alternatives: it was either before or after He reached self-consciousness.

The former of these alternatives seems to us to be morally impossible for more reasons than one. The whole of Christianity rests on the principle that sin causes separation between us and God, and that man cannot re-enter into grace except through a mediator and by means of a work of redemption. If He were, like us, one of a fallen and condemned race, He would Himself be in need of a Saviour; for He

also would be, to use St. Paul's expression, "by nature a child of wrath, even as others." If, then, in spite of "the law of sin which was in His members," He could receive the Spirit of adoption and become a Son of God, it would appear that the state of sin was not by any means as grave and tragic as had been imagined, since it did not of necessity involve a rupture of relations with God. And then, too, what the heavenly Father has done for the "natural man" in the case of the Son of David, He could do for others: for He has the same love for all sinners. The redemption accomplished on the cross is, therefore, an unnecessary use of extraordinary means to achieve a result which could be attained in a much shorter way. The direct action of the Spirit upon each new-born child would be sufficient of itself to cleanse all sinners from inclination towards evil and to transform them into children of God. If this means had been a good one, that is, if it had been in conformity with the moral perfection of God, He would have made use of it, not once, but in every case; and if He has abstained from using it in our case—if He has deemed it unworthy of Himself to employ it—we may surely conclude that it was not made use of in the case of Jesus Christ.

If, again, the infant Jesus passed unconsciously from a state of nature to a state of spotless purity because of the intervention of the Divine omnipotence, it follows that He was cured of the leprosy of sin without knowing it, and without so much as ever desiring it. He became holy by an artificial process, which separates Him from all other members of the race. But any such magical transformation in which the person concerned was utterly passive would have no moral value, and would be contrary to what we know of the Divine modes of procedure. To suppose, therefore, that the infant Jesus was sanctified at His birth by a miracle of the Holy Spirit is an hypothesis incompatible with the Gospel.

But let us examine the other alternative—that the change was wrought after Jesus had reached self-consciousness. Up to this time there is nothing to distinguish Him from other children of the same age; there is in Him the same mixture of good and evil as in others, and of this fact He must become aware as He comes to know Himself fully. With Him, as with every child of pious upbringing, the awakening of the moral consciousness is accompanied by a sense of sinfulness. The more His religious faith seeks God fervently, the more is He possessed by a sense of misery because of unworthiness. He must have known the bitterness of inward conflicts, the anguish of repentance, and all that is implied in death to self and conversion to God. And when in reply to earnest prayers He receives the Holy Spirit, the work of sanctification which is begun in Him has its course to run. For the very reason that it is a moral work, it cannot be consummated in the twinkling of an eye.

But how, according to this theory, does Christ differ from others who have been sanctified? He may surpass others, but He cannot be regarded as unique—as the dispenser of grace, the fountain of pardon and of life. According to this theory, it is difficult to understand how He dared to speak of Himself as He did. Why did He proclaim His perfect holiness with such assurance? Why did He draw so deep a line of distinction between Himself and others, and say, "Ye, who are evil . . . ye are from below, I am from above"? Why did He make no allusion to having had a past experience like ours? and why did He allow His disciples to believe that sin had never touched His soul? In short, it is impossible to accept this hypothesis—to believe that Jesus Christ was an ordinary member of our race who passed through a sanctifying change at some period earlier or later in His career.

Our conclusion is that He cannot have come into the world in the same manner as other men. While connected with humanity by ties of blood, He has been, like

the first Adam, the immediate object of God's creative power. Such is the necessary postulate of the Christian conscience. Even if revelation had been silent, this postulate would none the less have remained—though in a state of unverifiable hypothesis, since it concerned an act of creation which is as far removed from the region of our experience as the creation of the first man. If, however, it were proved that the primitive Church had the same intuition with us, and that that intuition was clothed with a definite form, our hypothesis would find in that fact strong confirmation. The hypothesis enriched by positive teaching would become assured fact, and could be set up as dogma. Now, two of our canonical Gospels, those of St. Matthew and St. Luke, which are as independent as possible of each other, both in direction of thought and origin, and which represent the two great divisions of the Christianity of their time, agree in teaching us that Jesus came into the world by a miraculous birth.

We, therefore, are fully of opinion that the perfect holiness of the Saviour is the capital point, and that the miracle of the nativity is but the dogmatic pre-supposition, or the indispensable corollary of that first affirmation. His moral perfection is the foundation of the whole edifice, as His eternal Divinity is the necessary crown.

CURRENT DUTCH THOUGHT.

THE DOGMA OF ETERNAL PUNISHMENT. By R. CREMER (*Geloof en Vrijheid*, 1893, 1ste afl.).—It is the purpose of this paper to consider the dogma of eternal punishment and the objections that have been raised against it from various sides. The general principle only can be dealt with, the numerous details of the question being necessarily set aside. And so only these three questions can be taken up: (1) What defenders and what opponents has the ecclesiastical doctrine of eternal punishment met with on Christian soil? (2) In how far have the different parties right to appeal to utterances of Scripture? and (3) How are we to regard this doctrine and the onslaughts made upon it, or, what is for us the truth of the matter?

I. Among the upholders of the doctrine of eternal punishment mention must first be made of Clemens Romanus and Justin Martyr, although the latter makes use of the somewhat modifying expression that the souls of the wicked are to be punished so long as God Himself wills that they should exist and be punished. The brief remark of Minutius Felix is also worthy of notice: *Nec tormentis aut modus ullus, aut terminus*. Cyprian, Augustine, and Pelagius follow, the last-named being somewhat stronger in his assertions than his famous antagonist, who admitted there might be various degrees as well as a gradual lessening of punishment. Jerome believed in the eternal punishment of the devil and of all blasphemers, but he represented as tempered with mercy the sentence passed upon sinful Christians. Chrysostom in his strife against the prevailing conception of morals found occasion to threaten with eternal punishment. Thomas Aquinas spoke of a wholly fruitless repentance whereby no place for conversion was left. Dante's terrible words have often been quoted; and, among the mystics, Suso's were equally cheerless. The great men of the Reformation—Luther and Calvin—likewise maintained the dogma; and following the Reformers a whole series of theologians, too numerous to be named, pursued the same course, although it must be confessed that not a few wavered in their opinion, and pronounced a *non liquet*. Van Oosterzee, for example, held fast by the dogma, but at the same time

recognized that the Scriptures do contain hints which give some ground for the hope of restitution.

Through all the centuries of Christendom the upholders of the doctrine of eternal punishment have had to contend with opponents, partly with those who believed in the complete annihilation of the lost, but chiefly with those who cherished the hope that the unconverted dead would yet be purified by suffering, and made fit for the enjoyment of a state of bliss. Among the former class may be reckoned the Apostolic fathers, Barnabas and Hermas, and the Church fathers, Irenæus, Athanasius, Arnobius, and Lactantius. Among the mystics, Meister Eckart conceived the condition of the lost as a spiritual non-existence; while after the Reformation the Socinians and Remonstrants proclaimed an end of punishment to be bound up with the future destruction of souls. Similar ideas have been in later times expressed by different philosophers, but this view has been more systematically developed within the last half century under the name of the doctrine of conditional immortality. Although very offensive to some, this doctrine has been widely accepted, and has been well maintained by Edward White, Richard Rothe, and Dr. A. J. Th. Jonker.

At the head of those who looked forward to a final restoration may well be placed the Church father, Origen, who was followed by Theodore of Mopsuestia, and the two Gregorys, of Nyssa and Nazianzen. In the ninth century, J. Scotus Erigena took the same view as Origen, and, later, the Waldenses were accused of cherishing this doctrine, which was then condemned as heresy. In the Reformation period the Anabaptists were condemned for adhering to the same view, which nevertheless continued to find adherents in each of the succeeding centuries. In the present century some of the most distinguished theologians have declared for the doctrine of a final restoration.

II. In dealing with the question how far this or that point of view is founded upon Scripture, it will be sufficient to confine attention to the New Testament, because it is chiefly on the utterances of Jesus and the Apostles that the advocates of the different theories try to take their stand. The advocates of conditional immortality, however, fail to find a single passage in the New Testament writings in which everlasting punishment is spoken of. It is one of their fundamental principles that man as such cannot be called an immortal being, because he must obtain immortality as a gift of God through fellowship with Christ. The entire exegetical method of this party is essentially biassed and one-sided. Dr. Jonker, one of its most skilful representatives, goes to work in the treatment of Scripture passages as if there was only one dilemma in the case, namely, either on the one hand the dogma of eternal punishment, or on the other that of conditional immortality. He thinks that if he has demonstrated the untenableness of the former, he has thereby established the certainty of the latter. A third alternative would seem to be out of the question. At the same time, it must be admitted that he has shown that not a few passages on which the upholders of the ecclesiastical dogma are accustomed to lean do not bear the construction placed upon them.

Turning now to the view which Jonker leaves untouched, the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus is one of the passages in which the thought of the *ἀποκατάστασις* is more or less plainly hinted at. The term *ἀποκατάστασις* is borrowed from the expression used by Peter in his address at Jerusalem on the occasion of the healing of the man that was lame from his mother's womb. After calling upon the people to repent, he refers to Jesus the Anointed, "whom the heaven must receive until the times of the restoration of all things (*ὅταν ἡ χρις ἀποκαταστήται*)

τῶν αἰώνων), whereof God spake by the mouth of His holy prophets, which have been since the world began." In the mouth of Peter, the word *ἀποκατάστασις* had certainly not the full significance that was afterwards attached to it; but still, it undoubtedly embraced more than was comprehended in the expectation which the Israelites cherished of a restitution of the Jewish state. As regards the thing itself, it appears that some New Testament passages at any rate assume the possibility of a change in man for the better on the other side of the grave. Such passages are to be met with in 1 Peter iii. 19, iv. 6; 2 Peter iii. 9; Romans v. 18, xi. 32; 1 Tim. ii. 4; and in the classical verse, 1 Cor. xv. 28.

Still, all the expressions that may be gathered from the Apostolic writings concerning the universal grace of God and a salvation destined for all, are neither reconcilable with the doctrine of eternal punishment nor with that of conditional immortality, but only with the expectation of a final *ἀποκατάστασις*. And by legitimate inference this expectation may likewise be extracted from some words of Jesus Himself in which the value of every human soul is so forcibly emphasized—for instance, in Matt. xviii. 14; Luke xv.; Matt. xiii. 38. The result of the Scripture test is briefly this: Undeniably there are passages which, taken as they stand, speak of the endless punishment of the unrighteous; others are erroneously quoted in support of this doctrine by its defenders. The doctrine of conditional immortality cannot be maintained upon the authority of Scripture; but on the other hand various passages point to the possibility of a future repentance and change for the better even for those who have not lived with Christ in this world; and others again specifically open the prospect of a complete triumph which the power of God's love shall obtain over all opposition.

III. And lastly, apart from the tradition of the fathers and the authority of Scripture, what is to be regarded as the truth with respect to this dogma? The evidence adduced for the doctrine of eternal punishment is not convincing, and falls to be set aside. The philosophical defence of the doctrine chiefly rests upon three arguments, not one of which is free from serious defects. They are, (1) By this doctrine only is the idea of God's absolute being to be maintained, and with it that of human freedom. (2) The endless guilt of man necessitates endless punishment. (3) It is of the nature of sin to degenerate to such a degree of moral hardness that no deliverance from it is possible, and so eternal punishment is its necessary reward. But even this last assertion cannot save the ecclesiastical dogma. It may well be postulated that sin may petrify to a degree of hardness which excludes all possibility of repentance, but it cannot be proved by actual examples.

Is the reasoning on which the doctrine of conditional immortality is based any better? It starts from the notion that man as such is not immortal. Only through fellowship with God in Christ can he regain the spiritual principle of life which raises him above complete destruction; but if he fails to obtain that here below, then what of life may still remain in him must gradually become extinguished under the annihilating power of sin and punishment. The psychology on which this reasoning is based does not correspond with a sound view of human nature.

As to the doctrine of the *ἀποκατάστασις*, of the restitution of all who are separated from God by sin, this doctrine is grounded in faith in God's unending love. If this love is the leading thought of God's creation, the source whence all has flowed, then by it also must the purpose be determined for which all has been created. God's sovereignty is no other than the sovereignty of His love. It must one day rule as the absolute power. It is not to be supposed that creatures can continue to hold aloof from it, and refuse to come under its sway. If God is unending love, then He wills

the salvation of all; if He is all-powerful love, then He works out the salvation of all. This cannot be denied, whatever emphasis may be placed upon His righteousness. God's love is a righteous love which punishes sin because it cannot permit sin to exist. And so an expectation of a gradual and progressive growth and development of all, without exception, is much more in harmony with the actual condition of man, and consequently much more reasonable than the thought of an irrevocable decision as to man's lot at his departure from the earth. But with the expectation of the *avokardoraas* all punishment in the future is not thereby cancelled, and free play thus given for frivolity and indifference. The truth of the Apostolic saying retains its full force: "What a man sows that shall he also reap." But that does not infer that the punishment shall have no end to all eternity, that there can never be the smallest place for change and restitution. This comfortless thought cannot be cherished as the truth. With man's nature, with the purpose of punishment, above all, with the unbounded love of God which admits of no everlasting division between a kingdom of light and a kingdom of darkness, the expectation of an *avokardoraas* is alone in harmony—a final restitution which shall be accomplished in the end of the ages.

JAMES, THE APOSTLE OF THE CHRISTIAN-ISRAELITISH CHURCH. By Prof. N. J. Hofmeijer (*Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede*, April, 1898).—The place which James, the brother of the Lord, occupies in the Apostolic Church is as peculiar as it is important. So long as it is not comprehended, the key to the understanding of the history of that Church is wanting, and much of what is contained in the Apostolic writings must remain unintelligible. The Scriptures contribute very little to the biography of James, but what they do contain is of the utmost importance to the comprehension of his person and calling. He is there called "the brother of the Lord," which he was in a literal sense, for, if not, Paul would have avoided this expression. There is no ground at all for identifying him with James, the son of Alphaeus, one of the twelve Apostles. As a son of Mary he belonged to the most highly favoured household in Israel. It is likely that he lived as a pious Israelite from his youth up, although it may not be the case, as reported by Hegesippus in Eusebius, that he was a Nazarene from his birth. This supposition does not clash with the statement of John that the Lord's brethren did not believe in Him. The reason why James could not believe that Jesus was the Christ was that he, together with his pious contemporaries—including even the disciples—could not think of the Christ otherwise than as the King of glory. He found in the brother with whom he had associated for years as an ordinary man nothing of all the glory which the prophets had ascribed to the Christ. His earlier familiarity with Jesus was for him and for his brothers a stumbling-block in the way of believing in Him, which others did not experience who only saw Jesus in His public capacity as a prophet mighty in words and in works. Take away the lowly form in which the glory of the Christ is concealed, and there is removed from the face of James the veil which prevented him from recognizing in his brother Jesus the Christ for whom he longed. This the Lord knew, and as soon as He had risen in His power and glory He sought out His erring brother, and revealed Himself to him as the Christ of glory. James saw and believed. He attached himself immediately to the circle of the Apostles, lived with them through the memorable forty days which preceded the day of Pentecost, and on that day was among those who were baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire. That he who had himself failed to discover the Christ in the lowly Jesus showed a deep fellow-feeling for the blindness of his countrymen cannot be doubted, and when he, after the twelve had left Jerusalem,

took charge of the mother congregation there, he could not fail to be recognized as one who, above others, had been chosen of the Lord to that important office.

In order to understand that office it is necessary to inquire what sort of relation there was between James and the people of Israel. In his view, the congregations of the faithful Israelites formed one whole with the rest of Israel, and that because every Israelite was destined through belief in Christ to become an Israelite indeed. They were all children of the covenant and of the prophets, to whom all the promises—especially the promise of the Holy Ghost—belonged. It was, from the nature of the case, those who believed in Jesus as the Christ who drew closer together, and distinguished themselves from the rest of their countrymen by various customs, such as baptism and the love-feast, which was brought to an end by the Lord's Supper. But they did not cease to be Israelites. They did not separate themselves from the rest of Israel. The congregations in Israel were the gathering places of the first-fruits from Israel, and the starting points of the work among the whole people. The Christian Israelites remained united in religious fellowship with their people. They walked, as did the others, according to the law of Moses; took part in the Temple service, allowed their children to be circumcised, prayed at the appointed hours of the day, and, like the other Israelites, had their synagogues, which, as it seems, were also frequented by their countrymen.

As the head of the Christian-Israelitish community at Jerusalem, to which the other communities in Israel looked up as to their mother, James stood on a height which overlooked the whole people. He knew no contrast between the Christian community in Israel and the Israelitish people except that in this community Israel had reached its destiny, had become truly Israel. The Christian-Israelitish community was the kernel of the Israelitish people; what he had to say to it held good for the whole race. It is thus that the otherwise inexplicable fact is explained that James did not address his epistle exclusively to the faithful Israelites, but to "the twelve tribes which are of the dispersion"; and that in his epistle he has in view both local and national conditions.

The relation in which James stood to Israel necessarily coincided with his duty towards the law. He is himself conscious of no other contrast between his Christian belief and the Israelitish law except that by faith in Christ the law found its full significance for the first time in His inward and outward life. Through faith in Jesus Christ he had become in the fullest sense an Israelite. Jesus Christ had not released him from the Law and the Prophets. What before had been to him an unreachable ideal was through faith in Jesus Christ fulfilled to overflowing. Does the law demand love to God above all, and to our neighbour as ourselves? Since he had believed in Jesus Christ and had been baptized with the Holy Ghost, this law had become the expression and reflection of the love which had flowed to him from Christ. He was no more hampered by the stern demand of the law; it was for him the law of liberty. It shows him the path in which the Israelite as priest-king treads: it is the royal law.

One has no difficulty in imagining what a pleasure it must have been to James to walk according to the law, since every jot and tittle of it testified to him of Christ, with whom he lived in continual and holy fellowship. No wonder that he stood in great honour, wherever his name was known, by reason of his beautiful walk in the paths of the law. Josephus calls him the Just, and ascribes the destruction of Jerusalem to God's vengeance upon his martyrdom. The exaggerated reports in Eusebius, borrowed from Hegesippus, testify to the exactness with which James fulfilled the law, and to the high esteem in which, on that account, he was held by the whole people.

The question naturally arises: If this was the attitude of James toward the law, what then was the Gospel that he proclaimed to Israel? James had no less right than Paul to speak of *his* Gospel. If the Gospel of Paul is called the Gospel of grace, the Gospel of James may be called the Gospel of fulfilment. He had not in his own experience come to know the contrasts between the law and grace, between faith and works, as Paul had learned to understand it. His faith in Jesus was not for him the turning from the law to grace, from works to faith. The only contrast which he came to know through faith in the Christ was the contrast between promise and fulfilment, between beginning and completion. If the Gospel of Paul is called the Gospel of the Cross, the Gospel of James may be called the Gospel of glory. It is wholly in the spirit of his Christian-Israelitish evangel that James describes faith in Jesus as faith in the Lord of glory.

It was the calling of James throughout his life to hold aloft *this* Gospel like a banner in the sight of the twelve tribes. He may therefore, with good reason, be named the last prophet of Israel. He was himself conscious of his prophetic calling with respect to his people. He directed his Epistle to the twelve tribes as a prophet sent to them by Christ. As he chastises and warns them, and threatens them with the approaching judgment, the well-known tone of Israel's prophets is re-echoed in his words. But was this prophetic labour of James in vain so far as the people of Israel as a whole is concerned? It appears so. He was for Israel nothing more than the flickering of an evanescent light. The people themselves blew it out. But a day is coming when the twelve tribes will listen to their prophet and gospel preacher, when his Epistle will perhaps exercise even greater power in Israel than the Epistles of Paul to the Galatians and Romans did in the Christian Church during the great revival of the sixteenth century.

After all, the service of James to Israel was but the consequence of the relation in which he stood to the Christian-Israelitish community, and this relation cannot be better described than by calling James the Apostle of the Christian-Israelitish Church. Imagine all the Christian-Israelitish communities united by an inward bond into one body; call that body the Christian-Israelitish Church; call James the man whom the Lord had given to this Church as its Apostle; and you have named the calling which distinguishes James from all the other Apostles and men of the Apostolic age. None of the twelve could have fulfilled *this* Apostleship, because *their* Apostleship had a different significance for Israel. The Apostleship of James forms the counterpart of the Apostleship of Paul, who, likewise, was not one of the twelve. It is to be ascribed not less to James than to Paul that the efforts of the Jewish fanatics to subject the Gentile-Christian Church to the law of Moses miscarried. The preparation of these two men to be Apostles—the one as the Apostle of the Christian-Israelitish, and the other as the Apostle of the Gentile-Christian Church—was the most glorious work of the Holy Ghost in the Apostolic age. No wonder that among the writings of the New Testament the Epistle of James, not less than the Epistles of Paul, bears the stamp of the Holy Spirit. And yet this Epistle was rejected by Luther, who called it an epistle of straw, which lacks evangelical character, and does not quite harmonize with the pure doctrine. Luther, who probably more than any man entered into the spirit of Paul, saw deeper than his contemporaries when he perceived no echo of the Gospel of Paul in the Gospel of James. And yet it was a bad sign that he, the greatest of the Reformers, neither comprehended nor felt the deeper unity which existed between Paul and James. Although he found no trace of the tendency of Paul in James, he ought to have discerned in his Epistle the pulse-beat of the Holy Ghost.

The whole Epistle testifies that the Christian-Israelitish character reached its Apostolic completeness in James. He had apparently, as a son of Mary, as a branch of the royal stem, an excellent natural disposition. There is no doubt that his natural gifts contributed to his rise in the esteem of those even who did not believe in Jesus. Unlike Paul, he sustained no shocks in his spiritual life. His inward life moved with a quiet and firm step. He was, even before he embraced the Christ in Jesus, an exemplary Israelite. Afterwards he was, in his measure, like Jesus, a living copy of the law which is righteous, holy, and good. There is also a striking resemblance between the Epistle of James and the Sermon on the Mount, and the last prophetic words of Jesus. James has involuntarily sketched his own image in his Epistle as of a man whom God has raised up above others to show to Israel what the Israelite becomes who enters into complete fellowship with the glorified Christ. In him is realized the ideal which God has set before the Israelite: he is, according to God's will, through the word of truth, re-born in order to belong to the first-fruits of God's creatures. In him is revealed the wisdom that cometh from above, and which is "first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without variance, without hypocrisy." The Epistle of James, as well by its style as by its contents, bears witness to the moral elevation and the spiritual power which were peculiar to him in a pre-eminent degree as the Apostle of the Christian-Israelitish Church.

CURRENT SCANDINAVIAN THOUGHT.

PRAYER. By PASTOR J. H. MONRAD (*Dansk Kirketidende*, 1898, No. 18).—Among the phenomena which must have forced themselves on the attention of many Christians in consequence of the general and steady spread of rationalism in recent years is this, that after it has completely broken down at one point, it immediately shows a tendency to weakness in all its parts. There must, however, be a wonderfully centralizing force in the Christian's faith—a force which, so long as it has a person under its influence, keeps together as a whole; but which, on the contrary, as soon as the magnet ceases to work, reveals an inclination to strike off in all directions into trackless paths.

One might very naturally assume that the idea of prayer, for example, would remain unchanged, even although a Christian man became rationalistic in his views. The rationalists—or, as they ought, perhaps, to be called, the naturalists—place their trust, as is known, in their faith in God the Father. They are constantly speaking of the Father of mankind and of the love of this Father; and, implied or expressed, there runs through their teaching the reproach against Christians that this is not enough for them, that they demand more. But with such a starting-point as the love of the Father, one would naturally expect that prayer and the answering of prayer would obtain their full rights. Prayer is, in fact, faith's most direct, most childlike expression, and nothing would seem to be so genuinely fatherly as just the hearing and answering of prayer. One might, therefore, hope to learn much "from the world of prayer" among the rationalists, especially as they themselves have frequently pointed to prayer—that is, the Lord's Prayer—as the word which should be the real central point of the Christian religion, as distinguished from the articles of faith, upon which Christians lay so much stress.

But on closer examination, it will almost always be found that the rationalist and the Christian, in spite of their common laudation of this prayer, will not be able to repeat it to the end without, in a more or less undisguised manner, displaying their spiritual antagonism; for this reason, among others, that they have utterly divergent views as to what good purpose, upon the whole, prayer can serve. Those who have not known this before may make themselves acquainted with it by observing the contributions ever and anon made to the secular press. Here they will find it taught that the man of prayer may certainly venture to expect his prayers to be answered so long as he prays for help in spiritual dangers and temptations; but that, on the other hand, it would be presumptuous, or, at any rate, foolish, to expect prayers to be heard which concern the things of the outward world, such as sickness, the weather, &c. Prayer in that case would overlook the fact that God is a God of order, and not of confusion; that God is the God of the eternal laws of wisdom; that God is the God who has created the law of gravitation, electricity, and the other forces of nature; and that, consequently, the rationalist finds it impossible to join in any specially appointed prayer for deliverance from a ravaging epidemic, or for favourable weather, or for any similar external advantage.

It is a valid objection to this whole mode of thought that it appears to be undecided, since it recognizes God's interference in the spiritual world, while it at the same time rejects His interference in the natural world. It is not merely the external world, but it is also quite as much the internal world that is subject to fixed laws, which in their general relations cannot be interfered with. If God's interference in one place results in confusion, exactly the same can be said of His interference in another place.

Another obvious remark is that this whole argumentation disposes at one stroke of the "Father of Mankind" of which rationalism makes so much. When it is insisted on that for God the eternal laws of wisdom are the highest and chief consideration—quite regardless, for instance, whether a man proudly defies these laws or humbly bows under the pressure of them—what is to be learned about God in this way? In this way one learns that God has created mankind for the sake of the machinery, that the children are there for the sake of the home. In this way one may learn that God is a lawgiver, a keeper of order, an engineer, a skilled artisan, but one does not learn that He is a Father.

When, on the other hand, it is discovered that God is a Father, it is seen that the home is there for the children's sake, that the mechanism is for the sake of mankind. In this way it is found that the welfare of His children is with God the first and highest consideration. But it is likewise perceived that a prayer from the children may be the means of leading to concessions and modifications in the working of the laws, while at the same time no one is thereby placed in a position to control the course or the manner of these concessions and modifications. Otherwise, how should this be denied?

If the influence of prayer upon the inner life of the child is denied, it is quite in order to deny the possibility of prayer having any effect whatever in the outward world. But this is just what is not denied. On the contrary, it is insisted upon that prayer may make the rough gentle, the cold warm, the downcast happy. It is maintained that prayer can change a man to such a degree that, spiritually speaking, he becomes a new creature. But how can it be conceived that it should be possible for God, if He is Himself the loving Father, and not the cold upholder of order, to fail to have regard to such a change; that He should not wish to bestow upon the

humble the gift which the haughty in their arrogance are willing to forfeit; that the Father should not wish to give the warm the powers and faculties, the use of which they were quite willing to let slip so long as they were cold; that the Father should not be willing to open to the joyful the way to the sphere of activity from which they shrank so long as they were dejected? Or if what is so much objected to is that something should constantly be *given* to the man of prayer, I will not refuse to assert the very opposite, namely, that there may be occasions now and then when to outward appearance something may be *taken* from him. I will not on any account deny that it may sometimes happen that God takes from the man of prayer perhaps just that good for which, or for the retention of which, he prayed. It may very well happen, for example, that through prayer itself there has come to him a firmness and fearlessness which will render superfluous for him the crutch with which he had hitherto thought it necessary to support himself. I will not undertake to determine, in a general way, what direction God's answer to prayer may take in particular cases. I will only maintain that if and in so far as He is a Father, in so far must He be susceptible to the changes that prayer may bring about in the mind of man. I will submit it to those who deny that God hears prayer, that they must either give up the rationalistic doctrine of the Father of mankind, of the loving God-Father, or, however hard it may be for them to do so, they must retract some of their assertions regarding prayer and the answering of prayer.

Another question that might be discussed is whether God should in any sense outwardly answer the prayer which does not of itself produce, in a greater or less degree, a change of disposition. Without in this connection seeking either to deny or to affirm this, I am quite convinced that both superstition and official Christianity run great risks with such prayers. I have, therefore, speaking generally, just as little sympathy as the rationalists with prescribed prayers; not because I doubt that from day to day God still interposes, in answer to the prayers of the faithful, in the paths of storm and sickness—on the contrary, that He does so some of my most certain experiences testify, although they are not demonstrable to others. But I am not an admirer of prescribed prayers, through which it is sought to influence God, either by vain repetitions or by importunings *en masse*. All such prayers are, as a rule, only calculated to counteract that change of mind in the offerer of them without which I have no belief at all in the answering of prayer.

THE BOOK CRITIC.

HORÆ EVANGELICÆ; OR, THE INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF THE GOSPEL HISTORY.

By Rev. T. R. BIRKS, M.A. Edited by H. R. BIRKS, M.A. Geo. Bell & Sons, London and New York. 1892.

This is a republication of part of a volume which was issued as far back as 1851, by the late Prof. Birks, of Cambridge. It appeared shortly after the English translation of Strauss' *Leben Jesu*. Whether it was written with the avowed object of undermining the mythical theory of the origin of the Gospels does not appear. Apologetics written in order to counteract the influence of a temporary panic in the theological world are not always of permanent value. They last in most cases as long as the sensation which created them, and no longer. Indeed, a controversial atmosphere is not favourable to the discovery of original methods of investigation, or the production of really lasting critical work. But the present treatise is certainly not written in the spirit of a fierce polemic. It is a calmly conducted inquiry into

the origin and structure of the four Gospels. It therefore deals with the problem upon which an immense amount of critical study has been expended during the last generation—a problem, too, which is Protean in its elusiveness and shifting phases. Under the circumstances, it might well appear a somewhat risky experiment to republish Prof. Birks' work, especially as it does not seem to have made any permanent impression when first put forth. However, the editor, Rev. H. A. Birks, is convinced, and not without reason, that there are elements of positive value in his father's work, which justify him in placing it once more before the public. Let it be at once stated that he is a candid and impartial editor; where his father has over-estimated the force of an argument, or where the chain of reasoning is not strong, it is carefully noted. He also brings the discussion into touch with modern theories by annotations and additions of his own. The main value of the work lies in the fact that it is an able statement of all that can be adduced in favour of what may be called the traditional view of the origin and relation of the Gospels. Pursuing a method of investigation similar to that of Paley's *Hora Paulina*, the writer undertakes to prove at least three positions of great importance:—1. That the order of the evangelists is that of our present Bibles; 2. That each writer wrote with a reference to those who preceded him; 3. That from a careful examination of the chronology of the Acts, approximate dates may be assigned to the several authors.

The very fact that to-day these opinions are so unpopular bespeaks for the writer a patient and impartial attention; and, though it is impossible for us to follow him step by step through his long argument of nearly 400 pages, we may briefly indicate the lines on which he works. In the first place, in order to demonstrate that the Gospels were neither independently formed out of oral tradition nor based upon a common document, he institutes a comparison between Matthew and Mark; then between Luke and both of these; and lastly, between John and all three. The comparison deals with four main particulars, viz., selection of events, order of arrangement, the resemblance of the historical details, and the distinctive features of phraseology and style. In the case of Matthew and Mark, his theory is that, where the two Gospels narrate the same incident in almost identical phraseology, the presumption is against their having independently originated from oral tradition; and again, that the still more numerous instances of partial or total divergence where the same events are narrated disprove the hypothesis of the Gospels being derived from some common document. The conclusion is that Mark, with independent knowledge of his own, has followed Matthew, and restored the true chronology. That Mark's chronology is the right one is a conclusion favoured by Luke's order of events, the agreement being complete in twenty-two or twenty-three out of, twenty-four instances. Obviously, the argument can only stand if it be ascertained that Luke had access to both Gospels, and was enabled, by his superior historical acumen, to select the more accurate order of events. This is the crux of the whole matter: Is Luke an independent writer or not? The much-discussed preface is supposed by our writer to refer, in all probability, to the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, though it must be confessed that the arguments employed to explain Luke's silence as to the names of the chief of his predecessors are not weighty. Some of the proofs of Matthew's priority to the other two are not very convincing—e.g., omission of account of Christ's Ascension and the fulness of the doctrinal discourses; for it is just as easy to suppose that Matthew omitted the Ascension because it was already in Luke, and, as the editor candidly points out, the discourses are reported even more fully in John, the latest of the four. But these points only illustrate the immense difficulty and delicacy of this inquiry. Where

the argument is concerned with internal evidence only, the interpretation of facts is so easily coloured by unconscious sympathy with the preconceived theory. Regarding the object of each successive writer to supplement and confirm the witness of the earlier, he deduces the relative priority of the Gospels from a critical examination of the leading events of the history, beginning with John's Baptism, and so on through each event to the Resurrection. This opens a vast field for variety of opinion. It cannot be said that these examples are of nearly equal value; and the prepossession of his theory seems to us to blind the writer more than once to the strength of an opposite position. Take the two accounts of the Sermon on the Mount. He maintains that Matthew and Luke refer to two different occasions. The argument from varying chronology and other considerations adduced by Prof. Birks do not meet the case so satisfactorily as the view which makes Matthew and Luke write independently, on the basis of a common tradition. If Luke had Matthew's Gospel to work on, what is the principle by which he elected to give us Sermon on the Mount number two? He was pre-eminently the historian of the four evangelists, endowed with a lucid view of the value of evidence and what we may call a sense of historical fitness. Writing for a Gentile world, it harmonized with his purpose to set forth in its completest form the charter of ethical Christianity. Assuming that the two accounts are narratives of different occasions, is it likely that for the purpose of supplementing the chronology or the narrative of one of his successors he should record a later version of the great sermon when the earlier and fuller so remarkably satisfied his purpose? The probability of the recurrence of similar discourses in Christ's ministry may be exaggerated by the use of modern analogies, such as that found on p. 178. The practices of a "clergyman" of to-day are hardly convincing in such a connection.

Book ii. is an attempt to determine the chronology and date of the Book of Acts together with the dates of the earlier Gospels. This inquiry is much simplified by the conclusions already reached. If the date of Acts is ascertained, it is of course easy to fix approximately the other dates, Luke and Acts being successive works from the same hand. The date of John is left out of the inquiry.

Book iii. is occupied with the considerations which prove a characteristic design—special readers, special purpose and special aspects of the one life—in the writers of the four narratives. This is less debatable ground. The evidence against an Aramaic Matthew is summarized in a useful appendix which supplements the argument of the main work. That Papias made a mistaken inference of an Aramaic Matthew "from a premiss which really confirms a Greek Gospel only," is a view which will comfort those to whom the tradition of an Aramaic Gospel is a terror. It is very doubtful, indeed, whether an Aramaic Gospel—erroneously but pardonably associated by tradition with the name of Matthew—may not have been in vogue among the early Christians, and have served as a common basis for the evangelists. Prof. Marshall's recent articles will do much to strengthen this view. It will be seen that the volume contains a mass of very useful matter, and will be of great help to those who are beginning the study of the synoptic problem—a problem of perennial fascination and mystery. Possibly a condensation of the argument in a smaller edition would make this work accessible to a larger class of readers.

R. MARTIN POPE, M.A.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, A.D. 1-600. By the late Dr. WILHELM MOELLER, Professor Ordinarius of Church History in the University of Kiel. Translated from the German by ANDREW RUTHERFORD, B.D. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

The work of the late Dr. Moeller is the most satisfactory text-book of Church

history which has appeared in Germany during recent years. It is fuller than the *Kirchengeschichte* of Karl Müller, which has just been published in another series of theological text-books; and it is more inspiring, and as regards principles, much more informing, than the familiar Handbook of Dr. Kurtz, from which so many students in Germany and in England have learned the facts of Church history, and at the same time a distaste for its study. For examination purposes Kurtz is useful, and will continue to be used by those who have no further ambition than to pass a creditable examination; but for those who have a higher conception of the uses of ecclesiastical history, Moeller will be preferred, for he writes as one profoundly conversant with the sources of Church history, and from him one may gain a love for its study, and some understanding of the laws which have governed the development of Christian life and thought.

The fulness and freshness of Dr. Moeller's learning are especially marked in his treatment of the early Church. So much has been done of recent years to elucidate the real character of this period, which was formerly almost concealed by ecclesiastical prepossessions, that many old Church histories of considerable pretensions are useless even when they are not misleading. Dr. Moeller makes constant use of the investigations of Harnack and other independent investigators. What was formerly scattered in the pages of German periodicals can now be read consecutively in Dr. Moeller's abridgments, which are usually accompanied with independent criticisms. His treatment of Gnosticism is full of acute suggestions. It cannot be too often repeated that without an understanding of the mighty influence of Gnosticism no intelligent understanding of the early Church is possible. Biblical Criticism, theology, and the Episcopate, were all called into being by those mysterious systems of religious philosophy, which, absurd as they appear to us, exercised such a fascination over educated Christians that at one time it seemed probable that Gnosticism would transform the popular doctrine of salvation into an esoteric philosophy of religion. The violence with which the Fathers opposed it is often very shocking, and does little honour to their Christian charity. Their charges against the Gnostic leaders are probably mostly false; but it should be remembered that they were fighting a battle of which the issue appeared very doubtful, and were seeking to preserve for the Church doctrines which were essential to its very existence. Dr. Moeller admits this. Of Gnosticism he writes as follows; we give his words in the sorry translation of Mr. Rutherford.

"In Gnosticism, Christianity, which is a practical doctrine of salvation, is interpreted in the sense of a religious speculative view of the world, as religious knowledge of the world process, which leads to the redemption of the spirit. With the separation of the world creator from the Highest God, the essential basis of the Old Testament revealed religion on which Christianity rests, is destroyed: the *blasphemia creatoris*! In place of the Old Testament conception of creation there comes that of a world-process of a theo- and cosmogonic sort, which starts with evolutions and emanations of the divine original basis, and whereby the present world is reached mostly by a catastrophe, which is always somewhat of the nature of a fall of the spirit into the material, or of an original destiny, in which sub-divine or anti-divine powers bring about the world as it presently subsists, in which that which is of divine origin is held in alienation from the divine, as it were against its will."

In the chapter on the Alexandrian School, Dr. Moeller points out the affinities between that school and Gnosticism. Alexandrianism was an attempt to satisfy within the Church those longings of the human spirit which had rendered Gnosticism so attractive; but while the leaders of the Gnostics were indifferent to the

Christian Creed, save as a means of propagating their own religious philosophy, the Alexandrians always sought to make the Christian Creed the basis of their speculations. "Clement," writes Dr. Moeller, "regards it as the task of the Christian Gnostic to exalt himself above the simple standpoint of the Church's faith to higher knowledge, but in such a manner that this higher knowledge shall not turn against the substance of the Church's faith, and shall not look proudly down on the reception of the Church's preaching on the part of simple Christians, inasmuch as it itself rests on this foundation."

There is a good chapter on the reaction of Paganism under Julian. The diatribes of the Fathers against Julian were entirely undeserved by him personally; for he was a gifted and humane Emperor. The history of the movement which he led is profoundly instructive. We cannot say what might have been the result had Paganism at an earlier period displayed the moral zeal which it showed during the Julian revival; but it came too late; the world had outgrown the frame of mind in which it could take a serious interest in Paganism. *Too late* was written upon its revival under Julian, as surely as upon the revival of Catholicism which was attempted by De Maistre and his associates. The well-known edict of Julian which forbade Christians to come forward as public teachers of the *Studia Liberalia* was not prompted by a desire to keep the Christians at a low stage of culture, as has often been thought; it was a protective measure; for Christians like Clement of Alexandria lectured on the classics mainly for the purpose of exhibiting the religious and moral deficiencies of Paganism; and the object of the Emperor was to guard the youth of the empire from such polemical teaching.

One great merit of Dr. Moeller's text-book is the full account given of the intellectual and moral environment of the Church during the centuries of its growth; and without some such knowledge the history of the ancient Church is a mere branch of antiquarianism. When that, however, is understood, its history becomes instinct with vivid life; and we at once perceive how much there was in those ancient controversies which recall the controversies of our own day. We see, especially, that the modern tendency to assimilate the spirit and some of the teachings of Christianity without its dogmatic Creed was present in the sects which surrounded the Church in the early centuries of its growth.

Like most German theologians, Dr. Moeller regards the establishment of the Church as a necessary step in its historical development, if it was to fulfil its mission among men, although he is not blind to the evils which it brought in its train. The Church, he says, became a beneficent force in the world, exercising an influence on morals and laws; but it shed some of its spiritual intensity, and lost its ideal character by becoming allied with the powers of this world.

Dr. Moeller's text-book is so excellent, so full in its references to the best and most recent literature, and so inspiring in its spirit, that we should be disposed to recommend it as a text-book in English theological colleges, were the translation more satisfactory. Mr. Rutherford's task was not quite easy, for Dr. Moeller's long and involved sentences present considerable difficulties to the translator; but the translator has scarcely attempted to produce a readable version, and in almost every sentence he violates English idiom, and sometimes even the most elementary rules of syntax. The following sentence, which professes to be complete, is an instance, and by no means an isolated instance, of the translator's disregard of the laws of the English sentence. "The remarkable Epistle, which bears the name of Barnabas, and has by many been really attributed to this apostolic companion of St. Paul, but which Eusebius already counted among the authentic writings." The

press has not been corrected with care, and some of the blunders make the text unintelligible. We must add that a student of ecclesiastical history should know better than write "Gregory of Nazianzen," an error which more than once disfigures Mr. Rutherford's pages. Mr. Rutherford is, we are aware, no worse than many of his fellow translators; indeed, in one respect he is better—he does not omit difficult passages; but it is quite time to protest against the clumsy and inaccurate versions of the works of German divines with which the market is flooded. If publishers are unwilling to pay for adequate translations, and are reluctant to take steps to procure proper revision, it would be better for them to abandon altogether the business of publishing translations which only misrepresent learned and meritorious works.

J. GIBB, D.D.

CHRIST IN MODERN THEOLOGY. By A. M. FAIRBAIRN, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

DURING the past century considerable change has come over the current of thought in reference to the place of Theology in the temple of the Sciences. The time was when the "Queen of the Sciences" received homage from all sides. The scientific form of the contents of Faith rose to the highest place of honour, and even influenced the course of thought in all departments of research and construction. Ideally this was what should be. For if, as Kant shows in his *Critique of the Pure Reason*, God be the supreme form of the Reason—the unity under which all else, phenomenal and noumenal, is to be conceived—it follows that the Science of God, which is plain English for "Theology," is the chief and most comprehensive of all sciences. But for reasons familiar to the student of history this has ceased to be. The revolt which had been in progress for many years reached a point well described by Tholuck in his *Guido and Julius*. "Theology had now lost all attractions for Guido. She seemed to him a rude barbarian, who, herself accustomed to a scanty diet, invited guests from the classic soil of beautiful Hellas, for whom she was unable to provide suitable entertainment; whilst she wielded her club in defiance against any who refused her the meed of hospitality. She appeared still further to betray her base origin and want of native dignity, when, with engaging airs and obsequious civility, she begged Philosophy to allow her to retain a few strips of land from that territory of which she had already been compelled to restore the finest parts to their rightful lord." Tholuck wrote thus in 1832, and we know how in England the feeling expressed by Guido has found a response among the students of Physical Science, and of Philosophy, and even occasionally in the pulpit and on the platform. Much, however, has been done during the past half century in Germany to raise Theology from the reproach into which it had fallen, and Tholuck in his measure contributed a useful part towards that result. The course of critical thought in this country has now at length awakened a desire for some reconstructive process by which Theology, profiting from past failures and proceeding on lines more accordant with a true method, shall assume her place as the Science which construes, with as much accuracy as is possible to such a case, the universe through the legitimate conception of God, than which there can be no higher effort of human thought.

The work now published by Dr. Fairbairn is a handsome contribution toward this end; and as such, apart from the reputation of its author and its own intrinsic merits, cannot fail to receive attention from all who feel the pressure of the problems to be solved. The good work previously done, and the position already attained in the higher departments of modern literature, by Dr. Fairbairn, are a guarantee that in this, the matured product of long and vigorous thought enriched by familiar

acquaintance with the best in ancient and modern theological literature, we have a volume deserving the most careful consideration of all schools of thought. To those who know the past and present position of Theology it will appear a serious business for a man of reputation to propose to offer a substantial contribution towards its reconstruction. It is comparatively easy to criticize and to accentuate the defects of systems embodying even the best thought from the Nicæan to the present age; but to re-form, re-establish, and re-settle our theological beliefs and build them up into a congruous unity is a most formidable undertaking, and in the estimation of cautious men might savour of presumption. Of late a vast amount of preliminary work has been accomplished; materials have been collected, sifted, arranged; lines of thought have been sketched; suggestive monographs on specific problems have been published; the full bearing of the inductive method has been recognized and exemplified in tentative efforts, and the relation of preliminary philosophical and critical questions to the constructive process has been exhaustively laid bare. Faith now awaits the representation of truth in a form befitting this preparatory toil and reflexive of the most cultured intellect. When one observes the spirit in which Dr. Fairbairn's work is conceived, the use made of our inheritance from the past, the cautious handling of transcendental subjects, the fields of thought glanced at but not traversed, the abiding consciousness of just doing one honest man's part toward a result demanding many fellow-labourers, and the unuttered though pervasive belief that the hour has come for some one to move in the line of positive reconstruction—so far from discovering presumption we rather see the courage and foresight of the true leader of men. We have here the sign of a better day when the best heart and intellect of the Church will be consecrated afresh to the bringing together of the Truth of God into forms of presentation that shall be more consonant with its own intrinsic worth, and adjusted to the habitudes of a sound mind.

Although this book is primarily designed for readers acquainted with the course of theological thought, it will probably open up some of the more difficult problems to general readers, and awaken lay interest in Theology. Technicalities of the schools are reduced to a *minimum*. The language is clear, strong, forceful; the sentences swift in succession, sharply cut, and often spontaneously brilliant; a strong common sense and masterful handling of material put high thinking into concise, telling form; the severity of tough argument and consecutive reasoning is relieved by bold and often startling antitheses. Probably no book of this generation dealing with such subjects is more readable to one who will take the trouble to think. We have here the robust, disciplined mind seeking to put theological truth into every-day speech; and it is done with remarkable success. Recurrent philosophical forms of expression, familiar enough to readers of the best British and Continental Theology, may at first scare the general reader, but a little reflection will soon make their significance and fitness clear. The mastery of such a book as this would prove to many a far greater benefit than the hasty perusal of scores that pass current as theological literature.

The first 296 pages are, after the Introduction, occupied with matter historical and critical, with a view to trace the law of development in Theology and the Church, and the course of historical criticism in its relation to the Christ of the Gospels. Newman's theory of development is subjected to a rigid scrutiny, resulting in the conclusion that it is merely logical, and would not have been elaborated were it not that certain positions to which he was committed had to be justified; whereas the true historical development is that which is the normal outgrowth of the

primitive Christian organism as affected by the forces of the living world which forms its environment. The history of the Church is a section of universal history; and the germ of all was the Historical Christ, who created a society which was bound to interpret Him. The elements that acted as environment were Jewish and Gentile, each of which in some form left its mark on the form of Christianity. The Gentile, as seen in Greek philosophy, Roman polity, and popular religion, was later, and more pervading and paramount. The metaphysical and speculative formulation of the Nicæan Fathers exhibited one side of this influence; while the political and forensic tone of Tertullian presented the other. The Western Church became supreme because it inherited the seat of Imperial power on the decay of the empire, and absorbed its polity into its ecclesiasticism. The rise of Papal Rome was synchronous with the fall of Imperial Rome, because, chiefly, it accommodated itself to prevailing customs and habits of thought. In Scholasticism the influence of the Northern intellect is apparent, as seen in the instance of most of its leaders—Baeda, Alcuin, Duns Scotus, Albertus Magnus, Anselm, and others. Once more, it was through Aristotle rather than Plato that Greek conceptions gave form to theological speculation, though, in the matter of Atonement, Anselm more elaborately formulated in the *Cur Deus Homo* the forensic ideas introduced from Roman jurisprudence by Tertullian. The Renaissance brought the best minds into direct relation to the primitive sources of Christianity, and thus far was a co-operating factor with the Reformation in contrasting the prevalent Catholicism with a religion and polity new to that age. The more precise definition of the Lutheran and Reformed theological position was inevitable in consequence of the different points of view taken by Luther and Calvin, and their common controversies with Roman Catholicism; and the divergence of these two great Protestant schools determined the subsequent course, and gave colour to both the Theology and politics of Germany and Great Britain. The mixed and uncertain Theology of the English Church exhibits the influence of Trent and Geneva.

Having traced the development in Theology and in the Church, Dr. Fairbairn next treats us to an elaborate survey of Literature and Philosophy in so far as they lead up to criticism of the historical account of Christ. How the ideas of Lessing, Schiller, and Goethe, as representing Literature, and of Herder as the Apostle of Romanticism, bear on the critical question; and how German philosophy as expounded by Kant, Jacobi, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel is related to historical criticism is shown with the insight and discrimination that might be expected of one so familiar with the theme and so well constituted for the work. Schleiermacher receives his due meed of praise as one of the most fruitful of German theologians and critics. The weakness of Strauss has been exposed again and again; and one asks, Why once more? Dr. Fairbairn knows that Strauss, as a historical critic, has long been proved a failure; but he could not have shown the continuity of German thought and the useful issues of its errors in method and principle had he not here presented Strauss in his strength and his weakness. The same reason will account for the lucid exposition and exposure of the defects of the Tübingen school. As a consequence of all previous efforts at criticism, we are now placed in assured contact with historical sources of the religion of Christ, and are therefore in a position to ascertain the unquestionable basis on which Theology may be reconstructed.

By far the most important part of this volume is the second, which is described as Theological and Constructive, and which first unfolds what Dr. Fairbairn regards as the New Testament interpretation of Christ, and then takes Christ so interpreted as the determinative interpretation of God. And this is only a preliminary stage in

the process of thought; for the God so ascertained becomes, as Godhead, the determinative principle by which Theology, embracing the Fatherhood, Sin, and Soteriology, as also Revelation, is constructed. Nor is the doctrine of the Church independent of this conception of God so derived. In fact, the method of the entire work is first, by a critical survey of ancient and modern theological thought and effort, to clear the way for a positive attempt to reconstruct, apart from the technicalities of schoolmen and Nicæan metaphysics, certain main doctrinal positions which form the very essence of the theological belief. Next, this is accomplished by ascertaining what Christ represents Himself to be, and out of that representation, as the all-sufficient source of revealed truth, to arrive at the only justifiable conception of God, which conception, being paramount and containing in itself the essential principle of all God's relations, must decide the views it is right to hold concerning His relation to the race, and consequently to sin and the means of salvation, as well to the nature and functions of the Church, which is the moral fruit of the Divine activity in this world. The preliminary critical survey of theological endeavour throws light upon, and takes some of its colouring from, the positive constructive effort; while the positive constructive effort becomes the more intelligible and interesting by the contrasts it furnishes with some earlier attempts to construct a stable, congruous Theology. It was a sound intellectual instinct, if one may use a somewhat loose psychological phrase, that led Dr. Fairbairn to connect the past with the present in this way; and no one will do justice to the author of this volume, or gain full benefit from the study of the constructive, who does not carefully read the critical part. And it is especially in this connection that the Introduction should be read. It is entitled "The Return to Christ." The pith of it lies in this: that Theology, to be worth anything, must rest on a knowledge of who and what Christ is; that in the past centuries men constructed their theologies out of varied elements, some of which were not derived from the actual Christ nor yet consistent with what He was; and that the present age, improving on past methods, is now more closely studying Him as affording the governing principle which determines our conception of God, and consequently our theological thinking in detail. Of the truth of the main contention thus set forth no one can doubt who really appreciates what New Testament Christianity is, and understands the laws that govern correct constructive thought. But some will regret that the gifted author should, in a solid theological work, have had recourse to such expressions as "Return to Christ," "Recovery of the Historical Christ," "Re-discovery of Christ." In orations before popular assemblies expressions may serve a rhetorical purpose which, in the quiet fellowship of the student with the great souls of past ages, whose glory it was to strive to interpret the Son of God to the Church and the world, can have no proper place. Our great theologians, Augustine, Anselm, Calvin, for instance, were never *away* from Christ, though they may not have given full heed to all His words or gazed on His person as intently as they ought; they never *lost* Him, though in the elaboration of their systems they were not perfect in the place they assigned to His Personality, and in reducing determinative principles from it and Him.

What Dr. Fairbairn really means is expressed by himself when, obviating the supposition that he is reflecting on the piety of the past, he says, "The statement, then, that our age excels all others in the fulness, objectivity, and accuracy of its knowledge of the historical Christ must not be construed to mean the superiority of our age in its sense of dependence on the Redeemer and reverence for Him" (p. 20). Yes; that is it exactly. We give more attention to the historic setting of the Divine-human personality; we know more about the Galilean and Judæan environment of the Son of God; we as Rushbrooke has shown in his Synopticon, can get at the

residuum of fact concerning Him in which the Synoptics agree, and we perhaps see rather more clearly that our theological ideas must be governed by our ideas of Him, but in this "re-discovery" has no place. Moreover, our fuller knowledge of critical details has not altered one iota the main fact—His Personality and His own assertions concerning His relation to the Father. Athanasius knew as much as we do, and based his chief arguments on Christ's own declarations, combined with the prologue to the fourth Gospel. Dr. Fairbairn's quotation from Schelling—*Der eigentliche Inhalt des Christenthums ist aber ganz allein die Person Christi*—really expresses the thought of the men of the fourth century, who strove, according to their light, to maintain in the Christian system the place denied to Christ by Artemon, Paul of Samosata, and Arius.

As Dr. Fairbairn's purpose is to construct a theology governed in its essential features by what is ascertained to be included in the "consciousness of Christ," it is interesting to note how he arrives at a knowledge of that consciousness. In surveying the course of development up to the present time, the order was from the simple form of thought and polity in Apostolic times, but now the order is backwards from the interpretation of Christ by the Apostles up to the very words and bearing of Christ Himself. The Pauline Christology being the most highly developed, is discussed in its bearing on the conception of God and of the redemption of man. The former, Dr. Fairbairn calls Theology; the latter, Soteriology. The exactitude in the use of terms may perplex those unaccustomed to strict scientific language. The perplexity may be increased by the fact that our author does not throughout the volume keep to the distinction here set up. It is noteworthy in passing that Dr. Fairbairn accepts the exegesis of Romans ix. 5, which regards *θεός* as affirmed of *ἰσχυρός*.

The Pauline Soteriology, in its earlier and later forms, is clearly traced to the conception held of Christ as the Son of God. The Christologies of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and of James, and Peter, and John, being outlined, the contents of the Gospels are then considered as furnishing the means of getting at the very thought of Christ Himself with reference to His own personality and His relation to God. Thus step by step we are led back to the consciousness of Christ as the main source of reliable knowledge concerning God. Here we have the datum of a stable theology.

At this point the constructive process really begins; and the careful student will enter upon this part of the volume with keen expectation and sympathetic interest. In the earlier part of the volume, Dr. Fairbairn sketches the course of thought pursued by the Nicæan Fathers, and seeks, after the manner of the late Dr. Hatch, to point out how their formulation was purely metaphysical and determined in form by Greek modes of thought. Perhaps he is not to be understood as maintaining that the ontological view of the Godhead characteristic of the Nicæan symbol was not then, and is not now, as clear and near an approach to accuracy of statement as can be produced. But he rather seizes hold of the unique and emphatic revelations of Christ with respect to Himself and His relationship to the Father, as conveying to us a doctrine of the Godhead in which the ethical element is most manifestly implicated. On this Dr. Fairbairn is very explicit.

"The point, then, from which our constructive endeavour must start is this—the determinative element in the consciousness of Christ is the filial. He directly and intuitively knew His own Sonship, and by its means He made known God's Fatherhood. The two were correlative and mutually inclusive; the being of the Son involved the Father's, and the Father was in character and quality as was the Son. The regulative element in His mind became the determinative idea in the Apostolic. The New Testament interpretation of Christ is in its ultimate analysis an interpretation of the Father in the terms of the

Son. In the mind of Jesus, Father and Son were conceived as forming a unity over against man. The relation the Father had to Him He had to no other: the relation He had to the Father no other person had. They two were so related that each was known only to the other, and could therefore only by and through the other be made known. The unity was so real that to see the Son was to see the Father, to know the Father was to know the Son. Hence, while Jesus conceived Father and Son as distinct from each other, He also conceived them as having a common being and as sustaining common relations to man."—Pp. 391-93.

It will thus be seen that Dr. Fairbairn regards the consciousness of Christ as pointing unmistakably to a social unity in the Divine nature: it reveals to us the Godhead as something other than God. Whatever theological conceptions are formed by us, they must, to be legitimate, be formed on this basis. Apart from the ontological speculations of the Nicæan Fathers, and unencumbered by Greek terms derived through Philo from Hellenic sources, it is possible to state the revealed facts of the Godhead in a form immediately suggested by the utterances of Christ Himself. What Christ meant by "Son" and "Father," and by their relation the one to the other and of both, as one, to mankind, is strongly expressed thus:—

"In their mutual relations they were distinct, but in their common relations they were a unity; and in what was mutual there was nothing that involved disruption or division in what was common. The relations were not voluntary, but necessary; the distinction not matter of choice, but of nature or essence. It is true that in order to the being of a Son there must be a Father, but it is no less true that in order to the being of a Father there must be a Son. Fatherhood is no older than Sonship, the one is only as the other is; in other words, if Fatherhood is of the essence of Deity, Sonship must be the same. And to Christ God does not become Father—He is Father just as He is God; and He Himself does not become Son—He is Son, and were He not Son He would not be."—P. 393.

While, then, our author does not attempt a "scholastic or scientific construction of the doctrine" of the Godhead, which, however, he thinks not a difficult thing to do, he does, we see, present, in clear and strong language, "the source, significance, and bearings of those essential ideas which every doctrine of the Godhead has aimed at expressing." His justification for the course here adopted lies in the fact that the conception of the Godhead is "peculiarly and specifically a conception of revealed religion, so that when it is articulated into a doctrine, it ought to be stated as nearly as possible in the terms and according to the spirit of the revelation" (p. 399). Dr. Fairbairn emphasizes the distinction which theologians have often made, that a unity and a simplicity are not the same, but opposites. Herein, I would observe, lies the secret of the difference between those who maintain the doctrine known as the Trinity, and those who do not. Philosophy would affirm of an infinite unity that is the source of all created being a nature of which that may be true, which, as applied to a finite creature, could not be true. The Eternal, Infinite One must contain within Himself distinction and difference. Pure Being, of which no predication is possible—Infinite Simplicity—is a barren idea, and it is the crux of Transcendentalism to show how it can ever differentiate anything from itself. Modern believers in the Trinity, as it is set forth in the consciousness of Christ, have no hesitation in appealing to philosophy, if need be, as not being opposed to this revealed doctrine, though it could not have originated it. It may be a question with some, as it was with Augustine, whether the term "Person" is, because of its popular connotation, the fittest to indicate what is intended; but Dr. Fairbairn thinks it "may be an excellent name for those immanent distinctions we know as Father, Son, and Spirit, who together constitute the unity of God" (p. 400).

From the position thus obtained Dr. Fairbairn proceeds to a very interesting and original consideration of the conception of the Godhead in its relation to the Deity of Natural Theology and the Deity of Constructive Theology. Here emerge his views on Sovereignty and Paternity, Sin and Atonement.

In the working out of the views thus imperfectly sketched, many questions are raised on which difference of judgment will be entertained by many who agree with Dr. Fairbairn in his deduction of the Deity of Christ from the "Consciousness of Christ." It may be thought that in his intense fervour and, at times, vehemence of style, he magnifies some points to the relative neglect or partial consideration of others which, if brought into fuller proportions, would modify conclusions aimed at. It may be questioned whether he is right in ascribing the forensic element in Theology so utterly to the influence of Tertullian. If it is not found in the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, some of the ablest of modern and ancient exegetes have been woefully mistaken. It is hard to see how Tertullian, legal as his education had been, could have grafted on to Theology an element quite alien to the New Testament. Many will not be able to follow Dr. Fairbairn in his contention that "law" and the argument in the Epistle to the Romans do not involve any forensic idea. Such terms as *δικαίωμα*, *ἐαυτοῖς εἶπω νόμος*, *ὑποδικτός*, *κατάκριμα*, *πῶς κρινεῖ ὁ Θεὸς τὸν κόσμον*, are certainly consonant with that idea. Dr. Fairbairn's representation of Atonement (pp. 482-88) differs not in reality from the subjective view which has been so familiar to theologians for many a year. It seems to me to be inadequate to the language of the New Testament. It is a point in this question whether Fatherhood in the Infinite One does not so run up into sovereignty as to involve a relation to the totality of moral creatures in the universe, implying an element of "law" which cannot in the same degree or form be true of a human parent whose sovereignty touches only a tiny fragment of the whole, and is itself conditioned by laws outside itself. The whole subject of Atonement is too scantily treated in proportion to its importance. But one is reluctant to raise contentions where so much, especially on the Person of Christ, is satisfying. A more important work on theology has not issued from the press for many a year, and, quite apart from sectional schools of thought, and regarded as the outgrowth of a richly furnished mind that revels in sturdy thought, it deserves to be welcomed by all as a most valuable contribution to our high-class literature. It certainly will do much to help on the time when we shall have a theology set forth in a form and with a precision of thought and richness of material that shall more worthily embody the results of near two thousand years of Christian endeavour.

CHARLES CHAPMAN, M.A., LL.D.

THE RECORDS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT ACCORDING TO THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THEIR ORIGIN (*Der Letterkunde des Ouden Verbonds naar de Tijdsorde van haar Ontstaan*). By Dr. G. WILDEBOER, Professor at Groningen. Groningen: Wolters, 1893.

I HAVE a special call to notice this volume in England, because the plan on which it is constructed is substantially my own. The same idea which occurred to Professor Wildeboer when he sat down to prepare this volume visited my own mind in 1875. I am most glad that he has been enabled to realize his conception of the sort of book which clergymen and students need to-day, but before giving further information respecting his work, I ask permission to quote a few lines respecting my own plan from the Introduction to my *Origin of the Psalter*. Speaking of certain contributions on Old Testament subjects to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, I remarked on p. xviii. that they "grew out of the plan, formed about 1875, of a historical sketch of the growth of the Old Testament literature from the

advanced, and yet not extreme, point of view which I had adopted." "Of course," I added, "disputable points would have been mentioned, and some documents would have been referred to in different chapters; of the partly provisional character of such a sketch I was well aware. The task was too great for me, and it has since been accomplished on a larger scale than I thought of by that honoured veteran, Reuss." Whether I shall have time and strength to resume the work, I know not. It will soon be twenty years since I began to write this book, and even if I had had the age and capacity of Kuenen, a book written between 1875 and 1880 would have had to be largely recast before the year (which may we all live to see!) 1900. Meantime it is most gratifying to find that in the land of Kuenen, and in the moderate-orthodox University of Groningen, the idea of expounding the best provisional results of Old Testament criticism upon a chronological plan has been seen to be the most appropriate to the wants of students. For really, really, my dear English friends, "irresponsible reviewers," and others, it is quite too late in the day to talk as if there were not a large body of critical "results." This should be no longer a question of "taking a side" for or against "German criticism"; the battle is, historically speaking, won, and all that you have to do is to put aside prejudice, and proceed to the study of Old Testament criticism, just as you would proceed to the study of any branch of knowledge of which you are to a large extent ignorant. And, thankful as one must be to Dr. Driver for having accomplished a work which in scholarship satisfies a German standard, one may be equally grateful to Dr. Wildeboer for having superadded to the accurate statement of generally intelligible facts a sufficiently full exhibition of the historical continuity of the literary movement in Israel.

The author is well aware of the difficulty of his task, and I am not confident that he will secure many drawing-room readers. He has not given us a connected narrative, but a series of twenty-seven paragraphs, in which the contents of the Old Testament are considered in the light of the age to which the several documents belong, according to "most investigators of the subject." But by far the greater part of the volume is occupied with the notes to the paragraphs, in which the views of living and recently deceased workers are fairly set forth and temperately criticized. Among these workers it is not needless to say that Englishmen find an honourable place. These notes deserve high recognition. In them the author takes the reader into his confidence, and tells him what impression some of the best modern books on the subject have made upon him. And yet there is no superfluity of mere erudition. We are introduced in general to the old problems of criticism in their present form. Nor must I omit to mention the useful though brief Introduction. I cannot, indeed, agree with all its statements. I doubt whether the "cherubim" of Gen. iii. 24 can be identified with those of Ezekiel, nor am I sure of the identification of one or both with "the *kirubu* of the Assyrians and Babylonians"; the question is more difficult than was formerly supposed. And when we are referred to Zimmern's essay on the Tell el-Amarna tablets, where it is suggested that the *khabori* may be the Hebrews, we take notice that the date of this essay is 1891, and that other eminent scholars have, on good grounds, rejected this tempting identification. I am afraid, too, that the remarks offered (p. 5) on the historical character of the accounts of the patriarchs in Genesis will disappoint many students. It is, no doubt, quite correct to say that a passage of late date may possibly embody an early and trustworthy tradition. But how are we to set to work to ascertain whether it does? The author refers to Kittel's

Geschichte der Hebräer (1838-1892), as based on a cautious and honest criticism of the sources; but we seem to want a guide who can be, not only cautious, but also upon occasion courageous, and this guide we shall hardly find in Kittel. Let me add, however, that Dr. Wildeboer's fourth paragraph, taken together with the notes, supplies valuable preliminary information, which, though gently conveyed, is not deficient in critical veracity.

Perhaps it may help the reader to judge of the results of the book if I append the titles of the several paragraphs. "1. Fragments from the period of Israel's wanderings and of the settlement in Canaan. 2. Literary productions of the period of the Judges. 3. Literary products of the age of David and Solomon. 4. The material of the oldest historical writing before it received a fixed form; (a) the popular narratives. 5. The same; (b) the first foundations of Israelitish historiography. 6. Relics of the oldest historical writing. 7. The oldest codification of Israelitish laws. The Book of the Covenant and other contemporary legal definitions. 8. The oldest extant writings of the prophets; Isa. xv., xvi., Amos, and Hosea. 9. The pre-Deuteronomic elements in the Hexateuch and the other narrative books of the Old Testament. 10. Micah and Isaiah. 11. The second codification of Israelitish law; Deuteronomy. 12. Zephaniah and Nahum. 13. Jeremiah and Habakkuk. 14. The Deuteronomic historiography. Deuteronomic elements in the Hexateuch and the composition of Judges—Samuel—Kings. 15. Ezekiel. 16. Poetical passages from the period before the Exile. 17. The Second Isaiah and some other prophecies of his time. 18. Haggai and Zechariah. 19. Lamentations and Obadiah. 20. The priestly Tora and the composition of the Hexateuch. 21. Malachi, Jonah, and Ruth. 22. Three eschatological works: Joel, Isa. xxiv.-xxvii., and Zech. ix.-xiv. 23. Proverbs and Job. 24. The Psalter. 25. The priestly historiography; Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah. 26. Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs. 27. Daniel and Esther."

The reader will kindly remember that Dr. Wildeboer is not only, if one may venture to say so, a devout man, but wishes to preserve that historical continuity with the past of Christianity which Kuenen, rightly or wrongly, seemed to under-value. And yet this devout, this orthodox scholar is a complete convert to the newer criticism, of which the most adequate representative is Kuenen himself. Whether he ever attended Kuenen's lectures I do not know, but we are assured on the best authority that not a few of those who were, critically, pupils of Kuenen still retained an ineffaceable stamp of orthodox theology. Why, then, should our orthodox theologians be so suspicious of criticism, and why should some of our critics be so extremely anxious to cut down results, and leave questions open? Certainly, if Dr. Wildeboer is a fair specimen, the younger Dutch critics do not at all see the necessity of this; he is less open to criticism on this head than Dr. Driver, and yet not less churchly in his sympathies. The only portion of his work which strikes me as conveying a decidedly wrong view of the most generally received results is that which relates to Job. On this book, the author forgets to say that very few critics indeed still accept the speeches of Elihu as a part of the original work; the reference to Merx (who is against "Elihu"), on p. 441, seems liable to be misunderstood. And in criticizing my own views on Job, he is evidently unaware that since 1887 I have been led, not indeed to retract, but to modify them, and that the work published in that year must therefore be taken together with the review of Hoffmann's *Iliob* in Professor Salmond's *Critical Review*, May, 1891, and that of Driver's *Introduction*, Part III., *Expositor*, April, 1892 (Part I. of this review is elsewhere referred to by the author). On the other hand there is very much to praise. The learned author enables

students to realize quite sufficiently the strength of the most advanced critical positions, so far at least as this is possible without linguistic discussions. On the date of Job and Proverbs he goes with the boldest and (as I at least think) the safest critics; and, though he accepts a part of the Psalms in Book I. as pre-Exilic, it is on grounds the provisional justification of which I can myself heartily admit. His treatment of Chronicles, too, deserves to be specially mentioned. He distinctly states that its historical trustworthiness (in the modern sense of the word) cannot be maintained. But he is also perfectly willing to consider in each case whether the statement of the Chronicler may not contain a kernel of historical fact. Such kernels he finds in the statements respecting the captivity of Manasseh (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11-17) and the invasion of Judah by Zerah the Cushite (2 Chron. xiv. 8, &c.). In the latter case, one can without much hesitation agree with him; Winckler has, indeed, made it probable that for *צִיִּי* we should read *צִיִּי*, and finds a reference to a raid of a Chaldean chieftain (we can surely adopt this, without following him in his view of *צִיִּי-עֵז*, i.e., South Babylonia, in Isa. xviii. 1). But in the former case, I think that Kittel is more critical in still admitting a doubt whether Manasseh was really carried captive (by Assurbanipal) to Nineveh. So far as one can gather anything from the Hebrew sources, Manasseh was a strong partisan of Assyrian religious rites, and this seems to imply that he was politically a friend of Assyria. But, of course, he may have been forced into rebellion by pressure from without. The point cannot be decided, but even apart from this a critical study of the Chronicles enables us to use the book on rare occasions as a subsidiary source of information.

The most valuable part of the book, however, is doubtless the treatment of the Hexateuch. Like Dr. Oort, the author has been specially attracted by the contents as well as the form of the legislation, and the results of his investigations will, we may hope, see the light some day in a much fuller form. On the questions of higher criticism he is, of course, much less full than Dr. Driver; but as an introduction to the subject, the paragraphs relating to them may be recommended from their lucidity and from their being introduced in their due chronological place. Dr. Wildeboer like most critics, recognizes J¹, J², and J³, nor will all the ridicule of well-meaning but unqualified reviewers be likely to move him. In discussing the time when the Flood-stories became known to the Israelites he should, however, have taken some notice of the Tell el-Amarna discovery. It may yet become possible to hold that a Flood-story may have been known in Israel before the time of Ahaz. This will be advantageous for conservative criticism, though it will only, perhaps, make the critical question more complicated, and certainly cannot overthrow the other arguments for holding that in the eighth and seventh centuries the people of Judah came under the more direct influence of Assyria. Altogether, the thanks of English teachers and students are due to Dr. Wildeboer for his valuable work, which occupies a place by itself among aids to study.

T. K. CHEYNE, M.A.

THE CREED, OR A PHILOSOPHY. By the Rev. T. MOZLEY, M.A., formerly Fellow of Oriel. Messrs. Longmans, London.

Those who know Mr. Mozley's previous writings know pretty well what to expect in the present volume. Ever since he published his first collection of Reminiscences, viz., *Reminiscences chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement* (Longmans, 1882), he has taken the English public into his confidence respecting the matter which forms the chief subject of discussion in this his latest and possibly last work. He told us then (vol. ii., p. 846) that more than fifty years before that date the difficulties of a friend respecting the Personality of the Holy Spirit resulted in fixing in his own mind a deep disquiet,

"which remained, and indeed still remains, all the more because I have never seriously addressed myself to its removal. . . . I ask with all humbleness where the idea of Threeness is expressed in the New Testament with a doctrinal sense and force. Where is the Triune God held up to be worshipped, loved, and obeyed? Where is He preached and proclaimed in that threefold character? We read, 'God is one'; as, too, 'I and the Father are one'; but nowhere do we read that Three are one, unless it be in a text long since known to be interpolated. . . . To me the whole matter is most painful and perplexing, and I should not even speak as I now do, did not I feel on the threshold of the grave, soon to appear before the Throne of all truth."—*Ibid.* pp. 347, 348.

The feeling of being on the threshold of the grave is still stronger now; and no one, however much he may dislike and deplore the contents of the volume before us, can doubt the earnestness and sincerity of the writer. Every one who reads it should begin with the interesting and pathetic preface, in which he very briefly recapitulates some of the main facts of his remarkable life. He tells us among other things that he

"was puzzling over the Anglican dogma of the Trinity—mind, reader, not the Nicene, not the Athanasian, not the Catholic dogma, but the Anglican—when Wellington and Bonaparte were standing face to face at Waterloo" (p. vii.).

In the earlier book Mr. Mozley seems to prefer the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed to the Athanasian. He can say both of them "with all his heart and mind." Here he seems to prefer the Nicene and the Athanasian to the Apostles' Creed. He tells his readers almost at the outset (p. 48) that he is "not much of a theologian," and that he does "not even know what English man is, or has been for some centuries." He writes "chiefly for those who are not theologians, and know that they are not, but bearing in mind those who believe themselves to be theologians." And he quotes with approbation the answer of a particularly clever, well-instructed, and religious school teacher, who, when asked by him what she understood by the words "of the same substance with the Father," replied, "I never think about it, sir." This leads him on to the remark that it "is quite possible, indeed easy, not to say a downright necessity, to accept creeds, or other theological expressions, in simple loyalty, and bestow no further thought upon them" (p. 56). In this statement one would like to have "*further thought*" explained. It seems to imply that *some* thought has preceded. The Christian who acts in this way may be supposed to have bestowed some consideration upon the truths which he professes to believe: and with regard to some of them he will find that he *can* do no more than accept certain theological expressions in simple loyalty without hope of being able to understand or explain them. The subtlest theologian cannot distinguish between "generation," which is used of the Son, and "procession," which is used of the Spirit; and yet it is only loyal to abide by the prescribed language. It would be rash and disloyal to use "generation" of the Spirit.

But Mr. Mozley goes a great deal farther than advising plain folk to be content with using sanctioned forms of words and bestowing no further thought upon them: he thinks that a great many of the forms of words which have been sanctioned in the West, and especially in the Anglican Church, are very objectionable; and he would like to make a clean sweep of a variety of expressions in the Prayer Book, and in multitudes of our hymns. He has kept his repugnance to them in check, at least as regards public expression of it, for a long time; but now he feels constrained to speak out.

"The pace of the day has little regard for tender consciences, and tramples upon scruples. It will not admit of delay, and it accepts silence as consent. Nothing has struck me so much during the last sixty years as the utter self-abandonment with which

men with some pretence to theological acumen allow themselves to be carried away, as in a torrent, by man of no pretence whatever. The rush wins the day" (p. 173).

There is plenty of truth in that remark, and it holds good of other subjects besides theology. But in the sphere of theology Mr. Mozley is conscious of a distinct call to make a stand against the torrent of expressions now in common use in the Anglican Church; expressions which (according to his view) are neither Scriptural, nor primitive, nor on any reasonable grounds admissible: and he formulates his *corpus delicti* thus:—

"I object to the expression and the notion of a 'Triune God'; to such expressions as three in one and one in three; to the use of the singular pronoun in referring to the Father, the Son, and the Spirit; to the summing up of the three Persons with the words 'one God'; to the phrase 'God the Son,' and to all expressions favouring the opinion that the Son and the Spirit are nothing more than Divine aspects, procedures, and offices; to the title of God given to Jesus Christ in such a way as to imply that it was God Almighty who was born of the Virgin Mary and nursed and taught by her, and that it was He who walked about the Holy Land with the disciples, who ate, drank, and slept, who was struck in the face and spit upon, who was crucified, dead, and buried; to all gratuitous intrusion into the manner and form of the Divine existence, and into the unfathomable and inscrutable eternity supposed to have preceded creation. All these expressions I must regard as unwarranted additions to the teaching of the Scriptures, of the early fathers, of the early councils and creeds, and as offences placed in the way of those little ones whom Christ came to save. I must regard them as heresies and sins against the Holy Ghost. So shall I regard them as long as this hand can hold a pen or this tongue make an intelligible utterance—to my last breath, my last moment of consciousness" (pp. 174, 175).

That is plain and very severe speaking; but a great deal depends upon "*gratuitous* intrusion" and "*unwarranted* additions." How are we to determine the meaning of these epithets? The use of them seems to imply that there are intrusions which are not gratuitous, and additions which are warranted. But who is to be the judge when a whole Church is supposed to have gone wrong? For it is not merely hymns from the collections most commonly used in our Churches that are condemned—hymns by Heber, C. Wesley, Neale, Keble, Newman, Hort, &c.—but portions of the Book of Common Prayer. Is it not reasonable to believe that there has here been no "rush" or ill-advised haste, but that the mind of the Church has found its natural and legitimate expression in the language used? It is difficult to believe that the large number of devout, gifted, and learned persons whom the Church of England has produced have all been in error or indifferent, while it has been reserved for one distinguished writer to set all other Christians right respecting these points. Mr. Mozley specially objects to the expression "God the Son."

"Because the Bible says He is the Son of God, are we, therefore, to add that He is Himself God indeed? and not only God in such sense as may be necessarily implied in Sonship, but even God the Son, a title which neither the Father, nor the Son, nor the Holy Spirit has given Him!" (pp. 221, 223).

Many will not hesitate to answer these questions in the affirmative. The conclusion to which the whole of the Fourth Gospel leads up is the enthusiastic conviction expressed by the sceptical Apostle, "My Lord and my God!" And if it be right to offer prayer, praise, and adoration to the Son, then the expression "God the Son" is at once justified.

That a man should follow the dictates of his conscience is a satisfaction to all earnest people, and as a book written in this spirit we can all of us welcome Mr. Mozley's last volume. But from other points of view its appearance may be deeply regretted. It will pain and shock some; it will perplex others; and it will help few

or none. The incomprehensible mysteries of the Godhead cannot be more than very partially expressed in human language; and a generous freedom must be allowed to the attempts to put into words, sometimes this side, and sometimes that, of the Truth. It is probable that the words which Mr. Mozley dislikes are not free from difficulty, and yet are nearer to the truth than his criticisms of them. As he himself has taught us, it "is quite possible, indeed easy, not to say a downright necessity, to accept creeds or other theological expressions, in perfect loyalty," without attempting to tie down their meaning by strictly logical definitions. Definite creeds are necessary to preserve the truth from being lost in a haze of uncertainty and error. But there is a point beyond which all that is gained in definiteness is so much lost of truth. The place where this point is to be found will always be open to discussion, and no one need dispute Mr. Mozley's right to find it where he pleases, nor yet his right to find it sometimes in one place and sometimes in another. But we may dispute his right to condemn as "heretical" expressions which have been approved and found helpful by minds of the most varied type, as regards both piety and intellectual power, because they seem to him to be too explicit, and thereby to limit and impede better conceptions of the truth. A rough map or plan is a real help towards realizing the possible meaning of a very obscure description, although in some cases it may prevent a still better interpretation from being realized. The rough and imperfect outlines by means of which Christians try to realize the mysteries of the Godhead need not be condemned as "sins against the Holy Ghost" by those who doubt their accuracy, and find that to themselves such definiteness is not helpful. One who could lately repeat the Apostles' Creed without hesitation, and even now seems on the whole to accept the Nicene, ought not to be severe upon those who can bear to have the statements of these symbols expressed, and perhaps enlarged, in the less strict and more popular language of common prayers and hymns.

In the whole volume there is, perhaps, no more interesting chapter than the thirty-third, in which the writer describes how he received what he believes to have been "nothing short of a miraculous intimation to me to persevere in my present efforts to induce the Church of England to restore its creed, its teaching, and its worship to better accordance with Scripture and to the Nicene Creed" (p. 290). The narrative somewhat reminds one of the passage in the autobiography of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in which he tells us how he prayed earnestly for a sign as to whether he was to publish the book in which he advocates Deism as the true and adequate religion, and how he received (as he himself was convinced) an approving sign direct from heaven. This chapter, whatever view be taken of the supposed intimation, places beyond all doubt what was not doubtful before—the sincerity of the writer's motives.

There are digressions in the book, *e.g.*, about Aosta, which will be read with pleasure; and there are some shrewd remarks here and there about the Roman Church, which the author was once very near joining. There is also one statement which would indeed be interesting if it could be shown to be true. "Virgil was well acquainted with the Septuagint, and it is possible he may have had in his mind the verb [to be], with the texts in which it occurs [*e.g.*, Exod. iii. 14; Ps. xc. 2; Isa. xliii. 10] in several passages of remarkable force: 'Sum pius Aeneas,' 'Troja fuit,' 'His ego nec metas rerum, nec tempora pono; imperium sine fine dedi'" (pp. 27, 28). More than this seems to be needed in order to establish the hypothesis.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE INTERPRETATION OF NATURE. BY NATHANIEL SOUTHGATE SHALER, Professor of Geology in Harvard University. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1893, pp. 304.

This neat little treatise contains the course of lectures on the Winkley foundation, delivered in Andover Theological Seminary in 1891. The lectures are seven in number. They are well written and are very suggestive. A spirit of warm sympathy with nature runs through them. Considerable insight into the processes and problems of nature is shown by the author, but it can scarcely be said that the same insight is exhibited on the theological side. Still every effort to bring about a better understanding between the scientific and theological views of nature is to be cordially welcomed. It may be questioned, however, whether the demand which our author makes to have the distinction between the natural and supernatural views of nature set aside in order to a better understanding between science and theology is a legitimate demand. Nor is it clear that such a demand is even necessary, for it does not follow that, because the natural and supernatural views are distinct, they are inherently antagonistic to or exclusive of each other.

The first lecture deals with the topic, "The Appreciation of Nature." The discussion is partly historical and partly expository. The author seeks to show that men and their ancestors, brute and human, seem to be prompted by an instinctive curiosity to interpret nature. He sketches the development of this tendency. In doing so he gives a large place to the part which the Greek mind played in it. He shows how the scientific and theological methods appear all along. At first, in very early times, the two were together. Then anthropomorphic polytheism, which gradually became philosophical monotheism, sought to interpret nature. In later stages, when Greek culture appeared, rational or scientific rather than theological or religious interpretations of nature were given. At the present day our author thinks that the two views are drawing nearer each other by means of mutual concessions. Modern science, he thinks, is more and more disposed to accept the theistic view of nature, and modern theology is receding from extreme supernaturalism. He concludes by saying: "The primary condition of this union will be the abandonment of the existing conception that there are two distinct realms accessible to man, the natural and the supernatural, and the replacement of this

view by the idea that the universe is one great field through which the spirit of man is to range with ever-increasing freedom" (pp. 48, 49).

The second lecture deals with the great principle of continuity in nature, as it appears in connection with the law of physical causation. The facts of nature are viewed in relation to this principle, the result being that certain "critical points," or crises in the course of nature, which emerge suddenly upon the scene, and which mere continuity is not competent to explain, come into view. These "critical points" are illustrated at length by examples from the inorganic and organic kingdoms in nature, and from human conduct in its various aspects. Some exceedingly important things are brought out in regard to the organic kingdom. We would especially note the manner in which, in the realm of biology, there arises an apparent conflict of inheritances which leads to certain sudden changes in the equilibrium of organisms that result in a sudden break in the continuity and the production of varieties. Thus in nature throughout mechanical continuity does not rule, but nature is subject to frequent revolutionary changes. This really constitutes the introduction of a rational factor into nature, and our author says that "he finds this conception of nature more satisfying than the purely mechanical view of nature, which is so commonly held by his brethren in science." We thank our author for this statement, for if it can be shown that this rational element works in an orderly way, and on a larger scale than mechanical continuity, materialistic conceptions of nature are rendered impossible. If, again, that rational factor implies personal intelligence as its ground, pantheism is surely refuted.

In the third lecture the place of organic life in nature is discussed. The discussion assumes that the evolutionary hypothesis is the true philosophy of nature, and our author proceeds to deal with some phases of organic life and its place in nature from that standpoint. Here the idea of continuity seems to be insisted on with more earnestness than in the previous lecture. Even the life of man is looked upon as but the crowning result of "an orderly succession which reaches away back to inconceivably remote ages," which leaps over the chasm between man and the brute, or ignores the chasm altogether, and which even makes the bold effort to pass the great gulf which is fixed between the vital and non-vital realms. In harmony with this view the relatively small area of existence occupied by living things in space and time is dwelt upon. Toward the close of the lecture our author reverts again to the two contending methods which seek to in-

terpret nature, and with increasing boldness announces the view that the older theological interpretation of nature, which asserts the reality of the supernatural and uses the imagination (as our author thinks), must give place to the modern scientific or rational view, which rests on observation, and which will harmonize contending parties. Yet more than once our author seems virtually to give up his case, so far as his denial of the supernatural is concerned. Thus when he (p. 138) is inclined to regard matter as a mode of energy and not a mass of atoms; and when he (p. 140) admits that the more recent modern views of nature will allow the exceptional to happen under the control of natural law, he virtually admits what carries with it the germ of the supernatural in relation to nature.

"The March of the Generations" is the title of the fourth lecture. In it the progress of organic development, according to our author's idea, is sketched. The first step consists in the organization of individuals capable of gathering up experience and building it into a form which can be transmitted to its successors. The next step consists in effecting this transmission, after which the individual passes away. In the succeeding stage of development we find several generations gathered into groups of like forms which we call species, and which for a time remain stable. In the final stage, some change effected by selection or other influences reconstructs the species, so that new ones are gradually formed. Man stands at the head of the process as the single case which has been a "transcendent success." Yet man's superiority lies chiefly in his psychic development and not in his physical. Vast eras of time are needed for this development to take place, and in view of this the production of man may be regarded as a unique and sudden advance in "the march of the generations." In this lecture it will be seen that continuity rules throughout, and man, though a relatively sudden product, is nevertheless an evolutionary product on both his physical and psychical sides through many thousands of generations.

The fifth lecture deals with what is called "The Bond of the Generations," and in it our author seeks to present an adequate theory of "generational succession" in the organic realm of nature. That theory finds the bond of the generations to be "sympathy." Here the "husbanding habit" of certain animals, and the "caretaking motive" among men are dwelt upon in support of the theory, and many interesting things are set forth. The sixth lecture continues the same subject, and seeks to give "The Natural History of Sympathy." Here a feeble attempt is made to explain some of the facts of morality and religion.

The last lecture treats of "The Immortality of the Soul from the Point of View of Natural Science." In some respects this is one of the best lectures in the entire course. It is here shown by our author that undue weight is often given to the opinions of scientists regarding immortality, and that some of the old arguments against this doctrine are regarded with distrust. Above all, our author concludes that "the course of nature points in favor of a life beyond the body."

In concluding this imperfect notice of a most interesting and suggestive treatise, a few reflections are added by way of summary.

1. The general tone and spirit of the book is good. It is calm, courteous, and kindly. It would be better for both science and religion if such a spirit were shown by both parties, even when opinions differed widely.

2. The general position assumed in the early part of the work of the inadequacy of mere mechanical continuity to explain nature, and the need of a rational factor to afford adequate explanation is one of much importance. It is to be regretted that our author has not given it a larger place in his subsequent discussions.

3. It would have aided the reader to obtain clearer views of the author's opinions, if he had explained what he meant by the terms "nature" and "supernatural." He professes to deal with nature and its interpretation, and yet no explanation of that ambiguous term—nature—is given. We are left to gather it as we read.

4. The naturalistic and evolutionary view of nature is the one taken throughout. Our author rejects the supernatural, and presents the development hypothesis as the philosophy of nature. Whether he is a naturalistic or theistic evolutionist is not easy to gather, but we hope that he is nothing worse than the latter.

FRANCIS R. BEATTIE.

Columbia, S. C.

SHORT HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By JOHN FLETCHER HURST, D.D., LL.D. With maps. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1893. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxv., 672, \$3.

During the period 1884-90 Bishop Hurst published five small works covering the principal epochs of church history. These he has now revised, enlarged, and brought together into one volume. He has not been able to remove the disproportion of size of the various parts, since one third of the whole book is devoted to the Church in America, and considerably more than half of it is occupied with the history of the Church since 1558. One might regret that the whole book was not devoted to the

modern Church, for this is by far the most valuable part of it. The other part bears many evidences of being a compilation (too often not from the best works on the subject), while the latter part is based on independent study, a wide knowledge of the subject, its literature, and its sources, making a valuable contribution to our historical literature. It supplies a great want, and we cannot be too thankful to the author for what he has given us. It contains a vast amount of information admirably arranged. It is written with great fairness. Generally the best thing possible is said about each sect. The author is, perhaps, too much inclined to take the claims and pretensions of each denomination at their face value. Very little criticism is offered on any of them.

He tells in a very interesting way the story of the transplanting of the various types of Christianity to America, and has given a good picture of the religious life of the various colonies. The causes and the extent of intolerance in the colonies are well given. The intimate connection of the Church with education is pointed out.

The growth of all the principal denominations is well but briefly traced. The peculiar work and mission of each are sympathetically described. The great movements which have been larger than all the churches receive their appropriate treatment. At the head of each chapter is an excellent list of references to the sources and the best works on the subject.

This last part of the book cannot be too highly commended. All who are interested in the history of the modern Church, and more especially in that of the Church in America, will find the best single account of it in this book. It is written in a spirited way, and the layman need not fear to attempt it, for there is not a dull page in it.

The first half of the book, however, cannot be so unsparingly praised. It has the same sparkling clearness of style. Many of its chapters are excellent, but others take no account whatever of the best results that have been attained in the last few years.

The author seems to assume, with most church historians, that the early Church was a model in piety and goodness, reaching, if not a perfect, at least a far higher standard than has since been attained. The hyperbolic language of the enthusiastic account in the first chapters of the Acts is, if possible, exaggerated in his picture of the life of the early Christians. But if the Acts and letters of the New Testament are carefully read, it will be seen that the early Christians no more attained perfection in conduct than the Christians of to-day.

It is claimed that after the events of the first Pentecost all Christians believed in the universality of the Gospel and were committed to the widest propagation of it. But if that be true, how account for the fact that Christianity had so hard a struggle to get out from among the Jews into the world? The first Gentile Christian congregation was not established till twelve years after this. The apostles did not lead in the Christianization of the Gentiles. Immediately after Pentecost (or was it *before* Pentecost?) "Orders of ministers and lay members were established for the preaching of the Gospel, the care of the needy, and the building-up of the body of believers." One is simply overcome with astonishment at such language. It could be quite as successfully maintained that the Apostolic Church knew nothing of "deacons," "presbyters," and "bishops" as *orders or officers*. Peter is made to represent the Jewish type of Christianity. But as early as 38, in his meeting with Cornelius, Peter had laid aside his Jewish narrowness. He did not go on with the work among the Gentiles because of the opposition of the Jewish Christians. There is not a bit of evidence that the Council at Jerusalem changed his views in the least. By mutual agreement, it is said, Paul labored in the West, Peter in the East. Let us know the source of this interesting information. The dates assigned to the chief events in Paul's life are made impossible by the investigations of Schuerer. The silence of the New Testament as to the labors of the apostles is said to be one of the marvels of the Scriptures. That is true if the common supposition is correct that the apostles possessed miraculous powers and were men of remarkable importance and great authority. It is no longer a marvel, however, if they were very ordinary men and played no great part in the propagation of Christianity; much that is said about them and the scenes of their labors is based on worthless tradition, and should not be repeated.

The chapter on Greek and Roman conditions is good, though it does not take into account the religious revival in heathenism in the second century, the religious character that philosophy had assumed and the good effects of the same.

The baptismal formula is said from the very first to have been "in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost;" why, then, is every reference to it in the Acts and the epistles coupled with the simple formula "in the name of Jesus"?

A great many things might thus be singled out and criticised. Mohammed is too harshly judged. Peter the Hermit is assigned too large a part in bringing about the first crusade. The crusades are too meagrely treated. A good deal of mate-

rial that properly belongs to the Middle Ages is treated under the Reformation. The Reformation is presented in too bright colors.

These are minor faults in the book which could perhaps not be avoided.

In the first chapter certain principles are laid down and statements made which ought not to be allowed to go unquestioned. It is said that the Divine superintendence and interposition have been very prominent in the history of the Church, and that it is the office of the historian to trace this out and show when the divine force has controlled all human events. Such language is used that one is led to suppose that the history of the Church is largely miraculous. This is the common way of treating church history. According to his creed, each author has held up this or that man as the chosen instrument of God raised up at the critical moment. But what about the critical times at which the right man did not appear? What was God doing then? Protestants can explain the appearance of Luther, Calvin, and others. They see God's hand in it all. But how explain the fact that after God had done so good a thing in raising up these great men, He should raise up or permit to be raised up such men as Loyola and others, who were so largely successful in destroying the work which His chosen ones had done? The man who attempts to explain history by divine superintendence and interposition must presume to know a good deal about the councils of God if he attempts to explain this and all similar facts which are meaningless if his theory of history be correct. It may be a good *devotional* way of considering some events, but as a way of writing history it is utterly unscientific, and cannot be too severely condemned.

Growing out of this is the grave fault of either omitting or presenting in an apologetic way the dark chapters in the history of the Church; as if the fact that they are a part of the history of the Church were an extenuation.

It is said that "the Church has been saved from fatal error"—merely a high-sounding phrase. Was it not a fatal error that the Church of the fourth century made salvation dependent on a metaphysical creed, while the highest moral character and the most upright life counted for nothing if their possessor rejected the creed? Was it not a fatal error that the Church taught that there must be uniformity of creed even though persecution is necessary to bring it about? Was it not a fatal error that the Church made religion to consist in miracle or miracles performed on the mass of Christians by a caste of men supplied with miraculous powers? Was it not fatal to make the monkish life the

highest Christian ideal; to make Christianity simply a magical way of fitting one for the next world instead of the best principles of daily life in this? Some of these errors were not temporary, but have held sway for centuries. If the Church has made no fatal errors, how explain the moral and religious bankruptcy of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—the bitter schisms that are dividing Christians into hostile camps? If an *ad hominem* be allowed, why does the Methodist Church exist if the Church has made no fatal error? The Christian believes that God rules in history. But the scientific historian should not make that the governing principle of his investigations and explanations; the historian who does so is on the same plane scientifically as the geologist who explains the presence of fossils in the rocks by declaring that God created them there. The contempt of secular historians for Church historians is too often justified by the unscientific methods and principles of the latter. Bishop Hurst has given these principles great prominence in his first chapter, but fortunately has generally disregarded them.

OLIVER J. THATCHER.

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THE ANCIENT IRISH CHURCH. By the Rev. JOHN HEALY, LL.D. London: Religious Tract Society, 1892 12mo, pp. 192, \$1.20.

At the present moment of crisis in the affairs of Ireland, anything that bears directly on the history and peculiar conditions of that perplexing island must prove attractive. Curious and thoughtful students of the strange movements of to-day in British politics and religious changes will hail with gladness any work that puts in short and clear form the old struggles which lie behind not a few of the most vexed questions and dark problems in Irish Church and State. We should cordially welcome any contribution to our knowledge that will throw light on the strange mingling of the political, the national, and the religious in that distracted island, so fair to the eye, so saddening to the heart. The story of the old Church of Ireland unites these features. Most truly it is said: "Strange as it may seem, the enmity between Protestants and Roman Catholics, which is still characteristic in some parts of the country, is historically connected with the bitterness of feeling which once existed between the Irish and the Romish Church."

Few departments of church history are so little known as this very Irish section. Yet are there but few more interesting, more instructive, more fascinating, few more closely related to some of the most thrilling chapters of heroic missionary dar-

ing, few furnish grander pictures of noble men and women.

Here is a little work of scarce two hundred pages, published by the Religious Tract Society of London, and written by an Irish clergyman, placed at the historic centre of hoary and hallowed Kells, which happily supplies a want. It is a short, well-written history of the "Ancient Irish Church."

Of course the work can be only a sketch, but the sketch is comprehensive, well-balanced, and excellently finished. The author, a clergyman of the Episcopal Church in Ireland, has wisely used the great works of Todd, O'Curry, Rees, and Stokes, together with older authorities. Some readers might not unnaturally desire to have had at least mentioned the views of those who claim that essential Presbyterianism marked Patrick and his institutions rather than diocesan episcopacy. It will not do to ignore quietly what has been said on these matters by the so-called Dissenters. Non-episcopal students need not fear to have the strongest search-lights thrown on the field of the earliest of Irish churches.

But passing this point, it is right to speak of the real excellencies of a work which may be heartily commended.

The story is told in a rapid series of historical sketches. St. Patrick is the first great figure; he is thrown into clear relief, and around him, strikingly and attractively, his great work is set. Then follows Columba, his sacred isle of Iona, that holy haunt of early Irish scholars. In connection with these two great missionaries the author shows in an interesting way the close resemblance between the Eastern and the Irish churches. We meet next Columbanus, the ascetics and anchorites, St. Bridget and the "holy women" of the early Church. In chapters 9 and 10 we have a clear and instructive account of the unique officers of the Celtic communities, the "Coarb," the "Erenach," the "Anmchhara," or the "soul-friend;" the relations of the Celtic churchmen and Augustine of England. Thus we are brought face to face with one of the most remarkable chapters in church history—the long and instructive struggle between the Irish and all the Celtic churches on the one side, and the Romish Church on the other. Here we reach the roots of the undying hatred felt by the Irish Celt for England and English ways. Everything purely English links itself with the disturbance of "the old Irish ways and worship." The differences between the church of the Celts and the church of the Italian were seven— independent government; the Easter-tide; the tonsure; the ordinal; the marriage of the clergy; the public, rather than auricular, confession; and the native ritual and liturgy. But Henry of England and the

Pope of Rome made friends; the Celts were beaten, and England has been the loathing of the Celtic Irishman ever since. The well-told tale closes with the story of the Romanizing Archbishop of Armagh, the politic but not overpious Malachy the Great. The little book can be truly recommended.

JOHN S. MACINTOSH.

Philadelphia.

JESUS CHRIST; GOD; GOD AND MAN. Conferences delivered at Nôtre Dame, in Paris. By the Rev. Père LACORDAIRE, of the Order of Friar-Precursors. Translated from the French, with the Author's permission, by a Tertiary of the same Order. Seventh Thousand. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1892, 12mo, pp. x., 418.

Fifty years ago two great pulpit orators of the Roman Catholic Church divided the applause of the Parisians—Jean Baptiste Henri Lacordaire and Gustave François Ravignan, his successor in the office of preacher in the cathedral of Nôtre Dame. Both were listened to with rapt attention as they addressed the successive archbishops of the city and the immense audiences whom the fame of their eloquence drew again and again to the sacred edifice. Both were courtly in their address, both spoke so forcibly and so elegantly that it was quite as much the fashion of the cultured classes, irrespective of their faith or their infidelity, to go to hear them as to frequent the theatre or opera when some distinguished actor or singer was announced on the bills. It was said that in closeness of reasoning, in the clear and forcible statement of his thoughts, as well as in the correctness of his taste, Ravignan was as much the superior of Lacordaire as the latter surpassed his rival in the popular esteem in the brilliancy of his impassioned oratory and in the enthusiasm he was able to excite in his hearers. Both have been in their graves for a full generation; Ravignan, who was the older man by some six years, dying in 1858, and Lacordaire in 1861. It is an interesting circumstance that there should be a call for a reprint of some of Lacordaire's discourses at this late date, and we could wish that some of his competitor's most effective addresses were also republished, in order that the means might be afforded of comparing and passing upon their respective merits. As it is, the three series of conferences contained in the present volume may be heartily commended to the perusal of thoughtful readers as well deserving their attention. They will find much to admire and little to offend. The ecclesiastical sentiments of the speaker are not made prominent save in one or two of the conferences; and if the Protestant

reader be likely to gain the impression that the great preacher's arguments are less cogent than showy, he will at least be glad to be permitted to analyze the speeches at his leisure and to try to discover the secret of Lacordaire's great success.

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Dies Irae, the great dirge of *Thomas de Celano*, is the title of a little book by *Melancthon Woolsey Stryker*, the recently inaugurated President of Hamilton College. (New York and Chicago: Revell, 1892, 12mo, pp. 52, 80 cents.) One half of the book is devoted to an introductory account of the hymn and of some of its one hundred and fifty English versions. The Latin text and a literal prose rendering follow side by side. Three new poetical renderings are given: one, "a close version, but in single rhymes;" a second, "another version in single rhyme, somewhat freer;" and last, a translation "preserving the structure of the Latin, in its triplet verses, trochaic measure, and dissyllabic rhymes." These lines have often lent themselves to translations, but in the present case they have hampered the translator, and one is conscious of a halting step. Nevertheless the book is a welcome addition to hymnological collections.

JULY MAGAZINES.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE for July contains: "Villa D'Este, at Tivoli," illustration for "Italian Gardens," frontispiece; "Italian Gardens," Part I., Charles A. Platt; "French Canadians in New England," Henry Loomis Nelson; "The Handsome Humes" (a novel) Part II., William Black; "Side Lights on the German Soldier," Poultney Bigelow; "Silence" (a story), Mary E. Wilkins; "Sleep" (a poem), Alice Brown; "Three English Race Meetings," Richard Harding Davis; "The Milky Way" (a poem), Wallace Bruce; "Algerian Riders," Colonel T. A. Dodge, U.S.A.; "Horace Chase" (a novel), Part VII., Constance Fenimore Woolson; "Chicago's Gentle Side," Julian Ralph; "The Function of Slang," Professor Brander Matthews.

The contents of the **JULY CENTURY** are: "Portrait of Sarah Siddons," frontispiece; "Color in the Court of Honor at the Fair," Royal Cortissoz; "The White Islander," Part II., Mary Hartwell Catherwood; "The Galaxy," Charles J. O'Malley; "The Most Picturesque Place in the World," J. and E. R. Pennell; "Thomas Hardy," Harriet Waters Preston; "The Official Defence of Russian Persecution: A Reply to 'A Voice for Russia,'" Joseph Jacobs; "Leaves from the Autobiography of Salvini," Tommaso Salvini; "In Granada: A Song of Exile," Archibald Gordon; "Balcony Stories: Anne Marie and Jeanne Marie, A Crippled Hope," Grace King; "Sarah Siddons," Edmund Gosse; "Sextains: A Certain Optimist, Beauty," George Edgar Montgomery; "Old Portsmouth Profiles," Thomas Bailey Aldrich; "The Mocking-Bird," Ednah Proctor Clarke; "Bird Songs: Sea-bird and Land-bird," Mary Hallock Foote; "The Intoxicated Ghost," Arlo Bates; "Moonrise from the Cliff," Dora Read Goodale; "The Author of 'Gulliver,'" M. O. W. Oliphant; "Bric-a-Brac: An Artist's Letters from Japan," John La Farge; "Dawn," Frank Dempster Sher-

man; "Mental Medicine: The Treatment of Disease by Suggestion," Allan McLane Hamilton; "Famous Indians: Portraits of Some Indian Chiefs," C. E. S. Wood; "Benefits Forgotten," VIII., Wolcott Balestier; "A Voice for the People of Russia: A Reply to 'A Voice for Russia,'" George Kennan.

SCRIBNER'S for July contains: "At the Wheel," frontispiece; "The Life of the Merchant Sailor," by W. Clark Russell; "Personal Recollections of Two Visits to Gettysburg," by A. H. Nickerson; "Fulfilled," by Anna C. Brackett; "Foreground and Vista at the Fair," by W. Hamilton Gibson; "Loneliness," by John Kendrick Bange; "The Opinions of a Philosopher," by Robert Grant; "Arabian Nights Entertainments," by W. E. Henley; "Leisure," by Agnes Repplier; "Musical Societies of the United States and their Representation at the World's Fair," by George P. Upton; "An Amateur Gamble," by Anna Fuller; "A Night," by M. L. van Voret; "Trout-fishing in the Traun," by Henry van Dyke; "A Pagan's Prayer," by Bliss Carman; "Aspects of Nature in the West Indies—from the Note-book of a Naturalist," by W. K. Brooks; "The Copperhead," by Harold Frederic; "The Prevention of Pauperism," by Oscar Craig; "The Point of View."

LIPPINCOTT'S for July contains: "The Troublesome Lady," Patience Stapleton; "Fanny Kemble at Lenox," C. B. Todd; "On the Way," Julian Hawthorne; "Keats and Fanny B—" Clifford Lanier; "An Old-Fashioned View of Fiction," Maurice Francis Egan; "Chicago Architecture," Bart Ferree; "Released," Mary Isabella Forsyth; "The Reprieve of Capitalist Clyde," (Lippincott's Notable Stories, No. V.), Owen Wister; "Rose Leaves," Flavel Scott Mims; "What the United States Owes to Italy," Giovanni P. Morosini; "The New Poetry," and Mr. W. E. Henley; Gilbert Parker; "A Wild Night on the Amazon," Morgan S. Edmunds; "My Castle," Lloyd Milfin; "Point vs. Truth," Robert Tinsel; "Truth vs. Point," Frederic M. Bird; "Certain Points of Style in Writing," Edgar Fawcett; "Men of the Day," M. Crofton.

CONTENTS of the COSMOPOLITAN for June are: "The City of Brooklyn," Murat Halstead; "The Chase of the Chongo," Charles F. Lummis; "Georgia," Margaret M. Merrill; "The Rise and Decline of the Hawaiian Monarchy," Herbert H. Gowen; "June" (poem), Archibald Lampman; "The Merimac and the Cumberland," T. O. Selfridge, Jr., U.S.N.; "Omega: The Last Days of the World," Camille Flammarion; "Merope Mortalem Napti," E. W. Fluke; "Mohammed Baber," Edward B. Holden; "The Cricket" (poem), Charles G. D. Roberts; "As One" (poem), Elizabeth Stoddard; "The Deserted Homes of New England," Clifton Johnson; "What Society Offers Mary Grew," Clara S. Davidge; "The First Woman of Spain," Sylvester Baxter; "In the Cypress View Neighborhood," Opie Read; "Notes of the Brussels Monetary Conference," E. Benjamin Andrews; "A Traveller from Altruria," W. D. Howells.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for July contains: "His Vanished Star," I., II., Charles Egbert Craddock; "Within the Heart," George Parsons Lathrop; "In the Heart of the Summer," Edith M. Thomas; "Admiral Lord Exmouth," A. T. Mahan; "Passports, Police, and Post Office in Russia," Isabel F. Hapgood; "A General Election: Right and Wrong in Politics," Sir Edward Strachey; "Ghost-Flowers," Mary Thacher Higginson; "The Chase of Saint-Castin," Mary Hartwell Catherwood; "Governor Morton and the Sons of Liberty," William Dudley Foulke; "Petrarch," Gamaliel Bradford, Jr.; "Studies in the Correspondence of Petrarch," I., Harriet Waters Preston and Louise Dodge; "Problems of Presumptive Proof," James W. Clarke; "If Public Libraries, why not Public Museums?" Edward S. Morse; "De Tocqueville's Memoirs," "Comment on New Books," "The Contributors' Club."

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Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index of Periodicals.

- Af. M. E. R.** African M. E. Church Review. (Quarterly.)
A. R. Andover Review. (Bi-monthly.)
B. S. Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quarterly.)
B. W. The Biblical World.
B. Q. R. Baptist Quarterly Review.
Ch. Q. R. Church Quarterly Review.
C. M. Q. Canadian Methodist Quarterly.
C. R. Charities Review.
C. T. Christian Thought.
Ex. Expositor.
Ex. T. Expository Times.
G. W. Good Words.
H. R. Homiletic Review.
K. M. Katholische Missionen.
L. Q. Lutheran Quarterly.
M. R. Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)
M. H. Missionary Herald.
Miss. R. Missionary Review.
N. C. Q. New Christian Quarterly.
N. H. M. Newbury House Magazine.
N. W. The New World.
O. D. Our Day.
P. E. R. Protestant Episcopal Review.
P. M. Preachers' Magazine.
P. Q. Presbyterian Quarterly.
P. R. R. Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
R. Ch. Review of the Churches.
R. Q. R. Reformed Quarterly Review.
R. R. R. Religious Review of Reviews.
S. A. H. Sunday at Home.
S. M. Sunday Magazine.
T. Tr. The Treasury.
Y. R. The Yale Review.
- Africa, An Appeal from, MH.**
Africa, The International Congress on, Frederic Perry Noble, CR.
Agnosticism, The Weakness of, L. Theodore Conrad, CT.
Anarchy, Socialism, and the Labor Movement, Walter B. Hill, CT.
Animals, Some Interesting, II., T. Wood, SM.
Apostolic Churches, The, Robert A. Watson, PM.
Arabian Parallels to Biblical Passages, T. K. Cheyne, ExT.
Asenath, The Life and Confession of, M. Brodrick, NHM.
Avesta, A. V. W. Jackson, BW.
Bampton Lectures of 1892, Donald Matheson, ExT.
Bible Study, The Historical Principle in, G. H. Schodde, TTr.
Bible, The Gradual Growth of, W. A. Labrum, PM.
Bible, The Human Element and the, D. W. C. Huntington, CT.
Bismarck as Philosemite, Arnold White, NHM.
Blade in the Cornfield, The, James M. Dickson, TTr.
Boroma, In und um, KM.
Brinkerhoff, General Boeliff, Joseph P. Byers, CR.
Buddhism and the Heart of Christianity, The Heart of, W. C. Dodd, MissR.
Buzelle, George B., CR.
Caravan, The, A. S., SM.
Charles the Great, Bishop J. F. Hurst, MR.
Coverdale's Testament, Two Editions of, J. R. Dore, NHM.
Christianity, Paul's Conception of, VI., A. B. Bruce, Ex.
Christ's Use of "The Son of Man," Vernon Bartlet, ExT.
Church Life, Social Side of, G. B. F. Halleck, TTr.
Church Patronage, Professor Lindsay, RCh.
Churches, Progress of the, Archdeacon Sinclair, J. Reid Howatt, Dr. Mackennal, Dr. Clifford, P. W. Bunting, RCh.
Church Music During the First Ten Centuries, J. C. Jones, PER.
Church Movement of 1893, A Layman's Recollection of the, G. W., NHM.
Clergymen and Choirs, Hartley Carmichael, PER.
Cleveland's Speech at the Opening of the World's Fair, President, OD.
Congregational Policy, J. H. Crooker, NW.
Conscience, Charles H. Parkhurst, TTr.
Cox, The Late Samuel, RCh.
Cyrus and the Capture of Babylon, Owen C. Whitehouse, ExT.
Demoniac, The Restored, The Bishop of Ripon, GW.
Demonstration, A Memorial, G. H. F. Nye, RRR.
Ecclesiastes, The Book of, George S. Goodspeed, BW.
Emblems, Incidents and, Alexander Cumming, ExT.
Ron Mission, The, A. Benson, NHM.
Evolution, Lloyd Morgan, NW.
Ezra ii. and iv. 8-23, The Chronology of, The Bishop of Bath and Wells, Ex.
Family, The Conservation of the, J. E. Rankin, CT.
"Felix Qui Causam Coquunt," Josephine Shaw Lowell, CR.
Fourth Commandment Binding on Christians? Is the, Joseph Cook, OD.
French Protestantism, The Social Movement in, Elisee Bost, NW.
Galatians v. 8, Clement Bird, Ex.
Garden Lore, H. Ormonde, NHM.
Gazaland, The Occupation of, MH.
Genesis xlvii. 31, John Rutherford, ExT.
Gospels and Modern Criticism, The, J. J. Halcombe, ExT.
Gospel, The Aramaic, Willoughby C. Allen, Ex.
Gospel, The First Written, Lester Bradner, Jr., BW.
Godet, Frederick, A. Grettliat, ExT.
Greek Anthology and the Teachings of Holy Scripture, The, William Cowan, GW.
Guest or Imitate? Samuel Cox, SM.
Hats and Caps, Geoffrey Winterwood, GW.
Hamlet from the Standpoint of Theology, A. H. Ames, MR.
Hebrews vi 4-6, William Milligan, Ex.
Henry Martyn, Four Unpublished Letters by, Sandys Watson, NHM.
Hesba Stretton at Home, Miss, SM.
High Dunsinane, J. H. Crawford, GW.
Higher Criticism, The, J. Westby Earnshaw, HR.
Higher Education, Failure of the State in, T. E. Fleming, CT.
Hindoo Reformers, Two, James Mudge, MissR.
Home Missions in the United States and Canada, A. Sutherland, MissR.
Indian Missions in Canada, A. G. McKiltrick, MissR.
Innsbruck Home, An, Margaret Howitt, SM.
Islands, Evangelization of the, Eugene Dunlap, MissR.
Islands of the Sea, The, Samuel McFarlane, MissR.
Jacob's Vision at Bethel, A. Henderson, TTr.
Japanese Religions Press, The, James J. Seder, MissR.
John Elliot, Arthur T. Pierson, MissR.
John, Exposition of the First Epistle of St., Richard Rothe, ExT.
Joy, Rest and Faith, Henry Drummond, PM.
Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, John Wortabert, GW.
Law of Giving and Loeing, The, James Demarest, TTr.
Lincoln, Minister, E. Venables, NHM.
Melchizedek, The Order of, J. N. Fradenburgh, MR.
Messiah and His Kingdom, The Teaching of Jesus and the Teachings of the Jews at the Time of Christ Respecting the, Hugh M. Scott, BW.
Missions, The Motive, Spirit and Method of Foreign, F. L. Hawks Pott, PER

Missions in India, The Present Aspect of, James Kennedy, MissR.
 Missions, Letters from the, MH.
 Missionen, Nachrichten, aus den, KM.
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 Moses, His Life and its Lessons, Mark Guy Pearse, PM.
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 New Testament Greek, How to Begin the Study of, R. Martin Pope, PM.
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 People's Banks, The Movement to Establish, Wilton Tournier, CR.
 Personality and Poverty, George Hodge, PER.
 Personality, The Heart of, J. H. Edwards, CT.
 Peter, The True Gospel According to, Dustan Kemble, MR.
 Preacher's Companion, A Fourteenth Century, William Elliot Griffin, HR.
 Prophecy, Jewish and Christian Interpretation of, Archdeacon Farrar, RCh.
 Prophecy of Columbus, The, W. A. Croftat, OD.
 Psalter, The Development of the, John P. Peters, NW.
 Public Speaking, Observations on Certain Methods of, Joseph Packard, Jr., PER.
 Pugilism, Newspaper Apologies for, Wayland Hoyt, OD.
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 "Stand Fast in the Faith," Montagu Butler, SM.
 Student Volunteers, A Letter to, William Jessop, MissR.
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 Truths of Scripture Verified in Christian Experience, J. M. Campbell, HR.
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THE CHARITIES REVIEW.

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The Bureau of Charities and Correction at the World's Columbian Exhibition.
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 The Movement to Establish People's Banks.
 General Roeliff Brinkerhoff.
 George B. Buzelle.
 The International Congress on Africa.

CHRISTIAN THOUGHT.

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Anarchy, Socialism and the Labor Movement.
 The Conservation of the Family.
 The Heart of Personality.
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 The Weakness of Agnosticism.
 The Human Element and the Bible.

THE EXPOSITOR.

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Prof. Ramsay's "Church in the Roman Empire."
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 The Gospels and Modern Criticism.
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London, June, 1893.

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CHRONICLE.

(Closes on the 30th of each month.)

May 22. Jubilee of the Swedish Church in the United States, celebrating the issuance of the Decree of Upsala, at Minneapolis.

One hundred and fifth anniversary of the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia.

May 22-30. The National Baptist anniversaries, at Denver, Col.

May 24. Anglican Church Congress for Northern and Central Europe, at Geneva.

Twenty-fourth Convention of the General Council of the Lutheran Church, at Fort Wayne, Ind.

Thirty-sixth Convention of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of America, in Canton, O.

Thirty-fifth General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, at Monmouth, Ill.

May 25. Quinquennial session of the Provincial Synod of the Northern District of the American Province of the Moravian Church, at Bethlehem, Pa.

Triennial session of the General Synod of the Reformed Church of the United States, at Reading, Pa.

May 28. Annual session of the Society of Friends of New York State, in New York City.

May 29. Annual meeting of the American Society of Comparative Religion, in New York.

May 30. Sixty-seventh anniversary of the American Home Missionary Society, at Saratoga, N. Y. This society will henceforth be known as the Congregational Home Missionary Society.

May 31-June 6. Annual meeting of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod, Old School, at Newcastie, Pa.

June 1-2. Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, at New Haven, Conn.

June 5-7. World's Temperance Congress, in Chicago, Ill.

June 6-21. Missionary Congress appointed by the Presbyterian Synod of New York, at Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

June 7. Eighty-seventh annual meeting of the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America, at Asbury Park, N. J.

June 8-11. Twentieth National Conference of Charities and Corrections, at Chicago.

June 8-16. Canada Presbyterian General Assembly, at Bradford, Ont.

June 9. Third Annual Meeting of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the Northwest, in Milwaukee.

June 10. At the Papal Consistory, Archbishop Lecot of Bordeaux, the Bishop of Roden, Department of Aveyron, France, the Bishop of Grosswardein, otherwise Nagy Varad, in Hungary, and Mgr. Grunniello, Secretary of the Sacred Congregation of the State of the Regular Clergy, were promoted to the rank of Cardinal.

June 14. Consecration of Rev. Dr. Frederick Rogers Graves, Bishop of Shanghai, and of Rev. John McKim, D.D., Bishop of Yeddo.

June 14-18. Annual meeting of the International Order of King's Daughters and Sons, in Chicago, Ill.

June 14-21. The Tenth Annual Meeting of the International Missionary Union, at Clifton Springs, N. Y.

The General Conference of the United Brethren in Christ has re-elected Rev. Messrs. N. Castle, E. B. Kephart and J. W. Hott to the episcopacy for the next quadrennium, and they enter respectively upon their fifth, fourth and second terms. Prof. G. A. Funkhouser was also elected bishop, but declined to serve, and Prof. J. S. Mills was elected in his place. Rev. J. Weaver, who has been a bishop continuously for thirty-six years, was made Bishop Emeritus. Rev. W. J. Shuey was elected publishing agent, and J. L. Kephart, editor of the *Religious Telescope*, with M. R. Drury, as associate.

The Archbishop of Canterbury has appointed the Rev. Arthur Hamilton Baynes Bishop of Natal, the diocese once presided over by Bishop Colenso, and Dr. Enos Nuttall, Bishop of Jamaica, has been elected Primate of the West India Province to succeed the late Dr. W. Piercy Austin.

The Bishop of Wellington and Primate of New Zealand, Dr. Hadfield, has resigned his bishopric.

Dubuque has been established as a Roman Catholic Archdiocese, with Archbishop Hennessy as incumbent.

Professors S. M. Hopkins, D.D., and E. A. Huntington, D.D., of Auburn Theological Seminary, have resigned, and have become professors emeritus.

The Rev. Theodore C. Pease has been called to the Bartlett professorship in Andover Theological Seminary, to succeed Prof. Tucker.

The Rev. T. P. Bell has been elected Corresponding Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, *vice* Dr. Tupper, resigned.

OBITUARY.

Anderson, Rev. W. H. (Methodist Episcopal), D.D., at Carlisle, Ky., May 27, aged 75. He was graduated from Wesleyan University, 1837; became professor in what is now the University of Kentucky, 1843; editor of the *Quarterly Review* of the

M. E. Church, South, 1850; president of St. Charles College, Mo., 1854, and of Central College, Miss., 1861. In 1863 he engaged in pastoral work, and during the last years of the war served as chaplain in the Confederate Army. During the later years of his life he engaged in the pastorate and in literary work for the papers of his denomination.

Hefele, Rt. Rev. Carl Joseph von (Roman Catholic), Ph.D. (Bonn, 1868), D.D. (Tübingen, 1898), in Rottenburg, June 4, aged 84. He studied at Tübingen, 1877-82, and at Rottenburg, 1882-83; was ordained priest, 1883; became professor extraordinary at Tübingen, 1887, and professor ordinary of church history at the same place, 1840; was ennobled in 1883; was a member of the council in 1888-89 to prepare for the Vatican Council, which he attended, and in which he opposed the dogma of Infallibility; was enthroned bishop of Rottenburg, 1899; promulgated the dogma in his diocese, 1872. His literary activity has been very great, and his productions nearly all of the first order. He has written, in German, 'History of the Introduction of Christianity into Southwest Germany,' 'The Letter of the Apostle Barnabas,' 'Cardinal Ximenes and the Church-Relations of Spain at the End of the 15th and Beginning of the 16th Centuries,' 'Contributions to Church History,' 2 vols., 'The Honorius Question,' 'Honorius and the Sixth Council,' and has edited 'Patrum Apostolicorum Opera.' His greatest work, and one of the greatest of modern times, is his 'History of the Councils of the Church,' which has been translated into English.

Ross, Rev. A. H. (Congregationalist), D.D., in Port Huron, Mich., May 13, aged 62. He was graduated from Oberlin College, 1837, and Oberlin Theological Seminary, 1860; became pastor of the Congregational Church, Boylston, Mass., 1861; removed to Springfield, Ohio, to pastorate there, 1866; and to Columbus, Ohio, 1873; he took charge of the church at Port Huron, 1876, and has remained there ever since. He was considered an authority on questions of church polity, and has published 'Church Kingdom: Lectures on Congregationalism, Southworth Foundation, Andover Theological Seminary, 1882-86,' besides having delivered several courses of lectures at the Oberlin Theological Seminary.

CALENDAR.

June 22-July 7. The Kentucky Chautauque, at Woodland Park, Ky.

June 29-July 2. International Epworth League Conference, at Cleveland, O.

July 1-9. World's Student Congress, at Northfield.

July 5-9. Twelfth International Christian Endeavor Convention, at Montreal, Canada.

July 6-12. Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Summer School of the American Institute of Christian Philosophy, at Prohibition Park, Staten Island.

July 13-16. Third International Convention of the Baptist Young People's Union of America, at Indianapolis, Ind.

July 15-August 6. Roman Catholic Summer School, at Plattsburgh, N. Y.

July 24-30. Baptist Grove Meeting at the Weir, Lake Winnepiscogee, N. H.

Aug. 1-13. World's Conference of Christian Workers, at Northfield, Mass.

Aug. 11-20. Sixth Annual Interdenominational Seaside Bible Conference, at Asbury Park, N. J.

Aug. 31-Sept. 2. Second World's Sunday-School Convention, at St. Louis, Mo.

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No. 2.

THE SURVEY OF THOUGHT.

MR. HALCOMBE'S THEORY OF THE SUCCESSION OF THE GOSPELS.—In the year '89 Mr. Haleombe published a book entitled *The Historic Relation of the Gospels*, in which he maintained the somewhat unique position that the Gospel according to St. John was in date of composition, not the fourth, but the first. This work did not secure the attention it deserved, partly, it seems to us, on account of the confused arrangement of the constituent parts. Last year, however, the question was slightly taken up in the *Expository Times*, and this year, since March, month after month has it been assailed and defended. For our own part, we have every sympathy with his view, could it be proved. Could it be shown indisputably that the Gospel which is ascribed to John was written before the Synoptical Gospels, then a whole incubus of criticism would be thrown off at once. We, however, are compelled to confess that, with all the will in the world, we are not yet convinced. It may be our own want of intellect or insight: it is certainly our misfortune, not our fault. We may arrange the proofs he brings forward in support of his theory into two main classes—External and Internal Evidence. The External Evidences are of two classes: first, the order in which the Gospels are placed in different manuscripts of the New Testament and in different lists of the New Testament books; next, the statements of the Muratori fragment, and of Tertullian against Marcion. As to the first of these classes into which we have divided the External Evidence for his view, it seems to us of little value unless it could be shown that chronology was the reason of the order in question, a thing that Mr. Halcombe does not even attempt to show. Moreover, even on his own showing of six lists or manuscripts, not one gives the order he prefers—only two place John first. Not an uncommon order of reference is one which places the two Apostles together before the two *apostolici*, or followers of the Apostles, Mark and Luke—that is to say, the order is logical, not chronological. In the cases where John is put before Matthew, the succession need not be that the date of John's Gospel was earlier than the date of that of Matthew, but because John, as the beloved disciple, had a greater dignity, and, as a matter of history, was much more prominent as an Apostle than was Matthew. Mr. Halcombe's argument, it seems to us, becomes peculiarly weak in regard to Papias. In the confused sentence quoted from him by Eusebius, he says (Bk. III., c. 38): "What was said by Andrew, or by Peter, or by Philip, or by Thomas or James, or by John or Matthew, or any of the Lord's disciples, and what Aristeeas and the elder John, disciples

of the Lord, say." We think no one but Mr. Halcombe would see any evidence here that the Gospel of John preceded that of Matthew. Were the fact that John is mentioned before Matthew any evidence that in the Gospel "instrument," as Papias had it, the Gospel of John preceded that of Matthew, then it might be argued that the apocryphal Gospels that go by the name of Andrew, Peter, Philip, Thomas, and James were contained in Papias' "instrument" and preceded those of John and Matthew. We confess to being surprised to find Mr. Halcombe alleging that the Muratori fragment was in favour of his view. The line runs distinctly, "[*Auctor*] *quartii evangeliorum Johannis (es)*. This distinct statement he puts aside by the assumption that "The arrangement of the clauses may have been altered by the translator to bring the order of the Gospels into conformity with the custom of the Church by which the Canon was adopted." If the late Bishop Lightfoot's hypothesis was correct, that the Muratori fragment was translated from the Greek original, which was in iambics, it is difficult to imagine *πρῶτος* occupying the place occupied by *τέταρτος*. Even grant that the translator did not feel himself bound to change his original before he reversed his original's order, still the deductions Mr. Halcombe makes from the text are, it seems to us, unwarranted. The translation of the passage is: "The author of the fourth Gospel is John, from the disciples. He said to his fellow-disciples and the bishops (overseers) urging him, 'Fast with me three days from to-day (*hodie triduum*), and let us relate to each other what is revealed to any one.' The same night it was revealed to Andrew of the Apostles that, all reviewing, John should write all things in his own name." There seems to us (we are sorry to say it) no evidence from this that John's Gospel was written before any other Gospel. There is nothing to show what he was being urged to do. For aught that appears to the contrary, he might have been urged to supplement the omissions of the Synoptic Gospels. Indeed, a fair case might be made out for asserting that the writer of the fourth Gospel was not an "Apostle," but only a "disciple." The whole story, however, is so evidently mythic that no one can really put any stress on it. We are sorry to be obliged to dismiss as equally valueless the evidence Mr. Halcombe alleges from Tertullian. We should be very far from following one of his opponents, Mr. Wright, in undervaluing Tertullian personally as evidence. What we assert is that Tertullian's evidence does not prove Mr. Halcombe's contention. Mr. Halcombe lays great stress on one sentence in Tertullian, "*Denique nobis fidem ex apostolis Johannes et Matthaeus insinuant ex apostolicis Lucas et Marcus instaurant*"—"Then of the Apostles, John and Matthew instil the faith into us, and of the followers of the Apostles Luke and Mark renew it (or, to use Mr. Halcombe's translation, 'confirm it')." But this does not support Mr. Halcombe's position even when fortified by *post apostolos* from the preceding sentence. In point of evidence the *apostolici*, of course, came "after," and consequently were inferiors to the Apostles; but because Tertullian maintains this, it does not follow that he maintains

that the Gospels written by the *apostolici*, Luke and Mark, were composed later than those of John and Matthew. Another sentence occurs a little lower which we would render more briefly than Mr. Halcombe. "But how is it, if the Apostles themselves published nothing in order that the disciples should publish, since these could not even have been disciples without the teaching of their masters?" This seems to imply that Tertullian does not contend for priority in the publication of written Gospels by the Apostles John and Matthew, but that being Apostles, their Gospel unwritten must have a priority in point of time over those who had received their Gospel from others who were in Christ before them. While we do not deny that plausible argument could be alleged for maintaining that Tertullian meant to assert that Luke and Mark wrote after the two Apostle evangelists, there is nothing in the passage that compels us to assume that to be his view. If none of the authorities he claims to be on his side are absolutely convincing, Irenæus, who is against him, is clear and distinct. He tells us in the passage quoted by Eusebius (Bk. V. 8), first of the composition of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke; then adds, "Afterwards John, the disciple of our Lord, the same that lay upon His bosom, also published the Gospel while he was yet at Ephesus in Asia." The testimony of Irenæus is peculiarly valuable, linked to the Apostle John as he was by his master Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna. Polycarp would certainly know when his master published his Gospel. Mr. Halcombe endeavours to invalidate this by maintaining that, had this been the ordinary opinion, Irenæus would not have been under the necessity of stating it any more than one nowadays would feel himself called upon to assert that the Duke of Wellington was the victor at Waterloo. The circumstances are not at all parallel. Were the Duke's share in the victory made a subject of controversy, then the assertion of one who had had an opportunity of conversing with Waterloo veterans might be of considerable value. He further attempts to invalidate the testimony of Irenæus by asserting that he declared our Lord to have lived to old age on the authority of tradition. Unfortunately we have only the Latin of the passage in which Irenæus makes the assertion referred to. What he says may be roughly paraphrased, "Up to thirty years is the age of the first and youthful disposition (*indolis*); it extends even to forty; every one will confess that from forty or fifty one begins to decline toward seniority (*seniorem ætatem*), which our Lord had while He was teaching." That is to say that, our Lord was between forty and fifty. We must remember that there is nothing in the Gospel history that demonstrates Irenæus to be mistaken here. It has been thought that Irenæus here is making a deduction from two statements in John viii., and not really from verbal tradition. At all events, he means to maintain no more than that our Lord as He had had the "disposition" of youth, so He had also "the disposition" of age by having passed forty, the boundary, in Irenæus' opinion, between youth and age. It is really difficult to see the probative force of Mr. Halcombe's internal evidence. All that he seems to us to prove is that John and the Synoptists are mutually sup-

plementary. While on his assumption that John was first written, it is easy to prove Matthew to be a supplement; another might start with Matthew, and prove John to be the supplement. For our own part, we feel strongly that closer investigation will prove the Gospel of John to be selected portions of a much larger whole; in proof of this we might indicate John iv. 54, "This is again the second sign which Jesus did, having come out of Judæa into Galilee." There must have been another sign wrought between our Lord's departure from Judæa and the healing of the Capernaum nobleman's son. To discuss this would involve too much time.

MODERN EXPLANATIONS OF RELIGION.—In a very interesting article in *The New World*, Professor Schultz attempts to give an answer to the question, What is Religion? He remarks that it is strange that this question is such a new one—hardly a hundred years old—especially when we take into account the fact that mankind from its earliest stage of culture has considered religion to be the most important of all matters, and that in connection with it the deepest feelings of the human heart have been excited. He points out a striking difference between the pagan and the Christian idea of religion. "The religions of antiquity had little or nothing to do with the inner life of the private individual. They did not oblige him in his own thought to assume a certain position with respect to a strictly developed doctrine. To be religious was to pay to the gods, on whose favour or anger the fate of the nation depended, the reverence which they claimed. The method of expressing this reverence rested upon immemorial traditional customs, the Divine origin of which no one doubted—upon written or unwritten sacred laws. The doctrine of the gods was fluid: it would form and reform itself in the mind of poets and philosophers. The piety of the multitude was little inquisitive about it. The *cultus* was fixed and unalterable. It was not the concern of the individual. Independent of his inner life and feeling it was the affair of the community, and therefore a highly important part of civic duty." After discussing the opinions of modern theologians concerning the nature of religion, Professor Schultz announces the decision he himself comes to. "Religion is the free devotion to God which arises through the conviction of the inability of the world to satisfy our spiritual, especially our moral, personality. Its peculiar sphere of life is the feeling of this beatifying and liberating bond. Wherever man actually feels the breath of God, there is religion, under all error and under all moral weakness. Where the feeling of unity with God ceases, there only the shadow of religion remains, a dead faith, a worthless form. But when it is actual feeling, not an imagination of feeling, there must be in it immediately a firm and certain judgment of values; that is, *faith*. It does not need to excite in every man an impulse to theoretical knowledge of Divine things. It may have living power without any trait of philosophy. But *faith* it must bring forth—that is, a firm conviction of the significance of the Divine life for our life in the world. This conviction is not 'certain' in the sense of scientific

certainty; but it is more certain to the pious man than all knowledge, because it directly rises out of the religious feeling itself. The faith of the Christian is the trusting conviction of the revelation of God in the person of Christ. Faith can say nothing concerning God in Himself; only science (metaphysic) can attempt this. It knows God only as He reveals Himself to man; as He makes the world a world of salvations. The revelation of God with which faith has to do cannot consist of imparted knowledge, but of acts through which God effects religion in the soul of the individual or among the peoples; that is, He makes Himself known as the Lord of the world, and the giver of salvation. Only such a conviction, born out of religious feeling, is faith. If religion is an actual feeling, it must bring with it devotion to the will of God. A religion without an impulse to serve God, to testify personal devotion to Him, and to seek communion with Him, there has never been and never can be." It is to be feared, however, that the pagan idea of religion is not yet extinct among us. Something suspiciously like it is discernible in the cases of those who pride themselves upon the vagueness and fluidity of their doctrine, the fixity and unalterableness of their cultus, and their aversion to all statements on the part of others of personal religious experience.

BINDING AND LOOSING.—There are probably many Protestants who never hear or read the words addressed by our Lord to St. Peter without a slight involuntary suspicion that after all there may be something in the Roman Catholic doctrine, that definite powers of absolving and condemning were committed to an official in a visible Church. Fortunately, the Gospels provide us with abundant materials for forming a definite judgment on this very important question. Professor Findlay, in the first of two lectures, republished in a little volume entitled *The Church of Christ* (C. H. Kelly, London), deals with the question in a very lucid manner. He points out that the words concerning binding and loosing were not addressed to the Apostle Peter in any merely personal or official sense, as is clear from their repetition in the plural in Matt. xviii. 18, where they are applied to the relations of ordinary Christian brethren: "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." And with these he compares the words spoken, not to the Apostles as such, but to the gathered disciples of the risen Lord, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them: and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained" (John 11-23). In explanation of these passages he remarks, "the Church of Christ exerts continually a condemning and absolving influence in each and all of its members, so far as they possess the Spirit of their Head and are in fellowship with Him. Those who share St. Peter's faith share his power. Each confessor of the Son of God is empowered to open to the penitent, so far as human hands may, that gate of faith through which he himself has passed. Each Christian believer, according to the grace and wisdom given

him, in his appointed place; may teach the young and ignorant the law of the Divine kingdom, with its bonds and blessings; and he does it with as good right, with a power as directly conferred by the Spirit of the risen Christ, as any Pope of Rome. These great sayings of the Lord were meant to be the basis, not of the magical powers of a priesthood, but of the moral influence of the fellowship of Christ everywhere. They are fulfilled in every verdict of a sound Christian public opinion, in every word of loving reproof or compassion spoken to an erring Christian brother. By the judgments you pass, by the opinions you express, you are binding or loosing every day; and if those judgments spring from a true faith, and are guided by the Spirit of Christ, they are sealed in heaven and stand good for ever."

THE UNFINISHED TEACHING OF CHRIST.—In a very interesting paper in *The Expository Times* the Rev. F. Relton follows out the line of thought suggested by the striking passage in St. John's Gospel, in which Christ says to His Apostles, "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now" (xvi. 12). His contention is that, while in the teaching of Christ as reported in the Gospels we have a unique and priceless heritage, which cannot be added to, the living voice of the living, ascended, and indwelling Christ still speaks to us in history, in science, in poetry, in the Church, and in the silence of our own conscience. "There were many things that the Christ wished to say to His Apostles, and things concerning the Church, her doctrine, her sacraments; concerning the world and its woes; concerning the future life and destiny of mankind. But He did not say them. Have they, therefore, been left entirely unsaid? Has the silence never been again broken?" Some have ventured to answer these queries in a very bold and complete manner. They have interpreted the general statement of Acts i. 3 as sanctioning the opinion that in the forty days between His resurrection and His ascension our Lord said the things He had forborne to say before His passion, and gave minute and accurate details of Christian doctrine, of the organization of the Christian Church, and of the full and complete programme of Christian civilization. The futility of this supposition is easily shown. The Apostles were then but very little better able to bear all that the Christ had to tell them than they were during the days of the passion-week. As Mr. Relton points out, it was only gradually and slowly that the Christian Church freed itself from Jewish environments. To have said to the Apostles, "You must cease to be Jews; you must become universal, as I am universal," would have thoroughly disheartened and disconcerted them. They would not have borne such teaching at first, but at last the lesson was learned, and this by means of the continued utterance of the voice of the living Christ. In like manner the abolition of slavery was undoubtedly part of the Christian programme. Yet in the historic teaching of Christ there is no allusion to it. "But Christ gave the principle of human brotherhood, and slavery was doomed from the moment that Roman citizen, freedman, and slave knelt together at the altar and confessed

a common allegiance to Christ and a common love to man. The recognition of all that this involved was a matter of many centuries. But it stands among the many things Christ had to tell the Church as she was able to bear it." So, again, with regard to Christian doctrine. The Sermon on the Mount does not contain the whole of Christ's teaching even in outline. Development of Christian theology and doctrine could not set in until the earthly work of Christ was ended. As a mere matter of fact, the last book of our New Testament—the Gospel of St. John—contains the profoundest theology. "The Lord had, indeed, much to tell the Apostles concerning Christian doctrine, but they could not then bear it or understand it. It was to be gradually taught to them (and to us) as their life and work demanded it, and as their capacity for understanding God's purposes grew and became stronger with exercise and knowledge and increased power." In the concluding part of his paper Mr. Relton has much to say that is well worth reading with regard to the important question as to how we are to recognize the living voice of the living Christ.

EXISTING THEOLOGICAL TENDENCIES.—In a very interesting lecture delivered in Edinburgh, Professor Orr discussed the theological situation. He pointed out that it is a most remarkable feature of the times that with what looked like a revolution against theology, there never had been such a searching and deep-seated interest in theological questions. There was bound to be great development and change in the forms by which the truth of the Gospel was expressed—what was called progress in theology, which many, unwisely he thought, looked upon with suspicion and distrust. The forms of one age had to be broken up in order that new ones might be created more in keeping with the thought and tendencies of the time. If that were more clearly perceived and freely acknowledged, the present strain in the theological position would be considerably relieved. Proceeding to speak of the main currents which give a direction and character to the theology of our own time, Professor Orr said he would specially indicate four. The first was the current flowing through theology from Old Testament criticism. This had occasioned much disquiet, but the lecturer showed that the result of the Old Testament critical movement was to lay the foundations of a broader apologetic by bringing out the essential difference between the religion of Israel and all other religions. The question now is not, Is the Bible a miraculously preserved book, but, Was Israel a miraculously preserved race? The second current was that flowing in from science in the general acceptance of the idea of evolution. Evolution, he said, was an idea which had laid hold upon the age with a fascination which was in danger of becoming a superstition. The place where it specially struck into theology was in connection with the doctrine of sin. Jesus was apt to appear simply as the apex of the evolutionary movement, and redemption as only aid rendered to the race in its upward march of progress by a great and good personality. But science was already beginning to

distinguish between evolution and Darwinism, and to recognize that evolution admitted of new starting-points, and did not invariably proceed by insensible modifications. What was true and proved in evolution was not incompatible with anything in Christianity. A third main influence in theology was certain powerful currents reaching us from Germany, and associated with the name of Ritschl. The watchwords of this influential school, so far as it affected theology in our country, were theology without metaphysics, a return to the historic Christ, and the idea of the kingdom of God. A fourth main influence was the social spirit of the age. Few are better qualified than Professor Orr to deal with the subject in question, and to treat in a lucid and suggestive manner the diverse influences which are moulding and forming the theological thought of our time.

BIBLICAL THOUGHT.

THE DIASPORA IN EGYPT.

By REV. P. HAY-HUNTER.

IN the year 527 Cambyes made Egypt a Persian province, and so it remained, with short interludes of independence, until it passed under the sceptre of Alexander the Great. This meant for Palestine nearly two hundred years of peaceful obscurity, during which the development of Judaism went on undisturbed from without. The death of Alexander (323) let loose the forces of discord and confusion anew. The ancient rivalry between Egypt and Asshur was revived, on a less gigantic scale, but with consequences scarcely less disastrous to Jewish tranquillity. One Greek dynasty established itself on the Nile, another on the Euphrates. Equally to the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, the possession of the strip of Palestinian coast, and of the highlands commanding it, was a vital necessity; without that, neither had a frontier for defence or a vantage-ground for attack. Hence a war, or rather series of wars, between the Greek lords of Egypt and of Syria, into which the Jews were dragged in spite of themselves. Once more their land was fated to become the highway of invading armies, the battleground of contending kings.

In the beginning of the struggle the advantage lay with the Ptolemies. The founder of the Lagid dynasty, Ptolemy Soter, seized Jerusalem by a *coup de main* (c. 320), and vigorously asserted his supremacy over southern Syria. The second Ptolemy, Philadelphus (286-246), pushed his conquests in this region still further, up to the gates of Damascus; and the third, Euergetes (246-222), kept his Asiatic possessions undiminished. During these three reigns, which covered a hundred years, Judæa—with brief intervals of Syrian domination—remained a fief of the Egyptian crown.

The outstanding feature of Jewish history during this century is the

phenomenal growth of the Diaspora in Egypt. No doubt there had always been less or more of a Jewish population in that country; one finds traces of a tendency to return to the land from which they had originally come. At the time of the Chaldean conquest a multitude of refugees had fled thither, taking the prophet Jeremiah with them. In all probability, a considerable number of Jews had passed into Egypt in the track of the Persian armies. Josephus states that Jewish soldiers, who had followed Alexander the Great in his campaigns, were settled in the newly-founded Alexandria with full rights of citizenship. But it was during the reigns of the first Ptolemies that the stream of emigration from Judæa set in on a great scale. When Ptolemy Soter took Jerusalem, he carried home with him, as prisoners of war, a large number of Jewish families—according to Aristæus (*apud* Josephus), not less than 100,000 souls; of whom 30,000 chosen men were drafted into the army, while the rest were distributed as serfs among the Greek lords of the soil. Later in the same reign there took place a voluntary emigration; according to Hecataeus (as quoted by Josephus), “not a few myriads removed into Egypt,” under the leadership, apparently, of one Hezekiah, a member of the high-priestly house. The second Ptolemy, Philadelphus, is said to have emancipated the Jewish serfs, in number about 120,000, at a cost, borne by the royal treasury, of 460 talents.

Unfortunately, these statements rest on no other authority than that of Josephus, and Josephus is not to be trusted, even when he professes to quote from Greek historians; for we have no guarantee either that he quotes correctly, or that the Greek writers whom he calls as independent witnesses to the past grandeur of his nation were not themselves Alexandrian Jews masquerading under well-known names. Still, when every allowance is made for exaggeration and embellishment, the sketch he gives of the relations between his people and the Greek sovereigns of Egypt may be accepted as fairly accurate. One can easily appreciate the motives of policy which led the Ptolemies to encourage the settlement of a large Hebrew population in their dominions. It has been suggested that they may have hoped to bring about by this means a *rapprochement* between the native Egyptians and the dominant Greeks, the Jews having something in common with both races—with the Egyptians, for example, their practice of circumcision and distinction between clean and unclean animals; with the Greeks, their belief in the Divine unity and spirituality. (So Holtzmann in his *Ende des jüdischen Staatswesens*.) But probably the Ptolemies understood the materials they had to work with too well to expect any such result from the importation of this third nationality into Egypt; indeed, they can scarcely have desired it. The Jews were valuable to them as subjects, precisely because they held aloof from other peoples, entrenched behind the barrier of their Law. They might be depended upon as a make-weight against the forces of disaffection. They helped to populate Alexandria. They furnished Ptolemy with garrisons for his fortresses, with soldiers for his armies, with colonists for Cyrene and other places in Libya, where they

were useful in guarding the frontier of the realm. Besides this, the existence of a great Jewish community at the seat of government gave the king a certain hold over Judæa. By the favour he showed to the Egyptian Jews he might hope to conciliate the good-will of the Palestinians, and in the event of the latter wavering in their allegiance it was to his advantage that he held so many of their countrymen as hostages under his hand.

This Egypt of the Ptolemies, which the magical touch of the Hellenic genius had stimulated into new life, intellectual and commercial, held out many attractions to Jewish emigrants. Already the limits of their own land had grown too narrow, probably for the natural increase of the population, certainly for the energies of the race. "Hiving off" had become almost a necessity. Theirs was comparatively a poor country. They were "invited to Egypt," says Josephus, "by the excellence of the soil." They were invited also by the traffic of the great seaport, which had more than realized its founder's dream, and was fast taking its place as the mart of the world. At home the conditions of life were manifestly insecure. Placed, as they were, between the rival ambitions of powerful monarchs, without any desire to take sides, but too weak to maintain neutrality, the people of Judæa could scarcely view the political outlook without apprehension. It was natural that many of them should say, as their forefathers had said in Jeremiah's time, "We will go into the land of Egypt, where we shall see no war, nor hear the sound of the trumpet, nor have hunger of bread; and there will we dwell" (Jer. xlii. 14). In these days there was no prophet to rebuke such words and forbid the sacrilege of emigration. The prospect of material welfare proved too strong for the sentiment, at once pious and patriotic, which bound the Jew to the land of his fathers—the "holy land." The development of Judaism as a system of religious thought and life had this among its consequences—that it favoured the growth of a wider Israel than the borders of Judæa could contain. Expatriation no longer meant complete forfeiture of religious privileges. The Jewish emigrant left the Temple behind, but wherever he went he carried with him the Torah and the ritual of the synagogue. And in Egypt, under the tolerant rule of its Greek kings, he might live as his Law prescribed and worship in his synagogue unmolested.

So the descendants of those who had returned from the Babylonian Captivity two centuries before went forth in great numbers into voluntary exile, and thrived and multiplied exceedingly in the rich lands of the Delta and beside the busy wharves of Alexandria. The Jewish population in Egypt, in the time of the fourth Ptolemy, is estimated by Philo at a million. Most of these were settled in the capital, where their genius for affairs had full scope. There was no Ghetto or Pale in Alexandria, but the Jews naturally drew together, and of the five quarters or wards of the city—designated by the first five letters of the Greek alphabet—they occupied almost exclusively the quarter Delta, where the harbour was situated. This Jewish community had its merchants, freighters, and ship-captains, in

whose hands was largely, perhaps mainly, the export trade of Alexandria; its craftsmen, among whom the Talmud mentions, as notable for their skill, workers in the precious metals, smiths, armourers, and weavers; its government officials, collectors of revenue, and "watchers of the Nile." To the Jew, ambitious of distinction, there was open a career at court or in the profession of arms. The fighting qualities of the race seem to have been appreciated by the army leaders of that age, and—if the statements of Josephus are correct—more than one of his countrymen rose to positions of high command in the Egyptian military service.

As regards their political status, the Jews in Egypt were exceptionally favoured. It may be doubted whether they ever really had the *ισπολιτεία*, which would have placed them on an equal footing with the Greek masters of the land. But unquestionably they enjoyed considerable privileges: "the establishment of their own tribunals, the free exercise of their religious customs, and the suspension or alteration of any local law which interfered with or ran counter to them" (Montefiore, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 364). They formed a practically separate community under a ruler of their own race. This dignitary, elsewhere styled Ethnarch, was known in Egypt as Alabarch, a mongrel word of uncertain meaning. The Alabarch was presumably chosen by the people themselves out of some rich and noble family, his appointment being, of course, subject to the royal approval. He collected the taxes and paid them into the state exchequer; represented his people in their relations with the government; and at the same time decided all questions arising among them out of their own law. At a later period, a sanhedrin of seventy members, modelled on that at Jerusalem, sat in council with the Alabarch at Alexandria; but at what date this institution had its origin is unknown.

Josephus claims for his countrymen that they stood high in the estimation of their Gentile rulers because they were "found most faithful in the keeping of oaths and covenants." Situated as they were in Egypt, this was no special virtue. They have every reason to be loyal. They were not beloved by the Greeks, who had nothing but contempt for their most cherished and hallowed customs, and who found them besides formidable rivals in trade. They were simply detested by the native Egyptians. The priest Manetho's venomous caricature of Jewish history gives the measure of the hatred which was felt by the conquered race for those creatures of an alien despotism. For their wealth, their privileges, their very existence, they depended on the royal protection. They were "the King's Jews." And they repaid the favours of the first Ptolemies by a devotion to the dynasty which stood the strain even of subsequent persecution.

During this century the relations between the Palestinian Jews and their brethren in Egypt were close and constant. Both lived under the same sceptre. The first Ptolemies were statesmen as well as soldiers, and they governed Judæa, as they governed Egypt, by a wise policy of conciliation. No attempt was made to impose Hellenic customs or institutions on

the subject people. Their religion was respected, even honoured; the Greek ruler of Egypt sent rich gifts to the temple at Jerusalem, as he did to the temples at Thebes and Memphis. The Jews had to pay a fixed and moderate tribute. They had to refrain from entering into relation with the enemies of Egypt. Otherwise they were as free as at any period of their history. So far, there was nothing in the political situation to loosen the bond between the two communities. There were probably few families at Jerusalem which had not kinsfolk in Alexandria. Leading men of Judæa took their daughters to Alexandria, with a view to finding eligible husbands for them there (*Ant.* xii. 4, 6). The Diaspora was constantly receiving fresh recruits from the mother country, and the infusion of these more recent emigrants counteracted to some extent the effect of time and distance in weakening the attachment of the second or third generation of the colonists to the home of their race. Above all, the temple at Jerusalem visibly represented the idea of national unity, and the festivals of the Mosaic system enabled the scattered sons of Israel to realize that idea for themselves. To carry out the requirements of the Law in their integrity by going thrice in the year to worship at Jerusalem, was, of course, impossible for Jews of the Dispersion. The great majority of them could not look forward to more than one such visit in a lifetime. But it was the dream of the pious Israelite to take that journey at least once, to see for himself the holy city, and to worship in the courts of Jehovah; and it would be difficult to over-estimate the influence of these pilgrimages in deepening and quickening the consciousness of Jewish solidarity. In a less degree the same end was served by the collection of the poll-tax for the service of the temple. In every community of the Jews abroad each man paid his yearly assessment, his *didrachmon*, for the maintenance of the sanctuary and priesthood; and Philo (*de Monarch.* ii. 3) relates how, at Alexandria, these dues were deposited in a sacred treasure-chest, and how "sacred messengers" (*ιεροπομπῶν*)—men worthy of the honour—were chosen to carry the tribute to Jerusalem.

But more powerful than all these influences which made for unity was the tendency of the two communities to drift apart. As the Diaspora in Egypt grew in numbers, in wealth, and in education, it became less inclined to own the superiority and submit to the control of Jerusalem. The offshoot, which had at first drawn all its life from the parent stem, was now taking independent root and flourishing. To the Alexandrian Jews, who were playing a conspicuous part in the crowded, many-sided life of their adopted country, Jerusalem, while in one respect the holy city, was in another only a petty provincial town. They lived at the centre of civilization, and Judæa lay on its circumference. The influence of Hellenism was brought to bear on them directly and potently. The magnificent patronage of the Ptolemies had made Alexandria the home of learning, the resort of the most distinguished *savants* of the age. To men of the Jewish race, so richly endowed with mental gifts, it was impossible to stand aside from the clash and stir of all this intellectual activity; they lived in an atmosphere of scientific

curiosity, of literary criticism, of philosophic disquisition, and they breathed it à pleins poumons. While the sopherim of Palestine were trifling over minute points of legal casuistry, the leaders of Jewish thought in Egypt were drinking deep at the fountain of Greek philosophy. The "wisdom of Javan," proscribed by the rabbis in Judæa, was eagerly sought after in Alexandria.

The translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek is a significant proof of this increasing detachment from the Judaism of Judæa. The worthless legend which has given this celebrated version its familiar name of "Septuagint" is in no point more absurd than in this, that it represents the seventy (mythical) translators to have been sent from Jerusalem to Alexandria under the authority of the High Priest. The translation was a product of Egyptian Judaism, in which Palestine had no hand at all. Whether Ptolemy Philadelphus had anything to do, directly or indirectly, with the undertaking is extremely doubtful; but in any case it is quite certain that the work was not done at a stroke, to fill up a gap in that monarch's famous library. The men who laid the foundation of the new version by turning the Five Books of Moses into Greek are unknown. Their labours may, perhaps, have begun in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and probably went on for not less than half a century before the Pentateuch stood complete in its new dress. A work of this kind could only have been undertaken in answer to a popular demand. The Egyptian Diaspora spoke Greek, or at any rate a kind of Greek; they read Greek, and understood it much more easily than they read and understood Hebrew; and naturally they desired to have their Law in an intelligible form, for use either in the synagogue or in the home. There were few sopherim—professional exponents of the Law—in Egypt, which made this need felt all the more. No doubt the Jewish pride of race had its share also, and a considerable share, in the movement which resulted in the Septuagint version. The Jews desired to explain and justify themselves to the Gentiles among whom their lot was cast. Alexandria, in the days of the Ptolemies, was the arena for competing philosophies and theosophies, rival claimants for the possession of the truth. The Jews claimed to have the truth in their keeping. They had no mind to continue as a misunderstood and despised sect, circling in a backwater of the intellectual current of the time. So, in the Pentateuch done into Greek, they published the history of their origin, and exhibited their credentials to the heathen world. They deliberately provoked a controversy, out of which they came not without honour.

The strict Judaic party in Palestine had no sympathy with such aims. They could not but look with disapproval on such a daring departure from the old lines as this rendering of the Torah of Moses into the tongue of the uncircumcized. To them it seemed at once a desecration, and the first step in a process of denationalization. Tradition says that the Alexandrians kept the day when the Septuagint was given to the world as a popular festival, with great rejoicings; while the Palestinians, by way of counter demonstration, proclaimed a fast on that day as a *dies ater*, comparable to

the day on which Israel had worshipped the golden calf. Unquestionably, the immediate effect of the new version was to accentuate the difference and to widen the rift between the two communities.

Perhaps the erection of the great Synagogue at Alexandria may have had some share in the process of alienation. It was at all events a sign of the spirit of independence which prevailed among the Diaspora. The Egyptian Jews had boundless wealth at their command; they had also skilled workers in the arts and crafts: on several occasions, by request of the home authorities, craftsmen had been sent from Alexandria to Jerusalem to repair and embellish the temple. It was, consequently, within their power to erect a building for the purpose of worship so vast in its proportions and so splendid in its decorations that it might vie with the temple itself. Philo speaks of the edifice as "most great and notable." In the Talmud it is said: "Who has not seen the Double Hall of Alexandria has never seen the glory of Israel. It was like a great basilica, one Hall behind another; at times there were within it twice as many people as came out of Egypt,"—with other marvellous details of its immense size and costly furnishings. The Alexandrians were naturally proud of their synagogue, and while they continued to pay their dues to the Temple at Jerusalem, where only sacrifice could be offered, gave it only a secondary place in their regard. According to a statement in the Talmud, an epistle sent from the home authorities to the heads of the community in Egypt, about 100 B.C., opened with the scornful greeting: "From Jerusalem the Great to Alexandria the Little." The statement may be accepted so far as it illustrates the reciprocal feeling of the two communities—emulation on one side and jealousy on the other.

The never-ending conflict between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids resulted in the yet more complete separation of the Western Jews from their kindred in Palestine. For nearly a century, under the suzerainty of Egypt, Judæa had enjoyed local autonomy and almost unbroken peace. But, in spite of all the favour shown them by the Egyptian kings, their scrupulous non-interference with native customs and institutions, there is evidence, towards the close of the reign of the third Ptolemy (Euergetes, 246-222), of the rise of an anti-Egyptian and pro-Syrian party among the Judæans. It is difficult to account for this spirit of disaffection, or to imagine what they hoped to gain by a change of masters; but the fact is certain. When the high priest Onias II., some time before the year 222, refused to make payment of the annual tribute to the Egyptian crown, Josephus explains the refusal as the outrageous folly of an avaricious old man. The explanation will scarcely serve when the incident is looked at in the light of after-events. There is, no doubt, an element of truth in the highly-coloured picture drawn by the Jewish historian of the rival kings of Egypt and Syria outbidding each other in the attempt to secure the good-will of the Jewish people. Antiochus the Great, for example, is said to have invited the Jews to settle in Antioch, the new Seleucid capital on the Orontes, and to have conferred upon them the same

civic rites that the Alexandrians enjoyed under the Ptolemies. In his wars against the fourth Ptolemy (Philopator, 222-205), Antiochus had at least the sympathy of a powerful party among the Jews. The high priest Simon, called the Just, seems to have shown a friendly disposition towards the Seleucid king, who had made himself master of Cœle-Syria and Palestine. But the issue was not yet decided; the lordship over Judæa had not yet changed hands. Philopator inflicted a heavy defeat on his rival at Raphia (217), recovered his lost provinces, and appeared in person at Jerusalem. There, in a single day, by one ill-considered act, he undid all that had been effected by the policy of a hundred years. Irritated by the intrigues of the partizans of Syria, determined to teach the Jews a lesson and to show them who was their master, he insisted, against the prayers and protests of Simon and the priests, on forcing his way into the Holy of Holies. This outrage on Jewish feeling could never be forgotten or pardoned. It made an end of all allegiance to the Ptolemæan dynasty. When next Antiochus appeared before Jerusalem, the city opened its gates to him, the citizens made him welcome, and even assisted his soldiers in putting the Egyptian garrison to the sword. Henceforward it was to Antioch, and no longer to Alexandria, that the Judæans looked as the centre of the political system to which they belonged. By preference as by necessity, the Egyptian Jews continued faithful to the Ptolemies. The breach between the two communities was now all but complete. The story of the bold attempt to remove the last link between them by giving to the Diaspora all that it needed for absolute independence—namely, a high priest and a temple of its own—will form the subject of another article.

THE HEBREW OF DANIEL COMPARED WITH THAT
OF BEN SIRA.

By REV. J. E. H. THOMSON, B.D.

LET us suppose ourselves placed at the end of another millennium, and that we are living not at the end of the nineteenth, but at the end of the twenty-ninth century. Another cataclysm, like that which befell the world when the Roman Empire succumbed to barbarian assaults, and the whole literature of classic days was submerged, has swept over the civilized world. English literature has to a great extent disappeared, only a few stray works are left floating *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*. Let us suppose that *Piers the Ploughman*, in the strange haphazard of events, has drifted to the shores of the new civilization along with Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*, the poems of Dante Rossetti and Robert Browning, accompanied perhaps by a few marked fragments of William Morris. The works of the glories of English literature—Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton—have shared a common forgetfulness with Dryden, Pope, Goldsmith. If at this point of time a single copy of one of the *Canterbury Tales* were discovered, critics would be at a loss

to place it. A plausible number of linguistic arguments might be brought forward to prove that it was nearly of the age of Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*; the difference of its vocabulary from that of *Piers the Ploughman*, the presence of rhyme, and so on. Some observing evidences of French influence might be strongly inclined to place it in the reign of Charles II., when French influence was known to be so strong on the Court and in the country. Such arguments on the part of the critics of the twenty-ninth century in regard to the Prologue and the *Knight's Tale* are nearly exactly parallel with the arguments by means of which nineteenth-century critics would place the Book of Daniel in the days of the Maccabees. Works in Hebrew that could be asserted as indubitably belonging to the later Persian and Greek periods of Jewish history have as utterly perished as we have imagined all English literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth century to have done. True, some critics place a considerable number of the books in this period which tradition had regarded as much more ancient. We can easily parallel this by imagining Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, or some portion of it, extant along with *Piers the Ploughman*, and recognized to be nearly contemporary with it, and that the defenders of the late date of the *Knight's Tale* on its discovery at once declared the *Confessio Amantis* late also.

Formerly when critics brought forward a number of words in Daniel of Persian origin, and words that could be paralleled only with words in Chronicles, Nehemiah, Ezra, and Esther, that were there assumed to have originated in the Persian period, they somehow seemed to think these confirmed the conclusion they had arrived at from other considerations that Daniel originated in the days of the Maccabees, about a century and a half after the Persian Empire was overthrown. The obvious *non sequitur* here naturally induced a change of view; as Daniel could not be regarded as early, all these books must be regarded as late, and originating in the days of the Hellenic domination. This, as we have said, would be paralleled by our thirtieth-century critic declaring the *Confessio Amantis* late, in order to defend his assertion that the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Knight's Tale* are so. On the other hand, the confirmation to the ordinary critical view that is supposed to be got from the lexical and grammatical differences between Daniel and the post-Exilic prophets is paralleled by the differences in language, grammar, ideas, and versification between Chaucer and *Piers the Ploughman*. Is not the value of such comparisons greatly lessened when, by comparing the Chigi text with that of the Masoretic, we discover that Daniel has been repeatedly edited and interpolated? Before any word or phrase in the Hebrew or Aramaic portions of Daniel is admitted as proof of the lateness of the original work, it must be shown that it was present in both texts. Even then there is the possibility that the process which has been carried on *after* the separation of these two texts had been going on *before*.

It does not require much further strain to imagine the result on the theorizing critics we have above supposed if *Alexander's Feast* or

Absolom and *Achitophel* were found in some half-charred copy in the ruins of the British Museum. Even if there were unearthed quotations from these poems in the prose of days yet future to us, there would be some difficulty experienced to maintain the date our imaginary critics had assumed for Chaucer. If we neglect for the present the Aramaic of Daniel and reserve it for future consideration, we can say that something like this is the state of matters in regard to his Hebrew. We have not, unfortunately, discovered the original Hebrew of any books composed during the Greek period; but we have, fortunately, a very considerable number of quotations from the most voluminous among them—the Book of Ecclesiasticus.

There has never been a doubt that the original tongue of Ecclesiasticus was one or other of the two Shemitic languages common in Palestine—the words of the prologue to the Greek translation render that nearly incontestable. The fact that the Rabbinic quotations from this work are generally given in Hebrew, even when the work in which they are quoted is written in Aramaic, is decisive. One writing in English might, if he wished to quote Goethe's *Faust*, either translate for himself the words he wished, or take advantage of another translator, or, not unlikely, give it in the German in which it had been composed. A German, however, would never think, in a German work, of availing himself of an English version of his national poet when he wished to quote from him. In Hebrew, then, Ecclesiasticus was written.

The date at which it was composed has become a subject of controversy, one party placing it about the year 280 B.C., the other a century later. The controversy is at once interesting and important from the bearing it has on the question of the date of the Canon and the light it throws on the methods of the critical school. It would, however, take us too far afield to pursue this discussion into all its windings. Suffice it if we, for our part, feel the weight of probability decidedly in favour of the early instead of the late date. It is not a matter of great importance for our present argument, as in such a case as a collection of proverbs like Ecclesiasticus a century is a negligible quantity. Many of the proverbs might have been handed down from antiquity, and even the most recent would tend to assume an archaism of language to gain them vogue. For this compare *Poor Richard* of Benjamin Franklin and Spurgeon's *John Ploughman's Talk*. At all events, even 180 B.C. is earlier than the received critical date of Daniel. If we, then, compare the passages from Ben Sira—to give the author his Rabbinic name—that have come down to us with Biblical Hebrew, we shall expect to find a resemblance to the Hebrew of Daniel, and differences only the same in number and degree from the rest of Scripture.

The quotations from Ben Sira which occur in Rabbinic writings have been collected several times. We shall make use of the collection of Leopold Dukes in his *Blumenlese*, and that of Schechter in the *Jewish Quarterly*

for June, 1891. Dr. Ginsburg has given a list in his article "Ecclesiasticus" in Kitto's *Bible Dictionary*. The number of these quotations is not great, amounting in all to what would make a somewhat long chapter. Yet there is enough for our purpose. A single scene of Goldsmith's *Good Natured Man* would prove it not to be written in the same age as Peele's *Old Wives' Tale*. Of course there are variations, as may be expected, when we have to do with quotations occurring in different works. We know the variations that are manifest in quotations among ourselves. In cases of difference, the more archaic the form of the language, the more likely it is to be an accurate quotation. And other things being equal, a quotation in the Talmud is more likely to be accurate than one found in a later source. It is to be noted that the quotations are made from the *book* of Ben Sira—"as it is written in the Book of Ben Sira," is the regular formula of citation; they are not traditional sayings handed down from teachers, as are most of the sentences in the Talmud.

We are not dependent merely on the Greek version when we wish to test these Talmudic quotations; there are other two versions that seem to have been made originally from the Hebrew text, though possibly modified by the influence of the widely known Greek—we mean the Latin of the Vulgate and the Syriac of the Peshitto. These have been used with great skill by Professor Margoliouth to find out the original Hebrew text. One may be permitted to doubt the correctness of his conclusions in regard to the versification he fancies he discovers without thereby doubting the validity of the arguments by which he proves New Hebrew to have been the dialect of Hebrew in which Ecclesiasticus was written. By help of these two versions, especially by means of their blunders, we can often verify the Rabbinic form of the verse or verses in question.

Although, as we have said, the number of these quotations is not great, yet it would occupy too much time and space to investigate them *seriatim* as carefully as the case deserves, we shall therefore select. If one looks over the list of quotations brought together by Dr. Schechter he cannot fail to notice some that neither claim to be by Ben Sira nor bear such a resemblance to any passage in *Ecclus.* as to justify the attribution of them to its author; these we would at once exclude from consideration. Next, there are passages that are attributed to Ben Sira, but are not found in any of the extant versions. Some of these may be genuine, and confirm the suspicion suggested by the portions which are found only in the Syriac and Latin that the younger Siracides selected, as well as translated, the proverbs of his grandfather; but some of them are indubitably spurious. On account, therefore, of this doubt we shall omit all reference to them. There is yet a third case where the proverbs quoted, while not attributed to Ben Sira, are in close accordance with passages in *Ecclus.* These are more important, as they may represent proverbs of an earlier date than our author's. Still, they may have been more liable to change when not avowedly extracted from the actual book. There remains a small number of quotations which claim to

be by Ben Sira, and which we can verify as in *Ecclus.* in all the versions, and to these last we will restrict ourselves.

The first of these is the fourth of the quotations cited by Dr. Schechter, and eighth of Dukes, it occurs in Hagigah 13 (a), the twelfth tractate of Seder Moed, the second division of the Talmud. It is quoted also with some variations in Bereshith Rabbah, and Yalkut on Job. We shall, however, follow the Talmudic form—

במופלא ממך אל תדרוש ובמכוסה ממך אל תחקור במה ש
Ecclus. iii. 21, 22.—הורשית התבונן אין לך מסק בנסתרות

"Into that which is too wonderful for thee do not search; into that which is veiled from thee do not inquire. Upon that which is permitted reflect; thou hast no business with secret things." The Greek agrees fairly with this, as do also the Syriac and the Latin; the last, however, being, as not infrequently, pleonastic.

When we compare this sentence with Biblical Hebrew we at once feel how far removed we are even from the language of Nehemiah and Esther—the language, that is to say, of Daniel. The first word is the Hophal participle of the verb מָלַץ, the Hophal conjugation of that verb is not used in Biblical Hebrew. The Niphal is the usual form it assumes, and in this conjugation it twice occurs in the Book of Daniel; it also, though more rarely, is used in the Hiphil. The opening word of the next clause מְכַסֶּה is Pual participle of the verb כָּסָה; although the Pual participle occurs twice, it never occurs in the sense of *concealments*, it is simply *covering*, in the most ordinary sense of the word. The following clause begins with a construction that has no example in Daniel or in any other Biblical writing save Ecclesiastes, מַה שֶּׁ, "that which"; in Daniel מַה שֶּׁ, not מַה, is the relative. Further, תִּשָּׁא, "to permit," while frequent in Rabbinic Hebrew does not occur in the Bible. The ruling word in the remaining clause is עֲסָק, a word unknown to Biblical Hebrew; it means "business." The Greek translator had this word before him for χρεία, the word he uses had that meaning in the days when he wrote (see Polybius iii. 45, 2), the Syriac is *tucolna*, "confidence," as if the translator had misread the word as כֶּסֶל. Thus in the four clauses which form the two verses above quoted there are two words that are not Biblical Hebrew—a verb, besides, that is used in a conjugation not used in Biblical Hebrew; another, although used in the conjugation is not used in the sense. Lastly, there is a construction which while found in Ecclesiastes is certainly not found in Daniel, or in any other book of the Hebrew Scriptures.

To show that our conclusion is not based merely on one passage, we shall proceed to the seventh example of Dr. Schechter's list, the next that satisfies all our requirements. It is a quotation of *Ecclus.* xlii. 9, 10, and is found in *Sanhedrin*, the fourth tractate in the fourth division or *Seder* of the Talmud—a passage that is all the more interesting because it is

assigned as a reason why the book of Ben Sira is excluded from the Canon. The Hebrew of the passage is as follows:—

בַּח לֵאבִיָּה מִמְּמוֹנָה שׁוֹא מִפְּדֻרָּה לֹא יִישָׁן בְּלֵילָהּ בְּקִטְנוֹתָהּ שֶׁמָּא
תִּהְיֶה כְּנַעֲרוֹתָהּ שֶׁמָּא תִּזְנֶה בְּנָרָה שֶׁמָּא לֹא תִּינָשׂא נִישָׂאת שֶׁמָּא
לֹא יִהְיוּ לָהּ בָּנִים הִזְקִינָה שֶׁמָּא תַעֲשֶׂה כְּשָׁמַיִם

"A daughter is for her father a vain treasure. Care for her does not suffer him to sleep in the night: when she is little, lest she be seduced—in her girlhood, lest she should commit fornication—in her maturity, lest she should not be married—when she is married, lest she should not have sons—when she is old, lest she should practise witchcraft."

The Greek is somewhat different, and is fairly represented by the Authorized Version: "The father worketh for his daughter when no man knoweth, and the care for her taketh away sleep: when she is young, lest she pass away the flower of her age (is it possible that the true reading here is παραποιήσεται?)—and being married, lest she should be hated—in her virginity, lest she should be defiled and gotten with child in her father's house—having a husband, lest she should misbehave herself—and when she is married, lest she should be barren." The Latin version, while generally in closer agreement with the Greek than the Hebrew, confirms the second clause of the daughter's history in the Hebrew. The Syriac is somewhat wide of both, though also nearer the Greek than the Hebrew. Still, we venture to maintain the Hebrew to be the original, because each of the five steps in the daughter's history has a meaning. Buxtorf informs us that till the end of her twelfth year a girl was קטונה, for six months she was נשרה, after that she was בנרה. These three stages are evidently in the mind of the authors; and then there is the position of being married; and lastly, old age.

If we now take this passage up clause by clause, we find ourselves again far removed from Biblical Hebrew. In the first clause, מִמְּמוֹנָה is unknown to Biblical Hebrew. The corresponding masculine noun does occur, but the feminine termination is not added to it—not even where, as in Prov. ii. 4, a feminine noun is the subject. The Latin translating *abscondita* shows the translator had this word before him, but regarded it as the *participle plural* from the verb טָמַן, "to hide." If the next clause presents no peculiarities, that which follows has a peculiarity in every word which would render it impossible to have been written even by "writers of the age of the authors of Chronicles and Esther." The first word is the abstract noun קִטְנוּיָה; while the adjective and the verb from which it is derived are relatively frequent, the noun never occurs in the Hebrew Scriptures. The next word, שֶׁמָּא (or, as Dukes points it, שָׁמָּא), *lest*, is more important, as it is a connective—פֶּן is the ordinary Biblical equivalent. Canon Driver renders (in Dan. i. 10) לֹא־יִהְיֶה לָּהֶם לֶסֶת, a rendering which certainly prepares for שֶׁמָּא: but yet the form in Daniel is obviously a much earlier one than that in Ben Sira. Connectives of this sort are pretty conclusive marks of the age of a book. Thus, to take an example,

peradventure occurs about thirty times in our English Bible, and *perhaps* only thrice. One might search a modern book from title-page to *finis* and not find a single case of "*peradventure*." If, however, one is quoting from an old work a phrase where that word occurred, it would not be forgotten, whatever was: so, if one were imitating the writing of the Tudor or early Stuart age, "*peradventure*" would certainly be introduced. From this we argue that *אֲדָנָהּ* stood in the original document. Again, the last word in this clause, *הִתְפַּחֵף*, is not used in this conjugation in the Bible; moreover, the passive use of the Hithpael is so rare that it may be doubted whether it really occurs at all;¹ Nordheimer does not acknowledge the existence of a passive sense to the Hithpael. The next clause begins with the abstract noun *נִשְׁרָה*, which is unknown to Biblical Hebrew. So with the next clause, the first *נָגַד*, *having reached the marriageable age*, not uncommon in Rabbinic writings, is unknown in the Hebrew of Scripture. In the same clause we have the use of *נָשָׂה* in the Niphal *to be married* (*nubere*), a usage unknown to Biblical Hebrew, in which *נָשָׂה*, Kal of the man and Niphal of the woman. The nearest approach to this usage is 2 Chron. xxiv. 3 and Neh. xiii. 25, where the action of a father *taking a wife* for his son is represented, and 2 Chron. xiii. 21, where the husband is represented as *taking a wife*: the passive use nowhere occurs. In the last clause, the phrase *הִתְעַשְׂתָּה לְשִׁפְסִים*, *to practise witchcraft*, is not Biblical; the Biblical use is *שָׁפַסַּף* in the Piel. Of these seven clauses there is only one that does not betray, by its words or construction, how late it is: four of the words are Rabbinic, and one of these is a connective; two of the verbs, though Biblical, are not used in the sense or conjugation in which they appear in the verses before us. The last phrase is not Biblical.

There is another long passage quoted by Rabbi Joseph, several of the verses of which are verifiable as being found in the Greek Ecclesiasticus. We shall not, however, take them up; we shall only refer to the use of *אֲשֶׁר*. This word is always in the *construct* state, and all through the Bible in Daniel, as well as in other books, it is the opening word of an exclamatory clause; in a verse which forms No. 7 in Dukes' collection it forms the predicate of a sentence.

For the alleged differences between the Hebrew of Daniel and that of the rest of Scripture, we shall avail ourselves of the list supplied by Mr. Bevan, the most recent English commentator on Daniel, one whose ability, scholarship, and fairness we cannot doubt, however much we may differ from the conclusions to which he has arrived. The examples he adduces are eight. The first thing that strikes the reader is the smallness of the number. What are these eight words, collected out of the seven Hebrew chapters of Daniel, compared with the crop of differences we have got in these four verses, without going further? These become fewer when we

¹ *הִתְפַּחֵף* in Judges xx., xxi. is really reflexive. Fürst regards the case in Eccl. viii. 10 as reflexive from a different verb from that from which the word in question is ordinarily derived. Moreover there is a difference of reading.

catechizo them closely. The three first examples are from the first chapter, the work in all probability of the compiler. The first word is גִּיל, *age, generation*. Evidently the Chigi translator had a different reading before him; he renders *συντρεφόμενος* as if he had גִּיל אֲחֵכֶם. If the *daleth* were indistinct, it might be that the Masoretic scribe thought that *yod* had been the letter, and then the other alteration would be necessitated by grammar. When two readings are before us, that which is linguistically the older is, other things being equal, to be preferred, because the recent would be preferred by a copist as more likely to be understood. Moreover, גִּיל has, according to Buxtorf, a restricted meaning, "born under the same planet." Fürst, however, instancing גִּיל אֲבִינִי, would hold the word to be really old. The next word is חֲלוּץ, from חָלַץ, Piel, *to endanger*. According to Fürst, the participle Kal of this same verb occurs in Ezekiel xviii. 7. It occurs in Daniel in the speech of the chief of the eunuchs, *i.e.*, of one to whom Aramaic was the language of business; therefore if חָלַץ had at all got a footing in Hebrew, it would be apt to be used if the word had been used in the original speech. This may also explain אֲשֶׁר־לָמָּה. The next instance Mr. Bevan adduces is זָרְעִים, *pulse*; this occurs in the 16th verse of the first chapter; in the 12th verse we have for precisely the same article the presumably older form, זָרַע. The natural explanation is that some scribe inserted the ז by a blunder, all the more readily that the word thus spelt is in Rabbinic use, whereas the former is a *ἄραξ λεγόμενον*. It is difficult to imagine what has led Mr. Bevan to insert זָרַע among words that have no root elsewhere in Scripture. זָרַע is fairly frequent, and the reduplicated form of the Hithpael is not rare in regard to these verbs. More might be said for נִדְּבָרָה, *decreed*, ix. 24, were there not a doubt as to whether it really belongs to the text. It means, correctly speaking, not *decreed* or *determined*, but *divided*, hence Theodotion renders it *συνεμύθησαν*, *cut short*. In the LXX. it is rendered *ἐκρίθησαν*, a rendering which suggests that נִדְּבָרָה, *determined*, was in the document before the translator. We will admit without cavil that קָשָׁם is an Aramaic root, and means *to engrave*, but that one Aramaic word should be used by a man speaking Aramaic daily, when he wrote Hebrew, is not surprising. The next two examples being in chapter xi., the authenticity of which we doubt, we might neglect them; but as to the former of these, חֲבִיטִים, *treasures*, xi. 42, one might be tempted to suggest that the true reading was חֲבִיטִים: it seems extremely doubtful whether the word can mean *treasures*. חֲבִיטִים really means *to lie in wait*. However, from the fact that the LXX. have *τόπος*, it is not impossible that the word used was חֲבִיטִים. The latter example, חֲבִיטִים, *palace-tent*, xi. 45, is probably Aramaic for the *palace-tent* of a monarch, a technical name for a thing by supposition used by a monarch of Babylon and Syria. Mr. Bevan subjoins מַלְכִּיּוֹת, *kingdoms*, viii. 22, as a form unknown till Rabbinic times. The Chigi translator evidently read מַלְכִּים, as he translates the word *βασιλεῖς*, as does also Theodotion. He refers also to the non-classical construction, חֲבִיטִים, instead of חֲבִיטִים, viii. 13; the latter part of this

chapter seems somehow corrupt, so that little can be built, yet *one* construction is not much to lay stress on.

Of the words common to Daniel and Chronicles we would only refer to הוּא , *how*? which differs from the common Biblical הוּא simply by the interchange of ו and ח , which Mr. Bevan regards as a mere matter of orthography when he comes to consider the question of the Aramaic of Daniel. Mr. Bevan mentions in a note that in the Targum of the pseudo-Jonathan we have the form הוּא ; he does *not* mention that in the Targum of Onkelos, Palestinian in origin as is the Targum of the pseudo-Jonathan, and nearer the date of Daniel by probably a couple of centuries, we have הוּא . Does Mr. Bevan mean to maintain that Daniel was written A.D. 300? His reference to the Palestinian Christian Lectionary would seem to favour this view.

As Canon Driver has well stated, "the great turning point in Hebrew style" between Old Hebrew and Middle Hebrew "falls in the age of Nehemiah." The Jews when they returned to their own land found the villages of their native country peopled with settlers to whom Aramaic was the common tongue. Hebrew had already, even in the days of Jeremiah, been affected by Aramaic, and this process had gone on during their stay in Babylon; now the process was carried further. All this was the effect of the Persian domination, and the necessity of living in amity with those that, like themselves, were subjects of the great king. If this was the turning point between Old and Middle Hebrew, when was the turning point between Middle and New Hebrew? We know that great as were the changes wrought in civil and social habits of the Jews by the Persian, yet greater were wrought by the Greek. We know that Aramaic was rapidly replaced by Greek as the language of business. We know further that the Roman domination was socially little more than a continuation of that of Greece. The probability, then, is that the turning point between Middle Hebrew and New is to be placed in the reign of the Lagid princes; a view of matters that is confirmed by our study of the fragments of Ben Sira. There is a wide distinction between the Hebrew of these quotations and that of Daniel, Nehemiah, and Esther, and a great resemblance to the Hebrew of the Mishna.

NOTE.—We cannot close without referring to a statement Mr. Bevan makes, p. 27, "That the Book of Jubilees was written in Hebrew is certain." We should like to know the grounds of his certainty; for our part we think the name given to Satan, *Mastema*, points rather to Aramaic being the original tongue.

EXPOSITORY THOUGHT.

JONAH.

By REV. H. J. FOSTER.

WHAT is it which strikes us most when we read, or when we recall, the Book of Jonah? Where should we lay the stress and emphasis of interest and importance? Surely not upon the incident of the "whale," so-called; that would be to read the book with very childish eyes. Is it, then, upon the character of the prophet himself? That would be better, and worthier of men and women. Human Nature, always the same, and yet never in any two cases alike, but full of infinite variety, is always worth studying, and Jonah is a very interesting sample of Human Nature. But even then we should miss the one special thing of the book, that which is its very burden and the distinctive contribution which it makes to the sum of Old Testament truth. Let us realize the man and his times. Jonah was a man of the Northern Kingdom—an Israelite prophet, who had been foretelling the highest prosperity to which the Ten Tribes ever attained, and the widest extension which, under Jeroboam II., their territory ever received. Nineveh was a Gentile, that is to say, a heathen, city; the very city, moreover, from which were to come those judgments and the destruction which prophets like Jonah's contemporary, Amos, were about this time beginning to announce as certain to fall upon Israel at no very distant date. Jonah the Israelite, then, was sent to a heathen city, and—whether he knew it or not—to that particular enemy of his country from which there was most to fear. To an Israelite patriot, with even the smallest intimation of this, how natural to say, "To Nineveh? No, let Nineveh go on and sin, and perish: the sooner the safer for my country. To warn Nineveh, and so to turn away its doom—what is that but to keep alive the fire which is to consume our Samaria and our national life?" In any case, whether Jonah felt any patriotic difficulty or not, the religious difficulty was great enough. To go to heathen people with God's message, one of mercy, as he saw clearly, quite as much as of judgment—that alone was repugnant to all his instincts. "No. Rather let me no longer be one of the prophets who stand in the Presence of Jehovah, ready for any errand, awaiting His commands. Rather let me lay down my office and go out from before His Face. Let me die first!" That is the heart of a good man, but of a narrow one. It is not the heart of the God even of the Old Testament.

It is sometimes made matter of reproach to the New Testament, and to Christianity as it is there expounded, that it makes little or no account of Patriotism. There is some truth in the criticism; but why? Patriotism has often been a noble thing; but it is really a narrow thing, narrower, at any rate, than the heart and view of God. The patriot sees and loves his fellow-countrymen; God only sees Man. He loves Israel, even the idolatrous

Israel of the Ten Tribes. They were, after all, of the seed of Abraham, His friend (2 Kings xiii. 23, xiv. 27). But God loved the World. God so loved the World that He would have one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of the prophetic writers to go and offer His mercy to a heathen city, the enemy of His people. It is the fashion to call Luke's Gospel, in contrast with those of Matthew and Mark, the Gospel of the Gentiles, in part because the Samaritans, half-heathen as they were reckoned, find in it such honourable mention. With much more reason might we call Jonah the Prophet of the Gentiles. Other prophets prophesied about them. Some prophesied against them. Jonah, and Jonah only, went and prophesied to them. We may not call the Old Testament narrow when what is perhaps the pioneer book of all its written prophecy is the story of a Mission from Israel to the Heathen.

If we could have asked Jonah himself what was the most wonderful feature of this marvellous episode in his life, and if we could have lent him New Testament words for his reply, they must have been those of the wondering Church of Jerusalem, when they had heard from Peter how, like Jonah, against all his prejudices and training, and sorely against his will, he had gone to the Gentile Cornelius and had baptized him. Jonah would have said, "Then hath God granted UNTO THE GENTILES ALSO repentance unto life" (Acts xi. 18).

And that is *the* thought of God in this Book of Jonah. In the very forefront of the writings of the prophets of the Old Testament He has placed this witness, that even the heathen are "men of His goodwill." That is, beyond everything else, the important and interesting thing about the Book of Jonah.

Indeed, the whole book is full of anticipations of the New Testament. What was Jonah, as he sat "very angry" under the dwindling shadow of his withering gourd, but an Elder Brother, grudging and grumbling at God's mercy toward a Prodigal City, repentant now and returning? He had himself not been unlike a Prodigal Son, fleeing from his Father into a far country. As we have just seen, some of the essential lines of this history are also those of the story of Peter and Cornelius, anticipated by the better part of a millennium. God's heart and purpose toward the world had always been wider than His own Israel and its religion. For centuries, for His people's sake, He was obliged to wall them in, as it were, with ordinances of rigid separateness. Yet, all along, the rain and sunshine of His goodness had been poured down upon the wilderness outside the wall of His Vineyard (Isa. v. 1, 2). He had to build "a middle wall of partition" across the world's great temple-floor, and for centuries Israel alone was admitted to the favoured area within. But Jonah was sent out—was indeed thrust out—bearing a real Gospel, into the outer court, the great Court of the Gentiles, betokening another stage reached in the unfolding of the purposes of that God Who has now done away with the wall altogether. To-day every redeemed soul is free to the whole floor of God's great temple. "We have a way into the Holiest by the blood of Jesus." But that, of course, was far

away out of Jonah's sight. The book closes with startling abruptness: "Much cattle." Doth, then, God take care for, not only the citizens and the children, but even the cattle of a heathen city? These words are coming, and are being antedated—"Your Heavenly Father feedeth the sparrows."

It is very natural to inquire, "Why call Jonah a prophet? There is hardly any prophesying in the book. The only prediction which it contains is a very short one, and had only a very short course to run. In fact, it was not fulfilled at all. Nineveh was not overthrown at the end of forty days." The answer to the very natural remark may lead to a true conception of what Prophecy really was. This earliest book of the prophetic Scriptures—according to the customary classification of the books—is very remarkable as an example of it.

With childish eyes again, we are apt to let our gaze be fascinated by what was the smaller thing in Prophecy, the occasional predictions which the prophets uttered. Prediction was only an accident of prophecy; it might be there, or it might not, as it happened. Two things can readily be ascertained by any reader of an ordinary English Bible. First, that while some prophetic books contain many predictions, many more predict but seldom. And then that the "prophecy" which, for example, in the Epistles to Corinth we see in lingering survival in the Christian Church, when even Pentecost was past and the Comforter was come, is hardly prediction at all. More often and more helpfully it would be described as specially-inspired Preaching, though even in the New Testament a prophet like Agabus might predict the near future (Acts xi., xxi.).¹ What Christians (say) in Corinth needed was not so much an unveiling of the Future as an authoritative exposition of the mind and will of God for their every-day guidance in the Present. They needed Preachers rather than Seers of the Future. And the "prophets" of Corinth and Thessalonica were pre-eminently preachers of the will of Christ. So, in fact, all the prophets were first of all, and most of all, preachers declaring "present truth" to the men of their own time. It might happen, and in point of fact generally did happen, that this present truth was also eternal truth. Their message was then one for every age, and in that case was put upon permanent record. Then, further, their teaching was illustrated by Facts. These might be the facts of their own day, in which case the prophets became chroniclers and historians, recording and commenting upon what was even then becoming the Past. But they wrote history *for preaching purposes*, so to speak; they delivered a message from God through the vehicle of history. Sometimes it would happen that their message could not be completely illustrated, or even completely delivered, without bringing in the facts of the Future, and then they uttered predictions.

¹ New Testament "prophecy" included predictions, whether such short and, so to say, trivial ones as those spoken by Paul (Acts xxvii.), or such grand and important ones as that of the Man of Sin (2 Thess ii.). But even such predictions as make up the bulk of the Revelation are not given *for the sake of* the predictions. They are for teaching and comfort, and satisfy 2 Tim. iii. 16.

But they were preachers through the vehicle of prediction. When fulfilled, their predictions become, to the generations which witness their fulfilment, credentials of the men and of the Book which contained their utterances. But in the true view of Prophecy the crowning utility of predicted facts was for teaching. It was teaching by Divinely-anticipated History. There may have been, and probably were, in the "schools of the prophets" many who did their work and delivered their message of God's truth without predicting at all. There are not a few examples, especially in the Books of Kings and Chronicles, of such men, on whom once, and once only, in their life there came the spirit of prediction—prophets for the occasion, and for that only. At all events, so far as we know, two short predictions are all that fell from Jonah's lips, this of chap. iii. 4, and that other as to the wide extension of the kingdom of Jeroboam II. (2 Kings xiv. 25). But Jonah was very really and very gloriously a prophet when he was pouring out his soul's experiences in the grand psalm which forms chap. ii. of his book; and the English version of iii. 2 exactly and accurately expresses the truth about a prophet's work: "Go and preach unto Nineveh the preaching that I bid thee."

This, too, will make it clear how his message of threatening could be so positive and yet after all could be left unfulfilled. Indeed, to announce the impending doom was the very way to open a door for the hope that the city would not be destroyed. In heathen thought, the doom of a guilty man, or city, or family, or country, was a Fate, inevitable and inexorable, closing with a relentless convergence upon the guilty. It might come with or without warning; it always came without hope. John the Baptist put the truth about God's denunciations of doom against sin into one brief, vivid, figure: "The axe is laid unto the root of the trees" (Matt. iii. 10). If God had desired and finally determined to cut Nineveh down, He would have brought and used the axe there and then. But He let it lie in their sight for forty days—for use, if it must be; but, best of all, that the evil tree, Nineveh, might repent and bring forth fruit. "The goodness of God led" Nineveh, as it was intended to do, "to repentance" (Rom. ii. 4).

One wonderful thing in this book has sometimes been declared to be past belief, that the whole city should be so moved by the bare word of a stranger in its streets. They who know Oriental people best find least difficulty in accepting the fact, as Christ did. Sir Henry Layard has known a whole Mussulman town thrown into a panic, because a priest, and he a Christian, perambulated its streets threatening a plague, as a visitation from God for the people's sin. That is a small difficulty. But a much larger one, and a very real one, is connected with the "whale." "To begin with," it is said, "a whale's small throat could not pass a whole man." In reply it may be said that on all hands it is agreed that the Bible itself, whether Hebrew or Greek, does not certainly say anything about a "whale." Plainly the very English itself of the Book of Jonah does not. It is the English translators of the Gospel of Matthew who have made what difficulty there is for English readers. Both the Hebrew and the Greek words are very vague

and general. The Hebrews were no sailors, and knew little about the sea and its inhabitants. Their word meant nothing more definite than a great sea-monster. The Greek word would include a whale, but is one of very wide significance. Those who speak and write with authority on such points concur that the Bible is only pledged to some big creature of the ocean.

Then, further, it is abundantly clear from the sailors and the naturalists that there are in the Mediterranean huge sea-monsters in plenty which could swallow Jonah entire. The big gullet of the requin shark, for example, could do so. It has been killed with men inside whole. Its huge mouth certainly could hold Jonah, unbitten and unhurt. Requin shark or some other, the Mediterranean has great fishes enough to serve God's turn as a living tomb for an untouched prophet. There is no miracle and no difficulty on that point. God always does with as little miracle as possible.

The real miracle was, it need hardly be said, that Jonah should survive so long in his strange prison. "That violates the laws of Nature." But let us once understand Christ's profound saying about a Father Who "worketh hitherto" (John v. 17), that is, Who has never taken His hand off from the Thing which He has created, but is ceaselessly active and operative in His creation. Once let us understand that all Force, in the last reach of our thought, is Will Force, and that the forces of Nature are only the many-sided puttings forth of that Force of the Will of God, outspoken and expressed in that Word of His power by which He upholdeth all things. Once understand that there are no "Laws of Nature" to be violated, except the Rules which He has laid down for His own ordinary and orderly action in governing His world. Once let it be seen that, whilst for our sakes it is generally best and happiest that He should keep to His own rules, and should very seldom indeed do in any way differently, yet He is at perfect liberty to choose whether He will keep to His ordinary and orderly plan, or for some special reason will in any particular instance turn aside. Then, if there is as good evidence for the Fact as the case admits of; and, above all, if plainly there is good reason for the Fact; we may as reasonably find no more difficulty in the Miracle than in the General Providence. What is ordinary is of God, just as much as the extraordinary. The natural is of God, as much as the supernatural. Once more it may be said that, if our eyes were not too much the eyes of the children, we should see that the Wonder is the orderly, reliable, age-long, ordinary Providence, rather than the Special Thing, done just once, to meet an emergency for which the ordinary rule and method did not sufficiently provide. And the special is not an after-thought. It is provided for in the whole great plan of the Worker. It is one of His Rules.

It quite as much needed God to keep Jonah alive year after year in the atmosphere and upon the earth, as to keep him alive for three days within the body of the great fish.

Was there, then, the emergency here? For the sake of Nineveh,

perhaps, the miracle might have been dispensed with. We cannot tell whether he related to the people his own story or not, and whether or not, therefore, the story of the messenger added impressiveness to his words. It may be that the mere presence of this strange man in their city, with his cry of warning, may have been the "sign unto the Ninevites," just as the presence of so wonderful a Teacher amongst them was a real sign to the men of Christ's own generation, even before they knew anything of His coming resurrection.

But, that apart, and determined as we may think most probable, let it be considered what God was doing. All through the centuries He was building up a History, and building up a Bible. He was leading up to the Revelation of His Son by a history which itself was a revelation as well as a history, and was securing what may be called a Divinely "official" and authentic account of it. Also, just as through the long geological ages He had made Nature full of forms and facts which anticipated and suggested Man, so He had made this history full all along of suggestions and anticipations of the Son of Man. At this point of the history we are at a new departure. In the narrower, customary sense, the written prophecy of the Bible is beginning. It was not unfitting that one of the first men, perhaps the very first, to contribute to it, should be a special man, with a special and suggestive history. As was above shown, he made a new departure in his very work, in that he went with God's message to a heathen land, far beyond the usual area of Revelation.

And the programme of his life is this. He is a prophet from Galilee, and by the hands of heathen men (Acts ii. 23) was delivered to death, to save their own lives. For three days he has been, as it were, buried; but God has not "left his soul in Hades, neither has suffered his flesh to see corruption." He has come forth from his strange entombment to a new life, to become God's Ambassador to the enemies of the people of God. He is, in fact, "a light to lighten the Gentiles," as well as "to be the glory of God's people, Israel."

. "Of whom are you speaking? Of Jonah, or of Jesus?" Jonah is very unlike Jesus—just as Samson, or Moses, or Joseph, or David are very unlike Jesus. And yet there is not one of them in whose story, or whose character, or in whose mission and work, there does not gleam out one, at least, of those fitful resemblances to Christ which always strike a New Testament reader of the Old. Like those touches of likeness which bind together the children of one family, or father and child, these gleams of resemblance are often slight, often hard to catch; they are caught, perhaps, by a momentary glance, and lost when one looks closely for them. But they are there. They are here in Jonah and his story, and perhaps the best answer we can give to the question proposed just now may be, that the need of such a man, to do such a work, at such a juncture in the preparation for the Son of Man, was, more than even the need of Nineveh, the emergency which "justified" the miracle.

ST. JUDE'S QUOTATIONS FROM ZECHARIAH.

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THE application of criticism to the Sacred Scriptures is in most cases a protest against the authority of tradition. Points which have been for ages supposed to have been decisively settled by the authority of ecclesiastical tradition are in our age subjected anew to minute investigation. Such investigations are by no means to be discouraged. The cause of truth has nothing to fear from honest inquiry. But the conclusions of the critics require often to be submitted to the same ordeal of re-examination. For if there be a disposition to undue dogmatism on the side of the traditionalists, there is almost an equal tendency to dogmatism of a different kind on the part of the critics.

Critical conjecture in Biblical matters cannot be dispensed with, for in many cases it has borne good fruit. The disposition, however, to adopt conjectural emendation of the traditional texts of the Sacred Books requires to be narrowly watched. All hypotheses which aim at any reconstruction of Biblical histories and prophecies should be viewed with healthy suspicion: for the bolder the critic, and the more radical his hypothesis, the greater chance there is of its adoption. New solutions of old difficulties are more or less attractive, and "outsiders" are often disposed, without any thorough investigation, to accept such solutions on the authority of some distinguished critic.

If, therefore, questions long ago closed by the authority of tradition be again and again re-opened by critics, it is fitting that critical judgments, even when generally acquiesced in, should from time to time be tested in order to see whether they rest upon a solid basis.

Origen, who was a pupil of Clement of Alexandria, and imbibed not a little of his spirit, maintained (and his opinion was acquiesced in by other patristic authorities) that the incident noticed by St. Jude, of the contention between Michael the archangel and Satan concerning the body of Moses, was derived from an apocryphal work designated *The Assumption of Moses*.

The correctness of that conclusion has been repeatedly called in question. I propose on the present occasion to re-state the arguments adduced against Origen's view in my Bampton Lectures on Zechariah, with some additional arguments in support of the opinion that St. Jude refers to the vision of Zech. iii., and to that only.

Before, however, entering on the question as to what is the real meaning of Jude ver. 9, it may be well to call attention to the fact that in verse 23 of that Epistle there are two other references to the vision of Zech. iii.

The latter verse (Jude 23) is thus translated in the Revised Version: "and some save, snatching them out of the fire (ἐκ πυρὸς ἀρπάζοντες); and on some have mercy with fear; hating even the garment spotted (ἐσπιλωμένον

χρῶνα) by the flesh." These words (of which the Greek is given), which are alike in both the Authorised Version and the Revised, are recognized in Westcott & Hort's Greek Testament as quotations from Zech. iii. 2 ff., and are accordingly there printed in uncial characters.

The rendering of the LXX. translation of Zech. iii. 2, 3 is not, however, verbally identical with the text of the New Testament writer. The LXX. translate Zech. iii. 2, οὐκ ἰδοὺ τοῦτο ὡς δαλὺς ἐξεσπασμένος ἐκ πυρός. In verse 3, the ἱμάτια τὰ ῥνπαρά, though a good rendering of the original Hebrew, is not verbally identical with the expression of St. Jude, although an excellent commentary on it.

The first of the two allusions to Zech. iii. contained in the 23rd verse of St. Jude might (if it stood alone) indeed be regarded as a quotation from Amos iv. 11. For the same expression, "a brand plucked from the fire," occurs in the two passages, and though there is a slight difference between the two passages in the Hebrew original, in the LXX. translation the phrases are identical. If, however, the idea of "the garment spotted by the flesh" be indeed derived from Zech. iii. 3, it is clear that it was Zech. iii. 2 which was in the mind of the New Testament writer when he alludes to "pulling" or "snatching" persons "out of the fire."

It is not necessary to go deeply into the exegesis of verses 22 and 23 of St. Jude's Epistle. The reading of those verses adopted by the Revisers differs considerably from that of the Textus receptus translated by the Authorised Version. According to the Revised Version, the New Testament writer seems to have had in view three different classes of libertines, although the special characteristics belonging to each class are not described. The text which the Authorised Version follows speaks only of two classes. The difference is immaterial so far as our present purpose is concerned. Some are to be saved by the employment of holy earnestness and violence. They must, as it were, be snatched out of the fire. According to the reading of the Revised Version, special care must be exercised by those who seek to convert others from the sins of the flesh, lest they themselves be entangled in similar transgression. Those engaged in all "rescue-work" must hate "the garment spotted by the flesh."

The New Testament writer employs the language of the Old Testament in a wider signification than the language bore in the vision of Zechariah. Some commentators of eminence, in commenting on the phrase employed by St. Jude in ver. 23, assume, however, that the difference in meaning is wider than it really is. For it is often asserted that the word χρῶν employed by St. Jude in this passage necessarily means the under-garment worn next to the body—the "shirt," "which would itself be rendered unclean if the body were unclean" (*Plummer*).

But, whatever may be said as to the precise signification of the Greek χρῶν, that word is used in the LXX. translation of the Old Testament, not only to denote the inner, but also the outer garment. The long garment with sleeves to the wrists worn by Tamar (2 Sam. xiii. 18) is correctly rendered

by the LXX. *χιτὼν καρπωτός*; and "the holy linen coat" worn by Aaron on the Day of Atonement (Lev. xvi. 4), instead of the more gorgeous outer-garment worn on other occasions, is rendered by the LXX. *χιτῶνα λινωτὴν ἡγιασμένον*.

Zechariah in his vision beheld Joshua, who was high priest at the Restoration, "clad in filthy garments." Ewald conjectured that those filthy garments were robes of mourning worn by the high priest, then accused of some charges preferred against him at the Persian Court, and that the object of the vision was to inform him that he would shortly be declared innocent. Dean Stanley further improved upon that suggestion, and explained the "filthy garments" as meaning the soiled and worn clothing of the suffering exile, which the Dean imagined the vision showed would soon be "replaced by the old magnificence of Aaron and Zadok."

But both interpretations alike are untenable. "The filthy garments," כְּנִימֵי צֹאִים, mentioned in Zech. iii. 3, 4 were, properly speaking, garments stained with excrement (for which *צֹאֵה* and *צֹאֵהָ*, from the verb *צָאָה*, to go out, is the proper word). The adjective occurs only in this passage, but the noun is tolerably common. The word is used of sin by Isaiah (iv. 4), who speaks of "the filth of the daughters of Zion." So in Prov. xxx. 12 we read of a generation of those "clean (*טָהוֹר*) or pure in their own eyes," and yet "are not washed from their filthiness (*וּמִצִּיאוֹתָם*)."
The "filthiness of the flesh" is further spoken of in connection with sin in the striking passage in Isaiah lxiv. 5, "We are all become as one that is unclean (*כִּמְצֹרָה*), and all our righteousnesses are as a polluted garment (*כְּכִנֵּי שִׂרִים*, lit., 'as a menstruous garment')." It is utterly impossible, therefore, to suppose that Zechariah spoke of the garments of mourning, or of old and worn-out garments: what he depicted was emphatically "a garment spotted with the flesh," as Jude paraphrases it. Such a garment was in the vision worn by the high priest at the very time when he ought to have been clothed in garments of purity. The phrase "a clean mitre" (*צִנִּיף טָהוֹר*), used twice in Zech. iii. 5, is highly significant. The high priest, who was standing before the Angel of Jahveh (which Angel is in the very passage identified with Jehovah Himself) was standing in a ministerial capacity, ministering before Him (comp. Gen. xli. 46; Deut. i. 38; 1 Kings i. 2; 1 Kings x. 8), that is he appeared in the vision officiating on the Day of Atonement in the holy of holies. On that occasion the high priest was required to wear a pure white linen mitre and robe. But alas! under such solemn circumstances, Joshua appears clad in both a robe and mitre "spotted by the flesh."

How terrible such a sight must have been, and how full of awful significance, in the eyes of the priest-prophet Zechariah! Satan, too, was there pointing out the depth to which the high priest had fallen. But one glance at the scene sufficed to show the prophet that mercy was even there prevailing over judgment. The high priest's guilt could not indeed be denied, yet mercy was extended to him, and to Jerusalem (the Jewish Church), of which he was the representative. The filthy garments spotted by the flesh were

taken away, and the high priest robed in clean garments and a clean mitre. The scene might well be depicted in the language of the Book of Revelation. It was granted to Joshua, the high priest, that he should be arrayed in "fine linen clean and white, for the fine linen is the righteousness of saints" (Rev. xix. 8).

This was the Old Testament vision vividly before the mind of St. Jude, as he thought over the sinners whose conduct disgraced the Church of Christ in his own day, and pondered on the fact that there were peculiar dangers which, owing to the infirmity of the flesh, were attendant on all efforts to extricate such sinners from the fire of Divine wrath. For those engaged in such work must "hate even the garment spotted by the flesh."

Despite, therefore, the slight variations in language, the double reference in Jude ver. 23 to the vision of Zechariah is one which is self-evident. But if this be so, as the best commentators and critics have admitted, the fact forms a powerful argument in support of the opinion that it is to that vision also, and not to the apocryphal book known as the *Assumption of Moses*, that St. Jude refers in the disputed passage found in ver. 9. The sentence there quoted, "the Lord rebuke thee," is found in Zech. iii. 2. On the other hand, that particular expression does not occur in the *Assumption of Moses*, so far as scholars are in possession of its text; and the patristic evidence in favour of the assertion that even the story of a contest between Michael and Satan formed part of that book is by no means so strong as it has often been represented to be.

In discussing this point, it is necessary to survey the testimonies of the Fathers. In Rufinus' Latin translation of Origen's work, *De Principiis* (the Greek original of which is lost), book iii., in the very commencement of chap. ii. Origen says, "We have now to notice, agreeably to the statements of Scripture, how the opposing powers, or the devil himself, contends with the human race, inciting and instigating men to sin. And in the first place in the Book of Genesis the serpent is described as having seduced Eve, regarding whom, in the work entitled *The Ascension of Moses* (a little treatise, of which the Apostle Jude makes mention in his Epistle), the archangel Michael, when disputing with the devil regarding the body of Moses, says that the serpent, being inspired by the devil, was the cause of Adam and Eve's transgression."¹

The book referred to here as the *Ascension of Moses* (*Adscensio Mosis*) is the same which is variously styled the *Ἀνάβασις τοῦ Μώσεως*, or *Ἀνάληψις Μώσεως*, or the *Assumptio Moyseos*. Although Origen affirms that Jude in referring to the dispute about the body of Moses between Satan and the archangel Michael alludes to that apocryphal book, he does not affirm that the sentence "the Lord rebuke thee" is quoted from thence.

Origen's *De Principiis* was probably written somewhere about A.D. 240.

¹ The words of Origen bearing on our subject are: "De quo in Adscensione Mosis, cujus libelli meminit in epistola sua apostolus Iulias, Michael archangelus cum diabolo disputans de corpore Mosis, ait a diabolo inspiratum serpentem causam exstitisse prævaricationis Adæ et Evæ."

Clement of Alexandria, who died about A.D. 220, was Origen's teacher, and his predecessor in the Alexandrian school. In his *Stromata*, or *Miscellanies*, book vi. chap. 15, that Father refers thus to the *Assumption*, in speaking of the double comprehension of the Scriptures according to the letter and according to the spirit:—"Rightly, therefore (εἰκότως ἄρα, naturally then), Jesus the son of Nave [Joshua the son of Nun, who is spoken of in the *Assumption*] saw Moses when taken up [to heaven] double,—one Moses with the angels, and one on the mountains honoured with burial in the ravines [τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη περὶ τὰς φάραγγας κηδείας ἀξιοῦμενον]."

This reference of Clement of Alexandria to the *Assumption* is similar to that in Origen in *libr. Iesu Nave hom.* 2, 1. The same point is also mentioned by Evodius, Bishop of Uzala, the friend of Augustine. But, however interesting, it has no bearing whatever upon the incident referred to in Jude 9.

The only express reference to Jude 9 in the works of Clement of Alexandria is contained in a note on the passage in his *Hypotyposes*, which is extant only in a Latin version, and may have been interpolated. His entire note on that passage is: "'Quando Michael archangelus, cum diabolo disputans altercabatur de corpore Moysis': hic confirmat *Assumptionem Moysis*. Michael autem hic dicitur qui per propinquum nobis angelum altercabatur cum Diabolo." But Clement of Alexandria is a writer whose quotations are not always marked with accuracy, and his allusion, therefore, to the *Assumption* may have been derived from hearsay. Moreover, all he says is that the Epistle of Jude confirms the statements of the *Assumption of Moses*, and not that St. Jude has borrowed from that source.

Didymus of Alexandria, in the fourth century (died A.D. 396), maintains also a similar view. His words are: "licet adversarii hujus contemplationis præscribunt præsentī epistolæ et Moysæ Assumptioni propter eum locum ubi significatur verbum Archangeli de corpore Moysæ ad Diabolum factum." These statements are sufficient to prove that in his day Jude's reference to the incident was a reason why certain persons objected to the canonicity of the Epistle as well as to the *Assumption of Moses*. It is, therefore, clear that in certain circles there was a belief that the story was common to both of those writings. More than that cannot be asserted, as the reference is so fragmentary. This concludes all the real evidence on the subject which can be gathered from the Fathers.

Gelasius of Cyzicus, whose history of the Nicene Council was written after A.D. 477, makes the following statement:—"In the book of the Assumption of Moses, Michael the archangel disputing says to the devil: 'We were all created by His Holy Spirit,' and again he says: 'From the presence of God went forth His Spirit, and the world was made.'"¹

¹ ἐν βιβλῳ Ἀναλήψεως Μώσεως Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος διαλεγόμενος τῷ διαβόλῳ λέγει· ἀπὸ γὰρ πνεύματος ἁγίου αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐκτίσθημεν. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξῆλθε τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐγένετο.—Comm. Act. concil. Nic. 2, 20 (Mansi Concil. ii. p. 857), quoted from Fritzsche, *Lib. Apoc. V. T. Græcæ*. Præf. p. xxxv.

A statement of Apollinaris (*circa* 362 A.D.), whether of the father or the son is uncertain, is somewhat more precise. He says, "It should be noted that in the times of Moses there were also other books which are now apocryphal, as even the Epistle of Jude shows, when he teaches also about the body of Moses (ver. 9), and mentions as from an old writing: 'Behold the Lord will come,' and so forth (vers. 14, 15)."¹

Though the *Assumption of Moses* thus appears to have been a book well known to the early Church Fathers, no complete copy of it has as yet been discovered. Nicephorus of Constantinople, in his *Stichometria* appended to the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, mentions that the work consisted of 1,400 verses, or in other words, that it was as large as the Revelation of St. John, to which the same number of verses was attributed (see Hilgenfeld, *Nov. Test. extra Canonem recept.*, Lips. 1866: *Mosis Assumpt.*, p. 98). About one-third of a Latin translation of the work was discovered by Ceriani, chief librarian of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, in an ancient palimpsest, and was published by him in 1861. Internal evidence proves the original work to have been composed prior to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.

The portion contained in the Milan MS. consists of an exhortation addressed to Joshua by Moses prior to his death. That address contains various predictions of Israel's trials and ultimate recovery. Joshua in his answer refers thus to Moses' sepulchre: "What place will receive thee? or what will be the monument of sepulchre? or who will dare to transfer thy body thence as a man from place to place? for to all who die according to age their sepulchres are in lands; but thy sepulchre is from the rising sun even to the west, and from the south even to the ends of the north: the whole circle of the earth is thy sepulchre."² At the end of his speech, Joshua falls a second time at the feet of Moses, who raised him up, placed him on a seat, and began further to exhort him. The fragment here ends abruptly, only ten verses of Moses' reply being preserved.³

No part of the portion comprehended in this Latin translation contains the least allusion to any dispute between Michael and Satan, and able critics

¹ σημειώσας, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Μωϋσέως ἦσαν καὶ ἄλλαι βιβλοὶ, αἱ οὖν εἰσὶν ἀπόκρυφοι, ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἰούδα ἐπιστολὴ, ὅπου διδάσκει καὶ περὶ τοῦ Μωϋσέως σώματος καὶ ἐνθα μέμνηται ὡς ἐκ παλαιᾶς γραφῆς· ἰδοὺ κύριος ἔχει, καὶ τὰ ἔξης.—*Nicephori Catena*. Lips. 1772, f. l., p. 1313, quoted by Fritzsche, *Præf.* p. xxxiv.

² It should be observed that the Latin is of a very rough and inaccurate kind, and that roughness ought not to be removed in translation for fear of obscuring the original Greek text of which it is the rendering. See Schmidt and Merx' remarks on this point in the article alluded to afterwards.

³ According to Dr. Plummer (*The General Epistles of St. James and St. Jude*, the "Expositor's Bible Series") the fragment preserved in the Latin translation, "contains the passage quoted by Gelasius." But surely this is a mistake. The nearest approach to the passage given by Gelasius is contained in the second address of Moses to Joshua: "Omnes gentes quæ sunt in orbe terrarum Deus creavit ut nos," but that cannot be identified with what according to Gelasius Michael says to Satan. Not one word of Michael's speeches is to be found in the fragment discovered by Ceriani.

have doubted whether such a story ever formed part of the book. It may be questioned, therefore, whether the patristic statements may not be explained as originating with some slip of memory on the part of Origen.

For the remarks of Clement of Alexandria in his *Stromata*, and the allusions to the same effect made in the letter of Evodius to Augustine, have no bearing whatever on the Epistle of Jude. The evidence of Clement's comments on Jude (though fragmentary) is of more value. The later statements of Apollinaris and of Didymus of Alexandria appear to be merely verbal echoes of the earlier statement of Origen, who might himself have made the statement on the authority of Clement. They tend to show that the *Assumption of Moses* contained an account of some dispute between Michael and Satan respecting the body of Moses; but not one of them distinctly states that the words quoted by St. Jude, "the Lord rebuke thee," were taken from that book. Gelasius makes no allusion to Jude, though he must be regarded as bearing independent witness in favour of the *Assumption of Moses* having contained an account of a dispute between Michael and the devil. Of the subject of that dispute Gelasius says nothing.

But, on the other hand, attention was called in my *Bampton Lectures* to the fact that Hilgenfeld's remarks (on p. 115 of his edition of the book) show that that critic has doubts as to whether the *Assumption* could ever have contained any such story. Fritzsche has also doubts on the same point (Præf., p. xxxv.). Schmidt and Merx call attention to the fact that the Milan palimpsest contains a note in the margin, written by some person who had the whole book before him, in which it is stated that the book contains the prophecies of Moses in Deuteronomy, or, in other words, that the book was a propheticohistorical expansion of Deut. xxxii. (*Archiv für wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A. T.*, i. p. 126). The contents of the portion discovered by Ceriani, which, it must be remembered, is a translation from some Greek, or (more probably, as Ewald conjectured) from a Hebrew or Aramaic original, point decidedly in the same direction, and make us suspect some confusion on the part of the patristic authorities already cited. Oecumenius, whose Greek commentaries on various Biblical books are assigned to the middle or close of the tenth century, makes no reference to the *Assumption of Moses*, though in his comments on St. Jude he maintains that the contest between Michael the archangel and the devil about the body of Moses was on this wise: Michael sought to give honourable burial to Moses' remains, but he was opposed by the devil on the ground that Moses did not deserve any such an interment, inasmuch as he had been guilty of the murder of the Egyptian (Exod. ii. 12).

The contest mentioned in the *Midrash Debarim Rabbah* between Sammael, the angel of death, and Michael cannot be the contest to which St. Jude refers. According to that legend, the angel of death claimed the right to take away Moses' life, and Michael was bitterly grieved thereat. In the story, as there related, no word of rebuke was used by Michael. When the angel of death approached Moses with the intention of taking

away his soul, Moses put him to flight by striking him with his rod, which had inscribed on it the Sacred Name. The Most High Himself put an end to the contest by descending on the scene with Michael and two attendant angels. The angels stripped off the garments of Moses, and God with a kiss drew forth his soul from the body, and placed it beneath His throne with the cherubim and seraphim. The body of the lawgiver was then buried by the angels.

There is no trace in any known Jewish legend of the story of any contest between Michael and Satan respecting the body of Moses. It can easily be understood how the words found in Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6 would have given rise to many stories and conjectures. It ought, however, to be borne in mind that it is not by any means even certain that that passage asserts that the Lord buried Moses. This is too often assumed as a fact. The margin of the Revised Version correctly observes that the opening words of ver. 6 can, with equal ease, be translated, "and he was buried," and the LXX. long ago thus understood the passage (*καὶ ἔθαψαν*).

Josephus (*Antiq. Jud.*; Lib. iv. cap. 8, 49) asserts that after Moses bade farewell to Eleasar and Joshua, a cloud having suddenly surrounded him, he became invisible or disappeared at a certain ravine (*ἀφανίζεται κατὰ τινὸς φάραγγος*). True, however, to the ancient belief of the Jews that even the last verses of Deuteronomy were written by Moses, Josephus immediately adds, "But in the sacred books he wrote that he died, having feared lest through the superabundance of the virtue that was about him they should dare to say that he had gone to the Deity (*πρὸς τὸ θεῖον*)."

The idea that Moses either did not actually die, or after death was raised to life and ascended into heaven, appears to have been the opinion held by many Jewish teachers. Maimonides is said to have held that view. Even some of the Fathers imbibed similar notions. Clement of Alexandria believed in Moses' ascension (*Strom.* i. 23). Gregory of Nyssa speaks of the end of his history as "a living close" (*τελευτὴν ζῶσαν*); and opinions not very dissimilar were expressed by Lactantius, Ambrose, and others. (See the able work of the Roman Catholic scholar Rampf, *Der Brief Judæ, hist. krit. exeg. betrachtet.*)

In maintaining that the object which Michael strove to attain was the preservation of Moses' body from corruption, Luthardt upholds a view which has its roots far back in antiquity. At the same time such an opinion has no support in Scripture. Nor is there anything which can really be adduced in favour of the more common view (which is as old as Chrysostom, and was adopted by Calvin), namely, that Satan wished to keep the body of Moses from being buried in order that the Israelites might be drawn into the sin of worshipping it. The latter conjecture is indeed a strange one, for those who put forward that view seem to have been unmindful of the fact that though the bones of Joseph was carried out of Egypt by the Israelites, there is no trace in Scripture of such relics ever having been worshipped. Had the Israelites been naturally inclined to any such veneration of relics,

some indication would have been given in the histories of the Bible. But the Sacred Books never speak of the Israelites offering up religious worship even at the tombs of Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob.

It has been already pointed out that there are serious doubts whether the *Assumption of Moses* ever actually contained an account of any dispute between Michael and Satan. Whether that be true or not, we maintain that the reference in St. Jude's Epistle is not to that Book, but to the vision in the Book of Zechariah.

If it be maintained that the name Michael does not occur in the Book of Zechariah, we may quote the following passage from the *Midrash Shemoth*, Par. xviii., "Our holy Rabbi says: It is Michael alone [who is the helper], as it is written (Dan. xii. 1), 'and at that time Michael stands up, the great Prince who stands for the children of thy people,' that is, he works for the necessities of Israel, and speaks for them, as it is written (Zech. i. 12), 'and the angel of the Lord answered and said, O Lord of hosts, how long wilt thou not have pity on Jerusalem?' He answered: No one but Michael your Prince supports my people. R. Jose said: To whom are Michael and Samael [the angel of death] like? To the Advocate and Accuser who stand in the judgment. The one speaks as well as the other, but as soon as the latter has finished, when the Advocate perceives that he is certain of victory, then he begins to praise the Judge, and to ask him to pronounce judgment. If the Accuser then desires to add anything to his statement, the Advocate says, Be silent, we desire to hear from the Judge his decision. Thus stand Michael and Samael before the Shekinah, and the Adversary [the Satan] makes his accusation, and Michael defends the merits of Israel, then the Adversary [the Satan] comes to speak, and Michael puts him to silence, &c."

But while it is at least uncertain that the *Assumption of Moses* ever contained any story like that in St. Jude, the Book of Zechariah, as has been seen, does contain the account of a vision seen by that prophet, in which a dispute is related as having taken place between "the Angel of Jahveh" and Satan. That "Angel of Jahveh" is identified, indeed, with Jahveh. But the title Angel continues to be given to him in the verses following. There is no difficulty in identifying the angel who stands forth in the defence of the Lord's people (who were represented by Joshua, the high priest) with him who is mentioned in Dan. xii. 1, as "Michael, the great prince, which standeth for the children of thy people." For, as already proved, the Jews identified Michael and the Angel of the Lord. The very words quoted by St. Jude are those which proceeded from the mouth of the Divine Angel to Zechariah, "And the LORD (Jahveh) said unto Satan (the Adversary), The LORD (Jahveh) rebuke thee, O Satan (O Adversary)."

Let it be borne in mind that Jude actually twice refers in ver. 23 to that self-same vision of Zechariah. Why should we not regard him as quoting from it in ver. 9? The object the Apostle had there specially in view would have been equally well attained by citing the passage of

Zechariah, for that object was simply to rebuke those who lightly spoke evil of dignities.

There exists only one objection to this view, namely, that the subject-matter of dispute mentioned by the New Testament writer is "the body of Moses," while in the Old Testament prophet the subject of dispute was Joshua, the high priest, clothed with the filthy garments.

In the New Testament, however, a contrast is continually drawn between Moses and Christ. The Lord Himself says, "Think not that I will accuse you to the Father; there is one that accuseth you, Moses, on whom ye have set your hope" (John v. 45). St. Paul speaks of the Israelites as "all baptized unto (Gr. *into, eis τὸν Μωϋσῆν*) Moses in the cloud and in the sea" (1 Cor. x. 2). The same expression as is used in Gal. iii. 27, "As many of you as were baptized into Christ (*eis Χριστόν*)."

Somewhat similar is the comparison made by St. Paul between the Jerusalem that now is and the Jerusalem that is above (Gal. iv. 26, see the whole context), and that found in the Epistle to the Hebrews between "within" and "without the camp" (Heb. xiii. 12-14). These and similar passages (*e.g.*, Rev. ii. 9) render it quite possible that like as the expression "the body of Christ" was constantly used to denote the Church of Christ in the Pauline Epistles, the expression "the body of Moses" was employed by St. Jude to denote the Jewish Church of the days of Zechariah. That Church was allegorically represented to Zechariah by Joshua the high priest, and might well be spoken of as "the body of Moses" in a day when the Jewish Church had taken up a directly antagonistic position to the Church of Christ, and was continually putting forth its claim to be the Church of Moses.

That such an allegorical expression should in later times have been misunderstood, and the language of allegory should in process of time have been regarded as the language of fact, is only what has occurred in other cases.

Our paper has grown to such an extent that we will not further enlarge it by giving a sketch of the history of the interpretation of the passage. But it should be remembered that the allegorical interpretation of the expression "body of Moses" has also its roots in hoar antiquity (see the *Catena in epist. cath.*, ed. Cramer), and though unpopular among critics of to-day, that view was maintained by Vitranga, Hammond, and others. We do not rest the main stress of our argument in its favour on any conjectures as to what may, or may not, have been contained in the *Assumption of Moses*, although we have called attention to the inherent weakness of the evidence adduced on that head; we rely mainly on the fact that the words quoted by St. Jude in ver. 9 are contained in the special vision of the Book of Zechariah, to which the Apostle refers no less than twice in ver. 23 of his short Epistle.

THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

THE MIRACULOUS CONCEPTION AND MODERN THOUGHT.

BY PROFESSOR JAMES ORR, D.D., EDINBURGH.

I PROPOSE in this article to offer some suggestions on a question by no means new in itself, but which a recent ecclesiastical decision in Germany has again brought into prominence—the question, viz., How far the miraculous conception is an essential part of the faith of the Church about Christ? The decision I refer to is that in the case of a talented young Württemberg pastor—Herr Schrempf—who a year ago was deposed by his ecclesiastical superiors for his refusal to use the so-called Apostles' Creed in the public service of baptism. This case of Schrempf naturally excited much interest, and has called forth a somewhat warm controversy in which Harnack and other writers of a Ritschlian tendency have taken a leading part. The controversy has gradually widened out into one of principle, involving the attitude of the Church to the Apostles' Creed generally, and specially raising the question of how far belief in the miraculous conception is of the essence of Christian faith.

In dealing with this question it is important to guard ourselves against ambiguity. At first sight it might appear as if it were less faith in Christ that was at stake than faith in the two particular narratives of the Gospels which record this supernatural occurrence. These narratives might conceivably be regarded as legendary additions to the original Apostolic tradition—attempts on the part of the Church to explain the wonderful impression which Christ's Person made upon it,—and yet faith in Christ Himself, as respects the main features of His character and claims, might be thought not to be affected. This is, in fact, the attitude taken up towards these narratives by many critics and theologians whose Christianity I do not dream of doubting. The immediate object of faith, they contend, is Christ's Person—Christ Himself; whether He came into the world in a supernatural manner is a secondary question to be decided on historical grounds, and on which individuals will hold different opinions according to their views of the worth of the tradition. One need not, however, either doubt the *bonâ fides* of the theologians who take up this attitude, nor dispute the soundness of their general position, that the immediate object of faith is Christ Himself, and not the manner of His origin, in order to remain unconvinced that faith in Christ and the doctrine of His supernatural birth are really so loosely related as they suppose. It may very well be that Christ's Person is the direct and immediate object of faith, and yet that, in the nature and reality of things, the supernatural birth is the necessary presupposition of that Person, and therefore a fact which faith, whether at first it realizes all that is implied in it or not, is vitally concerned in holding fast.

In the mind of the early Church there was no dubiety on the question

here raised. An instinct which we may pardonably regard as a sound one led it to place the supernatural birth among the few fundamental articles of its earliest creed—the much contested “Apostolicum.” “Born by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary,” reads that symbol in its oldest (Roman) form. We need not suppose that this article was introduced simply because of the two narratives of the supernatural birth in Matthew and Luke. Its presence there is due much more to the sound instinctive perception of the collective Church that this article was vital to its faith in Christ as Saviour and Lord, and in this light the testimony of the Creed is still of value to us. It is noteworthy that the newly discovered Apology of Aristides and the Epistles of Ignatius likewise include the Virgin-birth among the fundamental facts of Christianity. This faith of the early Church remained practically unchallenged for centuries. Only one (Judaizing) section among the Ebionites, and Cerinthus and the Carpocratians among the Gnostics, are known to have denied it. Now, however, it is impossible not to recognize that there is a wide-spread drift in the opposite direction. That it should be so where the sinlessness of Christ, and the supernatural aspects of His character and work, are rejected, as, *e.g.*, by Strauss and Renan, is not wonderful. But even within the Church, from Schleiermacher downwards, the tendency has been strong to dispute the historical character of the narratives of the miraculous conception, and to treat the belief in the fact as at least unessential.

1. Critically, the tendency is to regard the narratives as legendary. Thus, *e.g.*, Meyer, Ewald, Beyschlag, Keim, &c.

2. Dogmatically, the belief is treated as unessential. Thus, *e.g.*, by Meyer on Matt. i., and now very emphatically by writers of the Ritschlian school.

3. Scientifically, it is held to be inadmissible. This, however, is dangerous ground to take. Professor A. B. Bruce well points out the issues in his recent work on Apologetics. “A sinless man,” he says, “is as much a miracle in the moral world as a virgin-birth is a miracle in the physical world. If we are to hold a speculative view of the universe which absolutely excludes miracle, then we must be content with a Christianity which consists in duly appreciating a great but not perfect character, or cease to profess Christianity at all. If, on the other hand, to satisfy the demands of our religious nature we insist on retaining the moral miracle, then we must provide ourselves with a theory of the universe wide enough to make room for as much of the miraculous element as may appear to the wisdom of God necessary for realizing His great end in creating and sustaining the universe” (p. 410).

The case of Pastor Schrempf has been referred to above. It need not be overlooked, however, that even this case only brings to a sharper and more public issue a difference of view which has long been agitating the Continental Churches, and which sooner or later required to be faced, together with the estimate of Christianity which it involves. It is seven-

teen years since Dr. Philip Schaff wrote in his *Creeds of Christendom*, "It is characteristic that, while the Church of England is agitated by the question of continuing simply the obligatory use of the *Athanasian Creed*, the Protestant Churches on the Continent are disturbed by the more radical question of setting aside the *Apostles' Creed* for teaching what is said to be contrary to the spirit of the age. Lisso and Sydow, in Berlin, have taken special exception to the clause 'conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary,' and maintain, in the face of St. Matthew and St. Luke, that Jesus was 'the legitimate Son of Joseph and Mary'" (i., p. 20).

On the critical aspect of the question I have at present nothing to say. For what may be urged in reply to the critical objections, I may refer to Weiss, Lange, Neander, &c. Only it is important to recognize, even in this regard, that if the narratives of the supernatural birth are rejected, the alternative which has to be confronted is that of deliberate fiction—for unconscious myth and legend are here quite out of place. But this is an alternative from which, when it is fairly faced, most reverent minds will shrink. My immediate purpose, however, is not to discuss the critical objections, but rather to consider the underlying premiss of the critical objections—namely, the idea that the supernatural birth is a thing indifferent to the substance of the Christian faith. I propose to ask whether this is so, or whether it is not the case that this miraculous fact is a necessary presupposition of the faith we have in Christ as the Holy One of God and the Divine Redeemer of the race. It is, in other words, the dogmatic, rather than the critical, aspect of the subject I propose to look at.

Here, again, there are certain lines of argument belonging to the old dogmatic modes of thought which I would at once set aside. From the point of view of the federal theology, *e.g.*, the miraculous conception was necessary in order to secure the Person of the Redeemer from participation in the guilt of Adam's first transgression, with its entail of original sin and other penal effects on all descending from him by ordinary generation. In virtue of His exceptional origin, Christ is regarded as outside the sphere of this *damnosa haereditas*. He is not an ordinary member of the race, but a supernatural addition to it; an incomer into it, or graft upon it from without, and therefore not involved in its Adamic liabilities. As thus free from sin and hereditary guilt, He is able to undertake man's redemption. I am far from saying that the idea at the bottom of these representations is altogether a false one, but I do not undertake the discussion of them here. The line I mean to pursue is different, and more in accordance with the ruling ideas of our own time. I wish to ask, How far does the simple fact of a new creative origin such as we have in Christ—of a sinless Personality—or on the higher level of faith, of the union of the Godhead with humanity in the Incarnation, involve a supernatural act in the production of Christ's bodily nature?

Before answering this question in respect to the second Adam I would go back for a moment or two on certain problems suggested by modern

inquiry respecting the first Adam, or what is called in modern parlance "The Evolution of Man." The whole drift of modern science, as every one now is aware, is to seek an explanation of the production of living organisms—and as the highest of these, of man—in accordance with the laws of evolution. But in the process of this inquiry along the lines of science itself certain difficulties emerge. 1. First, there is the difficulty of explaining satisfactorily the mode or laws, or what are deemed by Mr. Spencer the "factors" of evolution. 2. There is the difficulty of applying the conception of evolution to the world without being compelled to recognize the existence of new beginnings, *e.g.*, the origin of life, of consciousness, &c. 3. Above all, there is the difficulty of giving a satisfactory account of the origin of rational and moral life in man. It is well known that this is the point at which Dr. A. R. Wallace in his work on *Darwinism* specially feels the need of a supernatural cause (pp. 473-76). I may cite, however, a more recent work bearing on this particular subject—I refer to Professor H. Calderwood's volume on *Evolution and Man's Place in Nature*. The main, and, as I think, irrefragable thesis throughout this volume is, that while the doctrine of evolution may be admitted (Dr. Calderwood thinks must be admitted) in the organic sphere, it fails utterly to explain the origin of life and mind, and, above all, the rational and spiritual life of man as the highest being in nature, and the connecting link between the natural and the spiritual worlds. His position is concisely summed up in the following sentences:—

"Research, extended over the wide field of comparative biology, has accumulated a large body of evidence demonstrating the impossibility of tracing the origin of man's rational life to evolution from a lower life. There are no physical forces in nature sufficient to account for the appearance of this life. The insufficiency of the evidence for its evolution becomes increasingly obvious as the demands are more exactly ascertained. Animal intelligence shows no effective preparation for rational intelligence . . . nor can the characteristics of rational life be explained by any possible advance in the structure of nerves and brain. . . . The rational life of man stands out to view on an eminence completely severed from this scheme of organic evolution. As animal life—a type of physical existence—human life is fitted into the system of organic life on the earth. As a rational life—a type of spiritual existence—human life is exalted above all life besides, severed from the companionship of animals" (pp. 337-8).

Now, it is noteworthy that many of the writers who take this view seem willing to concede that, while man's mind cannot be accounted for by the processes of Darwinian evolution, his physical nature may be accounted for by these processes. I am not sure whether this is the position of Professor Calderwood in the work above cited, but there are some passages which would suggest that it is. Dr. Wallace, at one time at least, held that exceptional causes are implied in the production of man's body, as well as of his mind. (See his essay on "The Limits of Natural Selection as applied to Man" in his *Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection*.) If he has not changed these views, he does not, at any rate, urge them in his recent work. But the point I wish to press here is that the view which postulates a supernatural cause for the mind of man and hands over his body to the ordinary processes of evolution is

untenable. For see the difficulty in which such a view lands itself. It is a corollary from the known laws of the connection of mind and body that every mind needs an organism fitted to it. If the mind of man is the product of a new cause, the brain, which is the instrument of that mind, must share in its peculiar origin. The higher mind cannot be put into the simian brain. From the human brain to the ape brain there is, as science tells us, "an abrupt fall," and no links have yet been discovered to fill up the gap between. Evolution, on the theory in question, has brought up the brain of man's simian ancestor to a given point; then a higher cause comes in to endow the creature with rational powers separated by a wide gulf from the degree of intelligence previously possessed. But of what use would these powers be if a corresponding rise did not take place on the organic side? And on the terms of the hypothesis, natural evolution has no means within itself to effect that rise. The conclusion we are driven to is that the production of a higher type of organism—the distinctively human—is the correlative of the creation of the higher type of mind, and a special supernatural act is needed for both.

Now, let us apply this analogy with all reverence to the greater mystery—the production of the bodily nature of the second Adam. Here, again, we have a creative beginning. On the lowest supposition compatible with Christian faith we have in Christ a perfect human soul—flawless—one standing in such unique relation to God that a perfect sonship is the result. On the higher ground of faith we have the entrance of a Divine Being into humanity—the Incarnation of the Son. But a perfect soul such as we have in Christ, to go no higher for the present, implies a perfect organism. Moreover, in its place in history such a soul is a moral miracle. It is not to be accounted for out of historical evolution. It transcends the past; is lifted clean above it; is not to be explained by factors already in existence. Whence, then, the organism that clothes it, and serves as its perfect medium of expression? Whence this sudden rise from the imperfect to the absolute in humanity, from the impure and sin-tainted to the absolutely pure? This rise, as we saw before, cannot be on the spiritual side alone; it involves the organic as well. There must be a suitable humanity on the physical side to match the perfection of the Spirit. I would not simply say, therefore, with Professor Bruce, in the words above quoted, that "a sinless man is as much a miracle in the moral world as a virgin-birth is a miracle in the physical world," but I would say that the moral miracle, from its very nature, implies the concurrence of a physical one. This is where Meyer, and all who would make light of the physical miracle, seem to me to err. They recognize a Divine act in the Incarnation on its spiritual side, but do not seem to perceive that this "mystery of godliness" necessitates a special cause operating on the physical side as well. The origin of one like Christ is, view it as we will, a miracle. A new power comes with Him into humanity. The words of the annunciation to Mary are to this hour the most scientific expression of what we must acknowledge as involved in the birth of the

Redeemer—"The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee; wherefore also that which is to be born shall be called holy, the Son of God" (Luke i. 35, R.V.).

The view here taken is strengthened if we observe how commonly in practice belief in the miraculous conception and in the sinlessness of Jesus stand or fall together. There is much truth in what Professor Bruce says, "It has to be remembered that faith is ever in a state of unstable equilibrium while the supernatural is dealt with eclectically; admitted in the moral and spiritual sphere, denied in the physical. With belief in the virgin-birth is apt to go belief in the virgin-life, as not less than the other a part of that veil that must be taken away that the true Jesus may be seen as He was—a morally defective man, better than most, but not perfectly good" (*Apologetics*, p. 410). I have sought to show a yet deeper ground for this, viz., that the virgin-life drives us back upon a supernatural origin even in the sphere of the organic. Professor Bruce, indeed, says on a previous page, "Under what conditions such a sinless Christ is possible is a very important question, but it belongs to theology rather than to religion" (p. 409). But it only does not belong to religious faith so long as faith does not clearly recognize its own presuppositions.

I am far, therefore, from being prepared to concede that this article of the miraculous conception is an unessential one, or one which can be dropped without injury out of the Apostles' Creed. The objection naturally which will be made to the above line of argument is that at most it proves the existence of a supernatural factor in Christ's birth, but not necessarily the virgin-birth of the Gospels. This is the position taken up apparently by the writer of a conciliatory article on the "Apostolicum" question in the pages of the Ritschlian journal, *Die christliche Welt*, (Oct. 27th, 1892). This writer, Professor D. Fricke, of Leipzig, cannot understand why any one should take offence at the article of the Creed, "conceived by the Holy Ghost." For if there is agreement that Jesus Christ is the incomparable One, who has the Spirit "without measure," and that from the root of His life outwards, how could He have been otherwise conceived and born than in the power of the Most High, the power of the Holy Ghost? Neither would he stumble at the clause, "born of the Virgin Mary," but he objects to any one dragging down this, which he grants to be a Scriptural expression and thought, into the physiological. This would be to overlook the fact that God acts only on the ground of His own natural order, never without it, or against it. He would interpret the expression, therefore, as simply meaning that the humanity which was to be redeemed could not produce the Redeemer from its own power, else it would have redeemed itself, and not have needed the Son of God. Now, it may be impossible to show *a priori* that the supernatural birth necessarily implies a virgin-birth; but on the other hand, if the fact of a supernatural factor in the earthly origin of Jesus is admitted—and, with all respect to Professor Fricke, this amounts to a physical miracle—all *a priori* objection to the virgin-birth vanishes. The record in the Gospels

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simply supplies, in the form of history, what faith on its own grounds demands. The history becomes, therefore, credible and worthy of all acceptation. For that at which naturalism stumbles in the Synoptic narrative undoubtedly is not simply the parthenogenesis, but the idea of miraculous conception in any form. If once it is granted that a new creative cause enters into the production of Christ's humanity, what is there any longer incredible in the supposition that this should supersede the ordinary natural cause in the manner which the Synoptics represent? I conclude that the narratives of the nativity—which in their ground-traits could only have come from the virgin-mother herself—are entirely in keeping with that which faith demands as the presupposition of its own assertions on the Person and character of the Son of God, and that the supernatural conception is rightly regarded as an essential part of the Christian creed.

CURRENT AMERICAN THOUGHT.

THE CONSERVATION OF THE FAMILY. By Pres. J. E. RANKIN, D.D. (*Christian Thought*).—The family is the only institution which came directly from the hand of God. It is the institution which has in itself the beginnings of all other institutions, the potentialities of the human race. A phenomenal man can usually be accounted for, not by looking at his period, his country, his political environment, however much these may have to do with him, but at his family, and especially at his maternal origin. The method of Sparta, taking children and youth and training them up for the State, was contrary to their first and highest interests. It was a sure way for the State to destroy itself in destroying the family. The State has not that to give which the youth of humanity requires. And the same is true of the Church. Civilization rises or falls with the condition of the family. For the citizen is made in the family. One husband, one wife, this is the unit of the Creator. "In getting one's conception of the nature of marriage vows from French and Russian, nay, from English and American novels, and not from the law of God; in selfish and luxurious ideas of what this life is; in despising the sacred dignity and glory of motherhood; in a word, in departing from the Bible standards respecting marriage, are the beginnings of danger to the family."

Another danger comes from the modern Church and its methods, from its complicated organizations and its exhaustive social demands. The attractions which once bound the son to his home now draw him away to some more inviting centre. He leaves the atmosphere of home, where the parental eye is upon him, where the maternal wing covers him, to breathe that of young people whose moral standards are yet hesitating and unconfirmed, are yet in flux. He does not take his cue in life from those who love him best; to whom he owes his birth, and who have prayed for him in his infancy; but from the young people, who are let loose as he is, prematurely to influence and direct each other. In many a household the children are merely temporary sojourners in their own home, because of the demands of some social, humanitarian, or Christian organization connected with

the modern Church. To every family the home life is first in value, and should be the first cared for. To care first for the home life in any community is to care first for the Church life there; and to undermine the home life there is to do the greatest injury to the Church life. "Where is the Church if the family is gone?"

Another danger to the family comes from non-religious social organizations. The great stores have club-houses for their patrons; the great industries for their representatives; and all of the great philanthropic causes, from that of Temperance to that of Women's Rights. Nearly all the modern organizations are along social lines, in which there can be no recognition of the family.

Another danger, and perhaps the most imminent of all, is the great ease with which a divorce may now be secured, which is always the breaking up of a family. It may be asked whether God's law "let not man put asunder" can be applied to unequal and infelicitous marriages? But it must be answered, that the inhibition relates not to any particular marriage, but to all marriages; and that all burdens should be borne rather than the bond be severed. Ease of divorce is the result of certain imperfect views of marriage. If men and women enter the marriage relation with the conception that it is an institution of God, that it was intended by Him to be as sacred as life itself, and to be guarded in purity and duration, as life is guarded, the thought of divorce will awaken only abhorrence. It is the desecration of two lives. And who will venture to say that this was not the Creator's idea? the Saviour's idea? and ought not to be the Christian idea?

Something needs to be said of the necessities of those families which require the premature services of children as wage-earners. Children are taken from school, if not from the nursery, and put into the factories, to help support the household. Where there is solid character, a heritage of moral worth and integrity, this sometimes makes the better manhood. But often it is not so. The boy thus prematurely exposed has matured only in vices; has learned the ways of a man in evil. And it may be added, as another aspect of the sociological question, that the modern club-house, where bachelors try to find a substitute for home life, is a confession of selfishness and meanness, and an undervaluation of the spirit of self-sacrifice in woman.

We must recognize the peril in which the family, as an institution, now lies. There is not a good institution, nor a good movement, which does not directly or indirectly depend upon the family, and make drafts upon it. These may be necessary, but they are too often, in our time, emphasized beyond their deserts. Let things return to their proper proportions. It belongs to the Christian Church first of all to protect the family. It must guard it as a man guards the apple of his eye. "The pulpit must utter the voice of God on the sanctity of the family; on the duties which belong to married life; on the blessings which spring from the parenthood; on the formative power of the home life upon children; on the promises of God to a well-ordered family; on the importance of the family to the Church and to the State, to Society itself. In a word, the pulpit must begin to make family life the central thing; put it where God has put it. And Christian ministers need to make their practice, as to re-marrying persons who have been divorced, square with the strictest Christian standards. If they become careless about whom they marry, they will soon not dare to preach the truth; and the Churches will soon be filled with divorced men and women, who will not listen to the truth. Ministers, and all Christians too, should dissuade those unequally yoked together from regarding divorce as the only remedy for their burdens. The law of Christ is very often fulfilled by bearing the burdens of an unequal marriage. Ease and comforts in life are not the only ends to be sought.

THE WEAKNESS OF AGNOSTICISM. By REV. L. THEODORE CONRAD, B.D. (*Christian Thought*).—Perhaps no anti-Christian belief is working more shipwreck of faith, and reckless indifference to sacred obligations, than the system known as Agnosticism; and specially associated with the name of Mr. Herbert Spencer. But if the fallacies of the fundamental principles of Agnosticism could be clearly shown as they really are, that belief would soon become a curious relic of the past, and be of no further interest in the future than to represent one of the necessary stages through which mind had to pass, in its evolution, in the progress and civilization of the race. The theory of this belief has one great central pillar upon which the whole system rests, if rest it does; and if it can be shown not to rest on this support, then truly it does not rest at all. Theism and Agnosticism need not disagree until they come to a final and efficient cause, the force that produces all manifestations called phenomena. Here the two philosophies take issue. Theism calls it the All-pervading Spirit, the Infinite and Absolute God. Agnosticism admits a force behind all phenomena, but declares that we cannot know a single attribute it possesses. It is the Unknown and Unknowable.

It is argued that all our knowledge is only relative, and that things in themselves we can never know. Spencer says, "It is thus manifest, even if we could be conscious of the Absolute, we could not possibly know that it is the Absolute; and as we can be conscious of an object, as such, only by knowing it to be what it is, this is equivalent to an admission that we cannot be conscious of the Absolute at all. As an object of consciousness, everything must necessarily be relative; and what a thing may be out of consciousness, no mode of consciousness can tell us." But Spencer finds it absolutely necessary to use that Absolute, which he maintains can never be known, in order to support his theory. He sees that a thing cannot well be related without being related to something, and that there cannot be any relative knowledge without there is, at the same time, an Absolute, any more than there can be a positive without a negative, a long without a short, a north without a south, or a finite without an Infinite. He therefore conjures up a very peculiar theory, by which he would convince of the possibility of at once being without any knowledge of the Absolute, and at the same time having a certain positive "undefined consciousness of its existence." But such a theory is manifestly self-destructive.

To say that we cannot *know* the Absolute is by implication to affirm that there *is* an Absolute. In the very denial of our power to learn what that Absolute is, there lies hidden the assumption that it is, and this proves that the Absolute has been present to the mind, not as a nothing, but as a something. Any conception of the finite and relative implies a conception of the Infinite and Absolute; and the knowledge of the one must of necessity be equally clear and positive with the other. Of two correlatives, you cannot have a distinct knowledge of the one and an imperfect knowledge of the other. But to hold to the relativity of knowledge and the unknowable on the one hand, and, at the same time, to admit that we have any consciousness of the Absolute whatever, is not only utterly irreconcilable, but even absurd. Either all knowledge is relative, or it is not relative, and the Absolute is either known and knowable, or unknown and unknowable. No half-way position can here be maintained, but if it were "unknown and unknowable," then we could have no consciousness of it whatever, either definite or indefinite, for so soon as it is consciousness in the true sense, it is also knowledge, and nothing less than positive knowledge.

Entire relativity of knowledge can never be maintained. If you claim it with a knowledge of the Absolute, here is a contradiction already. For you must conceive

of the Absolute under conditions, you know it only in part, and hence you do not know it as an Absolute at all. If you claim the relativity of knowledge with the view of the Absolute as "unknown and unknowable," then, so far as we are concerned, there is no Absolute, and as a consequence again, no relativity. If our minds are for ever confined within the limited sphere of the relative, we could not only never have the faintest idea of the Absolute, but we could never even know that we are thus confined within the relative. No more could we know this than a man confined to total darkness from his birth could of himself know that he was in the dark. In like manner, some beings having more senses than we, or of superior intelligence, might look down upon us from superhuman heights, and see clearly and inform us, that our minds are for ever circumscribed by the limits of the relative, and that far beyond is a Great First Cause, which we can never know; but without such a revelation from a higher source, we would not only ever be ignorant of such a First Cause, but must also for ever remain absolutely unconscious of our own ignorance.

THE TRIPLE STANDARD IN ETHICS. By GEORGE BATCHELOR, Lowell, Mass. (*The New World*).—Progress is the best test or standard of conduct. "Happiness," "utility," "well-being," "the general welfare," and all similar words or phrases fail somewhere in an all-round application. By the use of the word "progress," we are relieved once for all from the equivocal and confusing suggestions and half-truths which attend the direct pursuit of happiness for ourselves, and the direct attempt to procure happiness for others. We also have a test for "utility" itself. What is useful? Clearly that which tends to increase the quantity and improve the quality of sentient being in myself or in others. In all ages there has been practical agreement as to what constitutes moral progress. That evolution of the race which we now recognize and describe has always been a fact of experience, and has always been made a test of conduct. From brute to man the passage is direct and every step is known.

What are the moral standards which are actually present to the minds of men, and how is moral force generated? Much of the confusion which marks all ethical speculation is the result of mistaking standards and tests for sources and causes. Weights, measures, gauges, metres, are all useful as tests of quality and quantity, but they produce nothing. They are useful for classification, for moral science, but they add nothing to the moral force of society, and do not show how such force may be generated. There are three moral standards which are in universal use. (1) *External Authority*. Whether rightly or wrongly, nearly all men do actually acknowledge some authority external to themselves; some rule of conduct which is imposed on them from without. This external authority may be regarded as the only source and standard of right conduct. But with the advance of thought it becomes less and less imperative, because the reason of mankind seeks for a rational explanation of all law, even the Divine law. Hence there comes into view a second standard by which the first is tested. By a natural instinct of optimism, it is taken for granted that whatever is enjoined by external authority is, or ought to be, for the general good. (2) *Social Utility*. This becomes a test of action in all the relations between the one and the many. He who does that which is useful to society is approved by others, and is not condemned by himself. So long as he works for social utility there can be no taint of selfishness in motive or conduct. But, like the first standard, this is external to the individual. In the one case, he refers to a law behind and above his own personality. In the other, he takes account of an object outside of and beyond his own being and welfare. But in every moral judgment, motive, and action there is involved another element. (3) *The Personal Ideal*. This is complex, as complex as the

human personality which it represents. But it enters as a unit into every moral affirmation. It is denoted by the personal pronoun. When a man says "I ought," the meaning depends on the value he assigns to the "I." "The Personal Ideal is the product of innate qualities, of personal experience, of training and discipline received from others, of the inherited traditions of society, of all the sentiment, passion, poetry, and emotional power which enter into one's personality, and affect one's estimate of himself. Whatever moral energy any one may generate will shape itself into conscience, motive, sentiment, means, and consequence, with a different pattern for each individual." Any man wishing to take a right course will make a threefold calculation as to the general obligation, the special emergency, and his own private relation to them. Of this threefold standard the Personal Ideal is one of the most important parts.

How does this Ideal originate? What is the part it plays in the conduct of life? And what the opportunity it affords for moral education? Two mistakes are constantly made in the attempt to reduce ethics to practice. The first is to suppose that words and ideas are the most effective means of shaping the moral life of Society. The second is to suppose that a metre has any especial value except in minor matters of discipline and regulation. Ideas govern the world in time. Not, however, because they are received and acted upon as ideas, but because, by their aid, better conditions are provided for the development of moral power. Metres also have value, but they only show the quantity and quality of a given force. They do not generate it.

The attempt has been made to elevate to the dignity of a system that which is natural, fitting, becoming, and in accordance with human nature. But it has always been difficult to discover what is natural, fitting, and becoming to a human being. *The Precepts of Ptah-Hotep* is the oldest book in the world. It is supposed to have been written some four thousand years before Christ. In it, as now, the will of the gods, and the needs of men, were constantly recognized as guides to conduct; but the standard of personal righteousness is also set up, and in no doubtful way. From the time of Ptah-Hotep on through the literature of the ancient world, one who looks for it may find abundant evidence of the recognition of a personal standard of righteousness. "Strong men out of ample experience learned to recognize themselves as sources of moral power, and to set up for themselves standards of conduct by which they estimated, not only their obligations and the needs of society, but also what was fitting, honourable, and right for themselves to do." When once the personal standard of righteousness is accepted, it will seem to be most important. When the sense of personal honour is well developed, one trusts it instinctively. If what purports to be a Divine law seems to a man to involve for himself degradation and dishonour, he rejects the law, or he studies it anew, to see if it be rightly delivered, or be of Divine origin. If social demands are made upon him which involve the loss of his self-respect, he will refuse to accede to the demand, or seek to modify it. "In our time, the extraordinary usefulness of right conduct has drawn attention away from its moral beauty." The æsthetics of moral conduct have always attracted attention. "Virtue is its own reward" is a true saying when understood in its original sense. In all works of art, moral perfection enters as an element of beauty, loved for its own sake. So in all human life, moral perfection is recognized as the subtle grace of harmony, the equal poise of well-used faculties working together. Moral health, the glow of joyous exercise, the satisfactions of a conscience void of offence and quick with active enterprise, are enjoyed for their own sake, and may be quite apart from and unlike peace with God and one's fellow-men.

While this ideal is properly described as personal to each human being, yet all individuals fall into classes, and may be considered in groups. The hereditary, traditional, and other social affairs and events out of which any personal ideal may come, are for each individual well-nigh infinite. 1. There is the Ideal of the Race. White or black, Aryan or Semitic, European or African, are words which indicate for all the individuals denoted by them mighty streams of hereditary tendency and traditional influence. 2. The Ideal of the Nation. Whether one be Assyrian, Hebrew, Greek, Roman, German, Frenchman, or American, he will act according to his reason indeed, but under guidance of a conscience modified by the national type of character. 3. The Ideal of the Religion. Buddhist, Jew, Christian, Mohammedan, Catholic, Protestant, represent forms of character and standards of living which may go along the lines of the race or nation, but which often have power to cross them. 4. The Ideal of the Guild. This word is used to indicate a force which is just now manufacturing morals for social use at a lively rate. "Every profession, trade, calling, occupation, of whatever kind, carries with it of necessity a bundle of traditions, necessary habits, forms of thought, modes of feeling, codes of conduct, types of character, by which individual members of the guild judge themselves and one another." 5. The Ideal of the Family. The most powerful of all special influences is that of the family life and tradition. The name one bears, with the traditions connected with it, will often determine the quality of one's ethical conduct.

The personal ideal, however refined by culture and differentiated and specialized by civilization, must always, for the intelligent, be accepted as the personal expression of the universal type. What one thinks of human nature, its origin, its kinships, its destiny, will powerfully affect his own estimate of himself, and his calculation of that which is due to other beings. Whatever system of philosophy one may adopt, the simple task of the ethical philosopher is to discover how to arrange the conditions which are favourable to high ideals. The ethical task of civilization is clearly to present the objects of conduct, and to state the principles which should be the guides of action; but, above all, to show what conditions are favourable to the growth of healthy, happy, sound moral natures in men and women taken as they are. The standard to which in every case final appeal is made is that which one thinks to be right, proper, becoming, and of obligation for himself.

Moral education consists in the use of means fitted to produce in an individual a right personal ideal to be the standard of his conduct. Society unconsciously makes use of such means. When society comes to a clear understanding of the nature of these means, and the best methods of applying them, moral education will proceed at a rapid rate. The means at the disposal of society are chiefly three. 1. Natural and rational selection applied before the birth of the individual in the choice of parents. 2. Natural and rational selection applied after the birth of the individual, in the arrangement of external conditions which call out and exercise desirable qualities, repressing and discouraging those which are not wanted. 3. Direct training applied to the reason and conscience of the individual.

THE RESTORATION OF PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY. By B. B. TYLER (*The New Christian Quarterly*).—By "Primitive Christianity" is meant the Christianity of Christ and His elect ambassadors—the Christianity of the New Testament—not that of the first three centuries: and the question is, How far is the restoration of Primitive Christianity desirable and practicable? All Protestants appeal to the New Testament teaching concerning what men ought to believe; and in support of their creeds and confessions of faith. And all Protestants seem to be trying to get back to Primitive

Christianity. The appeal in the search after truth and right is with one voice to Jesus and the Apostles.

But how far is a restoration of Christianity according to the Christ practicable? Take the case of the kiss of charity. Five times it is enjoined as a mode of salutation. It is urged by some that this frequent repetition of a command or exhortation, to greet one another with a kiss of charity, compels the belief that this manner of salutation was to continue among the saints in all places and through all time. There is to-day at least one religious denomination in which the disciples of our Lord greet each other with a kiss of charity. Why do not *we*, who appeal to the New Testament to find authority for our religious faith and life? Is the observance of the communion of the body and blood of Christ five times enjoined in Epistles addressed by inspired Apostles to Churches of Christ?

Some, also, who desire in all things to conform to the teaching and commandments of our Lord, practise the washing of feet as a religious ceremony. Jesus said, "Ye ought to wash one another's feet." What right, it is asked, has any man, or any number of men, however learned or consecrated, to directly or indirectly nullify this injunction, this explicit and positive injunction of the Christ? Moreover, the Son of Man seemed to make the washing of feet a saving ordinance, for He says, "If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with Me." No such emphasis is placed on baptism, in any word spoken by our Lord, as is placed on the washing of one another's feet; and yet all Protestants, with the exception of the Society of Friends, hold and teach that baptism is an ordinance of Jesus Christ to be observed by His disciples to the end of time. Our fathers reasoned out this subject, and it seemed to them that neither the kiss of charity nor the washing of the saints' feet really belonged to ancient Christianity, the Christianity to which they desired to return; they were social customs and observances of the age, and not religious ceremonies.

Still, there is among us the conception of the New Testament as a statute book, filled with specific rules and regulations intended to govern the conduct of the disciples of Jesus, even as the Pentateuch is full of specific laws for the government of the disciples of Moses. "When our fathers started to feel their way through the religious and theological mists and clouds by which they were surrounded, some of them sought, as do their children to-day, to find in the teaching of the Master the specific details of worship and of work; and this embodies their idea of what is meant by the restoration of Primitive Christianity." But this rests upon a fallacy: "The New Testament contains no liturgy, no congregational service. None of the circumstantialia of the Christian worship are laid down in the New Testament."

The religion of the Son of Man is supernatural in origin, and because of the supernatural elements in the Christianity of the Apostolic Age, some think that a restoration of Primitive Christianity means a return of such exhibitions of Divine power as is properly named miraculous. But is this correct? God at the first set in the Church "apostles," "prophets," "teachers," "miracles," "gifts of healing," "helps," "governments," "diversities of tongues." By what authority, then, are the "gifts" of the Holy Spirit eliminated, these offices abolished, and these officers turned out? It is asked, Will not this power, which was a part of the life of the Church at the beginning, when the Lord's people shall have returned in all things to the Christianity of the New Testament, be again a feature of Church life? The "Catholic Apostolic Church" contends that all the officers mentioned in connection with the New Testament Church ought to be

found in the modern Church; and that with this restoration of Christianity according to Christ will come a renewal of the mighty powers with which, at least, some of the early disciples were endowed. Is this contention well founded? Is it warranted by New Testament teaching? According to St. Paul, there is something better than the possession and exercise of even the best of such spiritual gifts as are by him enumerated in writing to the Corinthians. He affirms the failure, or passing away, of prophecies, miraculous tongues, and supernaturally-communicated knowledge. These strange gifts belong to the childhood estate of Christianity. From the pastoral epistles it is evident that the promise of miraculous aid in thinking, speaking, and acting was not expected to pass over to those who, in the office of the sacred ministry, would come after the Apostles. So far from being powers which were lodged in the Church because of the perfection of faith, of character, and of organization, they were given in accommodation to the spiritual weaknesses and imperfections of the early disciples of Christ. Crutches are for the lame.

But is it not desirable that the original organization of the Church should be re-established? We reply, that there is nothing in the New Testament about the organization of the Church, using the word "Church" in its largest significance. We read of the "Churches of Galatia," but not of "the Church of Galatia." These congregations were one in faith, one in hope, and one in love; but if they were one in organization, the Holy Spirit, in the New Testament, is silent on the subject.

The essential feature, that which is at once and equally desirable and practicable in the restoration of Primitive Christianity, is that men shall be brought, in their daily lives, to the experience of the faith, and hope, and love generated by and enjoined in the Gospel of the Son of God. These constitute essential Christianity. This faith is faith in Christ, and nothing more. This hope is the good hope of eternal life through Christ. This love is a divinely-generated love toward God as He manifests Himself in Christ, and toward all men as bearing the image of God.

It is desirable and practicable to restore the whole of *Christianity according to Christ*. But that which is essential, and therefore permanent, in the religion of the Son of Man is summed up in these pregnant words—Faith, Hope, Love. The Founder of the Christian Church taught also appropriate expressions of these sacred experiences, and in the restoration of primitive Christianity a regard must be manifested toward the Master in what He taught on this subject. Baptism, the Lord's Supper, prayer and praise, are specifically named by Jesus and His Apostles, not only as ways of embodying and setting forth before men the faith, and hope, and love experienced, but as means by which this essential Christianity may be, in life, intensified. These expressions, however, are but elementary. The entire life ought, in countless ways, to speak for the facts of our spiritual experience: *I believe; I hope; I love*. To live such lives will be to reproduce in our places and to the extent of our ability the matchless life of the perfect man—Jesus, the Son of Mary, the Son of God.

THE HUMAN SOUL OF JESUS CHRIST. By the Very Rev. A. F. HEWITT (*The Catholic World*).—The Catholic dogma of the Incarnation is briefly summed up in this formula: Jesus Christ is One Person, subsisting in two distinct natures, the Divine and the human. He, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, the Only begotten Son of the Father, one with the Father in essence, and equal to Him in all eternal, infinite perfections, assumed a distinct, perfect human nature, into a personal union with His Divinity, and thus became man. It is one and the same Person, who is both God and Man; who created the world, and who died on the cross. By Divine wisdom and power,

attributes of His Divine nature, He created the world. By human faculties, attributes of His human nature, He exercised thought and volition in a human mode; He rejoiced and grieved, loved His own kind with natural affection, lived a sensitive life, obeyed and merited, gave Himself up to suffering and the death of the cross. The heresies that have arisen have attacked the Divinity, or the humanity, or the union between the two. It is only necessary to remind readers of the Arian, Nestorian, Monophysite, Apollinarian, and Monothelite heresies, all of which were condemned by the definitions of the first six councils.

The Divine Person assumed a perfect and individual human nature, excluding all separate human personality. The union of the Divine and human in Christ is called Hypostatic, from the Greek term *hypostasis*, of which the Latin term *persona*, with its derivatives, is the equivalent. In this hypostatic union, each remains what it is in itself, the Divine purely Divine, the human purely human. The human nature is essentially and principally rational. Human nature is composed of a rational soul and an organized body. The logical definition of man is *rational animal*. *Animal* gives his genus, *rational* his specific difference. In the hypostatic union there are two spiritual intellectual substances, co-existing but distinct, both terminating in one personal subsistence. But this is the great mystery of the Incarnation. We cannot conceive how two intellectual natures can co-exist, distinct and yet united in one personality. What help toward the apprehension is at command?

There is nothing like the union of two natures in Christ in all the range of spiritual being. In the individual man, "nature" and "person" may be distinguishable in the mind, but they are not two distinct entities. But the concept of "person" adds something to the concept of "rational nature." "It expresses a mode of being, in which the human substance, existing *in itself*, as the undermost subject of all its attributions, subsists *by itself*, as its own final and complete term. By virtue of this mode of personal existence, it belongs to itself, has dominion over its free acts, and is the ultimate term to which are referred all its phenomena." "This ultimate principle and term of rational existence is the unchangeable, incommunicable *Ego*, which has nothing back of it, or on a level with it. This is the 'Self,' always fixed in its own identity, the focus of self-consciousness, the actor and the sufferer, in all operations and affections of every part of the nature, mental or bodily." And the human nature of Jesus Christ had in it all the requisites for a separate personality. If this perfect human nature had been left by itself, then a *mere man*, however miraculously formed, would have been born of Mary. But the humanity of Jesus was never for a single instant left by itself, and the mode of personality was not permitted to give it a separate subsistence. "In the act of creation and formation, the Son of God assumed this human nature, gave it a Divine subsistence, and made it the human nature of His Divine Person." The intelligent, free, living soul of Jesus Christ, instead of finding itself at the summit of consciousness terminated to itself, in its own independent possession, with final self-dominion and self-subsistence, brought to a focus in its own proper *Ego*, found itself in contact with a higher, a Divine Person, in whom was its *Ego*. Christ makes no distinction between the Son of God and the Son of Man. The Son of God *was* the Son of Man.

Human psychology presents but one faint analogy to this mystery. "Our *Ego* is in the intellect, the eye, and the hand; it has at once rational and sensitive cognition, is the subject of spiritual and animal life, actions and passions. But this does not come near the inscrutable fact, that One Person elicits acts of infinite and finite intelligence, infinite and finite volitions, acts of Divine and of human love."

The mysteries of the Christian Creed are revealed to faith, which is an assent of the mind exclusively founded on the testimony of God. But the mysteries of faith are not contrary to reason, or completely unintelligible.

Unless Jesus Christ were God, His human character and human acts would not raise Him above the level of the prophets and apostles of God. If His Divinity be denied, we cannot find in the Gospels the picture of the greatest and best of men, for He certainly made pretensions which could not be made by the best of men unless they were absolutely true. If Jesus Christ were not man, He could not be a Mediator, a Saviour, a Brother in blood to all men, the Second Adam, and the Head and King of the human race. His humanity has no ideal beauty, and no significance, except as the humanity of a Divine Person. As that, the Gospels give the portrait of a character of spotless innocence, consummate moral perfection, and entrancing beauty. It is the ideal humanity reduced to actual existence, after a type in the mind of God, which no human mind could have conceived.

"The surpassing loveliness and sublimity of the Gospel portraiture of the character of Jesus Christ proves its authenticity, without any need of extrinsic evidence. Such a portrait was impossible, except as drawn from life. It is the original which is seen clearly reflected in a crystal mirror. This character authenticates itself by its intrinsic perfection. The superhuman sanctity of Jesus Christ, by itself, makes His entire revelation credible. His moral beauty carried away the first Christians with an ardent, enthusiastic love which made the Church and the world incandescent with celestial fire. Its charm seems to grow instead of lessening, as time passes, compelling universal admiration, even from unbelievers."

THE HUMAN ELEMENT IN THE BIBLE. By Rev. D. W. C. HUNTINGTON, Lincoln, Neb. (*Christian Thought*).—There is a human element in the Bible. It is better adapted to its purpose for that reason; possibly it would be of little use to us were the human factor eliminated. It is the Divine-human Book. As the work of the printer and binder, the Bible, in its present form, is manifestly a human work; but printers' mistakes in no way affect the message of God carried to us in it. Our Bible is a translation into English from other languages. The translations have been made by devout and scholarly men, but they were men, with human infirmity. None of them have ever claimed any measure or mode of Divine guidance in their work beyond that which all honest and prayerful men may expect in difficult and responsible undertakings. Clearly, there is a human element in this matter of translating, and the Bible is the better for it. None of the present translations were made from the original documents of the authors. Those originals are hopelessly lost. The copyists, on whom our translators had to rely, were human, and made mistakes; and their copying introduces another human element into the Bible that we have now.

But supposing that we have the correct text of the Bible, is there no human element in this? Is there no blending of life between the source of revelation and the intelligent and responsible media through whom that revelation is communicated? The organs of these revelations were men, not mere tongues, or hands. It was the *whole man* who was used to record the revelation of God. The man as a free personality; the man with his mental constitution, his education, and his spiritual constitution, all entering as modifying influences into his work. The man, with the laws of his being respected, and all his mental and moral faculties in their normal and unconstrained activity. And this must involve a human element in our Bible. Individual peculiarities appear in prophets, evangelists, and apostles as strongly and as naturally as in other writers.

Each has a style of his own, and a tendency to the frequent use of favourite words. There are evidences of different casts of mind, varying degrees of education, and partialities for certain classes of rhetorical figures. Habits of thought and association appear in these as in other men. To thoughtful readers it is plain, that some of the New Testament writers were less familiar with the Old Testament than others; inspiration did not remove this defect in their education. Inspiration did not give to them precise identity of view, to each an equal degree of knowledge, or to any omniscience. In some instances of most sublime prophetic vision, the revelation of truth to the prophet is accompanied at least with study, and in others is acknowledged as given in answer to prayer. Oehler says, "In far the greater number of cases we must evidently conceive of the state in which the prophet receives a revelation as merely one of profound self-introversion and collectedness of mind in a state of perfect wakefulness. This prophetic state is most nearly related to communion with God in prayer." The books of the Bible have what may be called their local and historical settings. Most, if not all, of them appear to have been called forth by some local necessity. Each book has in itself indications of the time and circumstances in which it was written. The rhetorical figures, the allusions to historical events, to domestic and social customs, to natural history and scenery, all suggest a human factor in the authorship, working as we know men's minds now work.

The manner in which the New Testament writers quote from the older Scriptures indicates the action of a free personality. Sometimes they quote from the Hebrew, and at others from the Septuagint; sometimes literally, at others only substantially. The Biblical writers also make a free use of other available materials. They refer to traditions, to documentary evidence, and to the word of living witnesses. Moreover, the inspired writers do not claim either to know or to remember everything. They claim to be inspired, but not to have lost in the inspiration that which made them human, not to have been lifted above, nor out of, the normal use of their intellectual faculties.

Manifestly there is a human element running through the entire Bible. It does not impinge upon the inspiration of the writers, but it does bring the Book of God nearer to us, and it does dispose of many objections to the Divine authenticity of the sacred writings. "What if there should be found errors in genealogical tables, in numbers and architectural measurements? What if the writers of the Bible possessed but imperfect knowledge of the earth and of science? What if copyists have blundered, and revisers have fallen into error? What has all this to do with the great fact that God inspired and called men to speak and write His messages? The Christ of Christianity is the God-man; the Bible of Christianity is the Divine-human Book.

JEWISH PROPAGANDA IN THE TIME OF CHRIST. By Rev. BERNHARD PICK, Ph.D., Alleghany, Pa. (*The Lutheran Quarterly*).—Christ's words, "Woe unto you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves" (Matt. xxiii. 15), imply that before He gave the great missionary command, a missionary activity was in vogue. It was associated with the Pharisees rather than the Sadducees; and for our knowledge of it we are dependent on the Jewish and Græco-Jewish literature, and on heathen writers. It is first necessary to consider the political and social position of the Jews in the Græco-Roman world. The Jews were to be found in all the neighbouring countries. Of this fact we have abundant illustration in the first book of the Maccabees (141 B.C.), in Philo, in Strabo, in the Acts of the Apostles, and in the Talmud. The Assyrian and Babylonian captivity

gave a wholly different impulse to the current of Jewish life. In worldly pursuits the Jews soon became one with the nations among whom they lived, and very few made use of the privilege to return again to their own land. Josephus speaks of the Ten Tribes as dwelling beyond the Euphrates, an immense multitude, not to be estimated by numbers. The conquests of Alexander the Great brought the Jews into contact with the Greek world. It was his ambition to give to the civilized world the unity of a common language: and his successors carried on his policy, and did their utmost to promote the immigration of Jews into Egypt. The contact of Jew with Greek was fruitful of momentous consequences. The vast majority of the Jewish settlers adopted the Greek language, and forgot their Aramaic dialect. These Greek-speaking Jews, called "Hellenists," produced a literature of their own, which is called "Hellenistic," in opposition to the Palestinian literature, because it is written in Greek. From Egypt the Jews spread from the Libyan desert in the North to the borders of Ethiopia in the South; but the greatest number resided in Alexandria, where three worlds met. An attempt was made to raise a rival temple in Egypt. The origin of the Jews in Rome is very obscure. There are traces of them in 189 B.C., but the first settlement of Jews was under Pompey, (B.C. 68), when vast numbers of slaves were brought to the capital. These became freed men, or *liberti*, and soon were reckoned among the unendurable plagues of the capital's life. The principal Jewish quarter of Rome was on the other side of the Tiber, in the poorest and dirtiest portion of the city. They were subject to severe persecutions under Tiberius and Claudius.

We now are prepared to deal with the *Jewish Propaganda*. Wherever the Jews went they adopted the language and customs of the land, but they kept their religion and their patriotism, and their zeal for the conversion of the Gentiles. The Septuagint version, begun in the third century before Christ, became "the first apostle to the Gentiles," a bridge between the Jewish and the Gentile world; by which the religious truths of Judaism became known to the Greek and Roman, and respected by them. Another tendency was the softening of the anthropomorphic and anthropopathic representations of the Deity, of which the translators did not hesitate to be guilty.

The translation of the Old Testament into Greek was, however, only the starting-point of the propaganda. Not satisfied with their political and social position, the Jews now became members of the republic of letters. The religious faith of Israel, its history and its great and sacred past, were now depicted in the forms, and with the means, furnished by the literary culture of the Greeks, and thus made accessible to the whole world. This was done with a self-consciousness and a set purpose in order to beat the enemy on his own ground. For this reason the Græco-Jewish literature is for the most part practical; its aim is not only to inspire the non-Jewish world with respect for the people and the religion of Israel, but, what is more important, if possible to bring the Gentiles to embrace Judaism. Alexandria became the central place of the Græco-Jewish literature, which developed itself in various forms. The "Aristeas Letter" is a kind of commentary on the Septuagint. Aristobulus (B.C. 160), the tutor of Ptolemy Euergetes, sought to find the Hebrew religion in the Greek philosophy, and the Greek philosophy in the Hebrew Scriptures. He taught that the sages and poets of Grecian antiquity had but plagiarized their best parts from Moses, or Solomon, or Jeremiah; but he sought to strengthen his cause by the deliberate falsification of Greek literature, making the ancient Gentile poets express the elevated sentiments of Hebrew monotheism. Aristobulus was the inventor of allegorical interpretation.

Another author who wrote to glorify the Jewish nation was Artapanus. In his work he tries to show that the Egyptians were indebted to the Jews for all useful knowledge and institutions. In order to be more successful the propaganda had to use different tactics, and the former skirmishing now made room for more overt attacks. The beginning of these attacks may be found in the oldest pieces of the Sibylline Oracles, composed by an Alexandrian Jew about 140 B.C. His aim was to present the Jewish Messianic hopes and anticipations to the Gentiles in the most vivid colours. "He desired to present to them the picture of a people who, in the most happy peace and under the most righteous laws and the finest morals, were realizing by anticipation the glories of the Messianic reign; to teach them to honour this people, and, if not to be converted to their communion, at least to abstain from molesting and disturbing them; and he had the further design of addressing the Jews or Hellenists who dwelt amid heathen, and easily forgot the import and scope of the Messianic prophecies." Similar is the tone in the *Book of Wisdom*, composed by an Alexandrian Jew in the second century before Christ.

Another mode of making propaganda was the affixing of heathen names to Jewish documents, in order to prove that the more intelligent among the Greeks had already correct views concerning the nature of God, His unity, spirituality, and supramundane character. The documents, as preserved by Christian writers, enable the reader to judge how irreconcilable they were with a heathen authorship. Thus the treatise *De Monarchia*, ascribed to Justin, gives quotations as from Æschylus, and Sophocles, and Orpheus, and Pythagoras, ascribing to them distinctly Jewish sentiments.

The further discussion of this subject, and especially the effects of the propaganda, the author reserves for later treatment.

THE PROPER ATTITUDE OF CATHOLICS TOWARDS MODERN BIBLICAL CRITICISM. By the Very Rev. H. J. D. RYDER (*The Catholic World*).—A prevalent form of anti-Scriptural criticism insists upon having found a human key to the development of the Jewish constitution. According to Wellhausen and others, the Hexateuch in its present form is the outcome of a post-Exilic sacerdotal movement tending to substitute what he calls "the priestly code" for the primitive institution, with the object of offering, under the prestige of antiquity, an effectual resistance to national disintegration. Similarly, critics had frequently attempted to find an adequate explanation of the development of Papal authority in the fifth century in a policy of imperial centralization. Up to a certain point the criticism in both cases may be just. "Believers in the Divinity, both of the Scriptures and of the Church, may admit without difficulty a human element working in subordination to the Divine dispensation, whilst they reasonably refuse to find in it the one adequate explanation of the phenomenon."

Another very common way of treating Scripture is to insist upon assimilating it to other primitive records. Its uniqueness is thus supposed to be lost. Abraham was a Sheik, nay, many Sheiks of the same name or a similar one. Various events in early Jewish history read like the echoes of events in other histories. Which then is the voice, and which the echo? Modern ethnological studies have given a vastly increased impulse and sphere to this argument. But what real cogency has it against the truth of Scripture? There is a likelihood that every product of the garden of humanity should have an analogous growth; that even the growth from a Divine seed should but differentiate itself, without manifesting a character wholly alien from its neighbours.

Another objection is that the morality taught in many parts of Scripture—in

Ecclesiastes, for instance—is defective, and that the moral type apparently presented for our approval, in such characters as Joshua and David, is anything but the high one it ought to be. This objection has its roots in a false appreciation of the position claimed for Holy Scripture in the ethical and religious education of mankind. Scripture is not an ethical primer. It appeals to every motive that is in itself good and honest, whether it be high or low, for it addresses itself to the whole of human nature. “No doubt the Old Testament Scriptures represent a system of ethical accommodation on the part of God to the weaknesses of humanity, and of uncivilized humanity; but all relations between the Creator and the creature involve an accommodation, a dispensation.”

Stress is often laid upon the difficulty of supposing that a highly-developed civilization, such as we find in Ancient Egypt, for example, should have arisen and culminated within the period allowed by Biblical chronology. But an indefinite space of time may be allowed, without offence to Scripture veracity, inasmuch as the Bible has, properly speaking, no chronology. These are fair specimens of the Scripture difficulties contributed by modern criticism. Various have been the modes of dealing with Scriptural difficulties at different times within the Church. The system of allegorizing; the mystical sense at times usurping the literal; the interfusion of the poetical or pictorial element in the historical—all tending to show that the Fathers' theory concerning the inspiration was *in fieri* rather than *in factum esse*; whilst their attitude was always dominated by the principle that, granting the inspiration, its largest amplitude was to be assumed in default of proof to the contrary in the particular instance—a principle at once accounting for the predominance in early times of such a theory as that of verbal inspiration, and opening the door to the possibility of future critical development.

It may be pointed out that numberless assertions in Holy Writ take a form incompatible with an acquaintance on the part of the sacred writers with much that we know, and that various statements, though assertive in form, may be regarded as really noncaptive rather than assertive, introducing a character or fact with the note attached to it, whether truly or not. Statements corresponding with opinion and not with fact, where the two conflict, must necessarily from time to time occur wherever a Divine message is delivered through human agents to ignorant men, on pain of laying a disquieting and misleading stress upon indifferent matters. Such a view is, indeed, open to serious abuse in its application to particulars; and it may not be possible to confine it to what are commonly considered minute matters.

It was the instinct of uncritical times to find a whole wherever a passage could by itself be made to yield a meaning; and to lose all distinction of emphasis in the one distinguishing emphasis implied in a Divine authorship; but this has gradually yielded to the exigencies of critical development. As regards the theory of *obiter dicta*, or uninspired minutiae, while its tenableness may be defended, it may, on the one hand, be extended to matters not in themselves minute; and on the other hand, it must be limited to statements which either the form or the circumstances of the human author should exceptionalize.

There might well be a little more confidence in science, and a little less confidence in scientific men. Of science, accurate knowledge, we cannot have too much; let it prevail, a very sea clipping the rock upon which we of the faith are standing as closely as it may. We welcome it as a most important element in the interpretation of Scripture, though not the only one, and as a factor in the integration of theological thought. We may be sure that no ascertained truth of science can be really antagonistic to our position as believers; and that the God of reason is also

the God of faith. We are all exposed to the action of the *Zeitgeist*, which, though scientifically inclined, is assuredly anything but strictly scientific. "The bane of modern popular science is its unordered diffusiveness, the incompleteness of its view of life, its lack of sobriety, and of that sense of proportion which would enable it to bring its various subject-matters into focus."

INDIVIDUALISM AS A SOCIOLOGICAL PRINCIPLE. By E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS, BROWN University, Providence, R.I. (*The Yale Review*).—A great extension of its actual work by the public power may be had without at all coddling the citizen; but the extension must be made in right directions, so as to stimulate and increase independence and the spirit of self-help, instead of lessening them. The *laissez-faire* industrial régime has done, and is still doing, much good. Competition has spurred individual initiative, quickened invention, brought out character, augmented production, and it is doing these things still. But the competitive stage of industry is not likely to be the last; one and the same form of economy will not characterize all ages. The open competition system—personal freedom, unlimited property, liberty of commerce, contracts, and migration—is not yet a century old, and only the rudiments of it reach back to the middle age. The industrial civil war, this feverish Ishmaelism in commercial life, cannot last for ever. Already, indeed, a new economic era has opened. The revolt from Manchesterism is the very key to recent political history in Great Britain. There is scarcely a realm of England's industrial life which the legislator has not invaded. All advanced peoples have long been removing species after species of business, from the coining of money to the working of railways, telegraphs, and the express service, out of private into public hands.

We are suffering to-day from that habit of the traditional economic theorizing, unduly to sunder economics and general sociology; and this is unscientific. What will build up the noblest humanity? What use of his powers and environment will bring man the most rational life? These are the questions which economists as well as philanthropists now perforce ask, subordinating considerations of wealth-production, and even of wealth-distribution, to those mighty moral and sociological inquiries. The phrase *laissez-faire* was first used in an economic sense, though probably in a somewhat indefinite way, by a merchant in a conversation with King Louis XIV. Dr. de Gournay was the earliest regular economist to utter it, which he did with the additional "*et laissez passer*." For a long time the words "*faire*" and "*passer*" had in the minds of economists a very limited scope. They meant simply freedom of labour and of exchange and commerce, not all-round independence of government. They proposed to restrict government only from touching men's industrial life, where they considered the utmost liberty and competition ought to prevail. But is it possible sharply to separate our economic from our other life, repudiating governmental surveillance in the economic domain while admitting it elsewhere? The fact is, that the "economic man" is an abstraction. No one can possibly point out the boundary of the economic realm. Cases are hard to think of in which interference by law with conduct in any way would not involve meddling with some one's industrial pursuits.

Supposing the creation of wealth to be a substantive interest by itself, we find it no easier to regard the principle under consideration as an absolute one. All public works,—draining and lighting streets, securing fixedness in the value of money, trustworthy national statistics, &c.,—are governmental enterprises. There are many industries in which individual interest is palpably and emphatically contrary to the amassing of general wealth—such as the destruction of forests, the taking of fish and game at wrong seasons, and the manufacture and sale of hurtful books and

pictures and of alcoholic drinks. The liquor traffic is an evil, economically as well as morally, preventive and destructive of wealth on a colossal scale; yet individuals find it too profitable to relinquish.

The entire uplift in the condition of the poor, such as it is, has come from the inworking upon the industrial world of forces, philanthropic and ethical, which the mere business relations of employers and *employés* never could have supplied. And to-day, far along as the working population has gone, were it again surrendered to its unaided resources, left to fight its own battle for wages on pure *laissez-faire* principles, destitute of countenance and aid from the public conscience, left without the help of philanthropic and religious ideals in the people at large touching the manner in which human lives ought to be lived, its advancement would cease, and a retrogression whose end none could foresee would set in.

Two other false assumptions belong to the same *laissez-faire* philosophy. 1. That men are quite sure to know their own economic interests, better, at least, than the public authority can. 2. That men certainly pursue their economic interests when they see them. The history of banking, of insurance, of railways, and of business enterprises in general, is full of illustrations of men's inability to see, or to follow, their true economic interest. While selfishness is not the perfectly trustworthy economic servant which *laissez-faire* enthusiasts allege, unselfishness has an economic office of which they do not dream. There are two great, generic forces which together explain a vast number of the phenomena which science has to study: one is gravity, the other the instinct of self-preservation. Economists have sought to explain by this instinct almost all the phenomena of the social world. But as in biology the masters are now forced to admit that the law of self-preservation does not solve all difficulties, so in the social world we find that we must take account of another force—that of altruism. Society as a whole has a life of its own, and a dynamic movement which constitute it an entity such as would hardly be suggested by a study of individuals separately. This social entity enables us to understand the altruistic impulse, and therewith the best part of man's ethical life.

No English economist of the first rank has ever maintained that a perfect *laissez-faire régime* would at the same time be perfectly just. It was reserved to Bastiat to maintain that the free pursuit by each human being of his own welfare as conceived by him, would result in the highest possible good of the community as a whole. False as this tenet is, nothing can be more interesting than the reasoning which led up to it. "We deny that the *laissez-faire* order is necessarily just or moral, as we have denied that it is best calculated to promote either the aggregation or the distribution of wealth. Industrial liberty has been, and still is, a mighty engine of good. The point is to work it, not to worship it; to take it, where we can, as an economic maxim, but not as imperative or sacred law, even in economics, still less in morals."

It is assumed that economic causes within man and outside, acting independently of society's reason and volition, would so distribute wealth if left to themselves, that the result ought to be for the best good of all, and so to accord with righteousness. But as this is not the actual outcome, most economists divide into two classes—those who wrest morals to suit their economics, and those who wrest economics to suit their morals. Surely in automatic and unregulated economic distribution no ethical principle need be looked for. Ungoverned, unguided, mechanical distribution will never issue in justice. All the economic happiness for which men long may not be obtainable by the agency of government, but the government may be efficiently used as a regulating and harmonizing factor in the economic sphere. The appro-

prize question is not, what is it *natural* for government to do? but what is it *rational* that it should do? To which the only sane answer is, that it should do, at any time and place, all that it is then and there for the true and permanent weal of society at large that it should do.

TWO FACTS AS TO INERRANCY. By Prof. E. J. WOLF, D.D., Gettysburg, Pa. (*The Lutheran Quarterly*).—The burning question of the hour in the theological world is the inerrancy of the Holy Scriptures. By some it is contended that Revelation itself must fall with the surrender of the theory that the *form* in which it originally came to us was in every particular faultless and infallible. On the other hand, the possibility of inerrable compositions has been boldly denied. Whatever comes through human hands, men tell us, must share the defects and the limitations of the human mind, and traces are to be found in the Scriptures which betray their authors' consciousness of the imperfection of their productions. Dr. Wolf simply offers some undeniable facts for consideration which, though familiar to Biblical students, are too often put in the background.

I. The Church is not in possession of the autograph manuscripts. The original documents are nowhere to be found; no eye of man has seen them for thousands of years. The controversy concerning *their* exemption from the possibility of error can have no practical value. Whatever Biblical criticism may be able to accomplish by way of restoring the original text, this science is yet in its infancy. The oldest Hebrew manuscripts existing date from the sixth to the twelfth centuries: the Greek Septuagint is twelve centuries older than the oldest extant Hebrew manuscript, and it was evidently made from a text that differed widely from the received Hebrew original. As the deviations from the original consist, not merely of faulty renderings, but of differences of matter, it is obvious that either the LXX. followed a corrupted text, or our present Hebrew is corrupted. Probably neither of them is strictly faithful to the original, the manuscript of the Pentateuch, for instance. The writings of the New Testament offer the same difficulties: the autographs may not have contained a single mistake, but they are not at our command. The nearest to the original are several Greek manuscripts copied during the age of Constantine, and some versions which in their present shape date from the same period. As the variations even in these oldest copies are considerable, some of them, at least, were presumably made from a corrupted text. None of the versions made after the first Christian centuries—the Gothic, the Anglo-Saxon, the Lutheran, the King James, or any other—rest upon anything better than defective transcripts of the original documents, at first, second, or third hand. The most that could be said at any time for the last 1600 years was, "Here is an imperfect copy of what the Holy Ghost witnessed to men."

II. The Church does not need inerrant documents. They are not indispensable to the authority or to the efficient power of Divine truth. The loss of the original autographs, and the inevitable appearance of mistakes in the codex, did not detract one iota from the significance of the Holy Scriptures to the pious Jews, who, indeed, are chargeable with bibliolatry far more justly than any Christian. And Jesus cited as authoritative the Septuagint version of the Scripture, for which no scholar claims inerrancy; but this neither compromises His own character, nor weakens the claims of revelation as the power of God. The ancient creeds were not drawn from the autographs, nor were the early councils guided by them; yet some of their decisions have ever since been recognized as Divine truth. The Evangelical creeds of Protestantism cannot claim to be derived from the Scriptures as originally written. The story of the Cross, whether received by tradition or taken from the Scriptures as we

have them, has proved itself the mightiest force in human history. "Proceeding persistently and irresistibly on its mission, it is being translated into every language under heaven, each translation of necessity varying from all others—since it is impossible to express the same thought with precisely the same force in different tongues—each version having confessedly errors. Every issue of the Scriptures is a greater or lesser corruption of the original, yet who thinks of the Gospel suffering a material loss, or privation, or deterioration from this multiplication of mistakes? Who, but a critic, troubles himself about the differences which must inevitably obtain between all these editions and the original documents?"

There are variations of reading in the manuscripts, and they involve defects and errors, but none of them affect any really vital matter. Of what account, then, is the contention about the inerrancy of the *original* documents, when the documents that we have answer every purpose? Has the Church, with its defective text, either in knowledge, or in orthodoxy, or in spiritual power, fallen one step behind the body which was possessed of the inerrant autographs, if they were inerrant? Is there any theological system, or any evangelical doctrine, which, in order to support itself, is driven to appeal to the original documents, with the assurance that they would effectually settle every disputed point?

We have fallen into conceptions of the Word of God which are entirely too mechanical and too artificial. We forget the living and self-authenticating power of Divine truth. We talk as if it were impossible for God to put His word, His quick and omnipotent word, into an imperfect book. We speak of the authoritative character of revealed truth as though it were contingent on the vessel through which it is borne to us. God, in His wisdom, may have given to His people, in early ages, an absolutely inerrant book, but this His providence has failed to preserve. But whatever the translation a man may follow, he has an absolute guarantee for the soundness of his creed, the forgiveness of his sins, the correctness of his conduct, and the inheritance of eternal life. The Scriptures belong to the realm of truth. They open up their treasures to the believing heart; and he to whom they communicate their unspeakable blessings has little concern in the question whether it can be demonstrated that the original vessel could not possibly have had a flaw or blemish.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD: THE CORRELATION OF THE WORLD'S RELIGIOUS CRAVING. By GEORGE PLATTENBURG (*The New Christian Quarterly*).—One of the deepest and most universal intuitions of the human soul is the recognized need of a religion. Religion is a great fact of human history, an inalienable and irrepressible impulse in human life, everywhere present, everywhere indestructible, without which all of life's problems would be unsolvable enigmas. It is an inseparable factor in all the growth and aspirations of the race in all periods of its historical development. It enters as a necessary force into every stage of development, into every form of thought, into every polity, into every type of civilization known to the traditions or records of the race. A recent writer says, "Whether we descend to the lowest roots of our intellectual growth, or ascend to the loftiest heights of modern speculation, everywhere we find religion as a power that conquers, and conquers even those who think they have conquered it." The Kingdom of Heaven predicted and manifested in the Sacred Oracles, is the embodiment and the correlation of the religious instinct of the race. God meets the cravings of the human soul for deliverance from sin and death by conferring upon him a Divine empire, with its sublime facts and saving forces, and by it crowns his desires with gracious fruition.

The kingdom is Divine, both in its origin and its structure. It is no self-evolved organism out of man's religious instincts. God recognizes the inward cravings of the

heart, and meets and satisfies them with a complete and final revelation of objective truth in the Messianic kingdom : and the development of this kingdom sweeps the whole arc of human history. A King is promised, and the descriptions of His Person and reign exhaust the splendours and exuberance of Oriental diction. The kingdom was foreshadowed by the history and fortunes of the Jewish commonwealth, outlined and typified by its religion and worship. The coming of the kingdom must, in the nature of the case, have been antedated by the coming, life, crucifixion, resurrection, ascension, and session of Jesus at the right hand of the Majesty on high. The function of this kingdom is :—

1. The Proclamation of a Supernatural Message. Man cannot recover himself, and therefore God interposes with a directly-conferred message. Principles, as seed, antedate living organisms of whatever sort ; so the Messiah's kingdom is ushered in by the proclamation of the fundamental principles of moral and spiritual life and action. Jesus stands before the world first as the Divine Teacher of men, speaking with a self-conscious authority, whose calm dignity has no parallel in the whole range of human history. The significance of the fact that Jesus began as a Teacher cannot be over-estimated. In this is realized that the law of all true progress is truth, not force. As from a single protoplasmic germ are developed all the varied types of life now existing, or that have existed, so from the words of Christ the Messianic kingdom has its origin, nature, development, and destiny. And the *extension* of the kingdom is also related to the principles announced ; and it may further be urged that the principles determine the *nature* of Christ's kingdom. It is "not of this world." Worldly rule is grounded in force ; this is based on truth and love in the mind and heart. "This kingdom gives organic existence to a Divine message ; this message being a transcript of the ineffable perfections of God, becomes at once the basis and the ultimate standard of all moral and spiritual action."

2. The function of this kingdom is, to state a system of organic law. Laws are principles crystallized, and by them life is regulated. Man's relations are manifold and complex, and to know these is not enough ; they must be clearly defined and limited, and this is the function of law. A fundamental demand of Christ's legislation is the law of activity. The transaction of the Lord's business is an urgent call upon the individual life. Also in the legislation of Christ we have an adjustment of the relation of the citizens of the kingdom. The law of mercy of the new reign is limited by no condition, or tribe, or religion, extending its blessings even to an enemy.

3. Another function of this kingdom is to establish a system of rewards and punishments. The sanction of law is penalty. The existence of a moral order involves necessarily a day of reckoning and retribution. Jesus so states in His parable of Dives and Lazarus. The law of retribution is as much a law of our thought, as much a law of Christ's kingdom, as the law of love or mercy. The divorcement of sin and retribution is unthinkable. Punishment is not arbitrary ; it is the organic product of a life of violated obligations and neglected duties.

The distinctive feature of both Judaism and Christianity, as regards other religions, is that they are based, not upon abstract truths or dogmas, but upon Persons. God is the personal centre of the one, Christ of the other. It is hard to impress upon the general mind the idea that religion is not a theory, or an ecclesiasticism, but faith in, and obedience to, an Infinite Person. Take out of Christianity Christ, His person, His character, or any one of the great facts of the Evangelists, and you leave to the race only a religion of despair. This personal conception of religion meets one of the strongest tendencies of the soul, that seeks a Leader, rather than a philosophy.

What does this kingdom of God aim to do? There are certain questions of the soul that cannot be hushed, and will not be ignored. "Cries of the human heart and cravings of human nature after better and higher things; the earnest feeling after God; the restless striving to penetrate the vast problem of existence, whence he came, and what he is and ought to be, and whither he tends." The only solution of the great problems, adequate to satisfy the human heart, the Christ of God gives through His benignant reign. To solve these questions, to illuminate their darkness, to take away their fear and pain, came the Kingdom of Heaven. It is (1) a New Creation; (2) a New State; (3) a New Character; (4) a New Life on the Earth. It may be defined as that state in which the will of God and the will of man coincide. It must, therefore, declare the law and rights of citizenship, and the dignities and blessings therewith connected. How, then, is the right of citizenship obtained? The Master lays down as fundamental law that it is entered by a birth. The elements of the birth are invariable, and produced in harmony with an invariable law. God works here, as He works always, not by separated laws, isolated principles, or detached facts, but by systems. All life is the product of co-ordinated forces constituting an organic system. Apart from the definite laws of the Messianic kingdom the phenomena of spiritual life are impossible.

We have a kingdom which cannot be moved. The glory of all other empires fades and decays. Their civilizations die; their art lives only in the traditions of men, or in defaced and marred fragments. Not so Messiah's kingdom. It shall know no decay, no dissolution. Its conquests shall never cease; its dominion never end.

"The glory of all lands
Flows into her; unbounded is her joy
And endless her increase."

CURRENT GERMAN THOUGHT.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE INDIVIDUAL (*Die christliche Welt*, June 15, 1898).—It is only in its form that the social question of to-day is new for the Church. In some form it has always been present. The new doctrine of the moral equality of men and the infinite value of the individual, taught by Christianity, was bound to create unrest in view of the glaring inequalities of society. The attitude of Christians toward the aspirations of the less privileged classes after a greater share in social advantages of every kind is determined by this doctrine.

That Christianity does assign such value to the individual is undeniable. The angels are said to rejoice over one sinner repenting. No privilege of position, birth, calling is recognized in God's kingdom. The teaching of Jesus is utterly free from exclusiveness of any kind. It is addressed to all—poor and rich, obscure and distinguished, women and men. His personal ministry, indeed, was limited to the Jewish nation, but His last commission included all nations. Paul was Christ's agent in applying this universalism in practice.

Now this idea was absolutely new to the world of antiquity. "That world, as we know it in Greece and Rome, valued the individual almost solely by his worth to the State. The State was the supreme interest. In the apotheosis of the Cæsars the State

itself was deified. What the individual did to the State was the measure of his value. Whoever did little or nothing belonged to the second or third class of men. Hence the low position of woman, the little regard for the poor, wretched, crippled; hence the widespread cruel practice of exposing or killing weakly children, especially girls: hence, too, the institution of slavery. Because no advantage to the State was expected from prisoners of war, but the opposite, forced service was exacted from them. Women were only esteemed as bearers of children. And although natural sympathy was never quite absent, the sense of the duty of helping the poor and wretched did not as yet exist, because in consequence of their incapacity of serving the State their right to exist was denied." This explains the extraordinarily rapid extension of Christianity among the poor, the wretched and oppressed, and among women. They learned that, though of no value to earthly kingdoms, they were dear to God. They were set free from the ban under which they had lain for ages. They recovered their rights, and became citizens in a Divine kingdom. But this new truth, like all new truths, was only slowly carried out in practice. It was too great and too novel to be at once accepted. Hence even the Church was slow to carry out the Master's programme.

"It was natural that the Roman Church, as it extended over young, barbarous nations, should exercise over them a sort of guardian authority. It was forced to do this for purposes of training. And it has done much in this way. It trained the nations in many ways to settled habits, and taught them the arts of peace. But it gradually assumed this function of guardian. What should have been the means became the end. It strove more and more to keep the nations in a state of nonage so as easily to rule over them. From this effort arose the two divisions of the Roman Church, the upper priestly and the lower lay portion, the latter of which only belongs to the Church by its connection with the former. Thomas Aquinas borrows his picture of the future State from Aristotle, who knows only three classes in the State—soldiers, counsellors and priests, degrading peasants, artisans and labourers to slavery—an evidence how in the Roman Church the idea of the value of the individual had fallen into oblivion."

Luther's doctrine of justification by faith, by sweeping away all mediators between God and man, revived the first Christian idea of the value of the individual. The Protestant Church, like the Roman one, has not yet given full effect to the principle. All sorts of privileges have been set up and maintained, relics of the old heathenism. Witness the defence of slavery by Christian nations and writers.

In our days also, as formerly, the doctrine is flatly denied and ridiculed. A writer of our day, Friederich Nietzsche, "calls Christian morality a folly, knows no difference of good and evil, regards sympathy as weakness, and so denies the value of the individual. According to him egoism is the sole force active in all advance in civilization. Men are divided into two classes, servants and masters, the former of whom exist only for the good of the latter. Right belongs only to the might that is the agent of egoism. These ideas he defends in his writings with the fervour of a seer in brilliant, glowing style. This gets him followers; and the social confusions of the present supply fruitful soil for his ideas. There are only too many possessors who will know nothing of the claims of labour, and for whom their own interest is the only question. All these find in the ideas of Nietzsche a welcome justification of their reckless egoism and a solace for their conscience, when it would accuse them of wrong-doing. For according to these ideas they are quite right in asserting that the milk-cows are only for the minority, whilst others are only good enough to lead them out to pasture."

"In view of all such ideas and efforts it becomes the sacred duty of every Christian to put the infinite worth of the individual in the foreground, and to carry out its logical consequences in word and deed. It is quite certain that Christianity assigns such value to the individual in considering him in his relation to God. The Gospel knows only of the equality of men before God. And will the rich man, who gives his poor neighbour a share in the most costly possession he has, refuse him a share in the less? And could God, who has promised eternal life to all in Christ, make such a distinction in this life as Nietzsche does?" "Not that we advocate communistic equality. Individual ability and capacity will always be an effectual bar to dreams of this kind. But the doctrine of Christianity seems to us imperiously to require that every one shall receive a share in the social and spiritual blessings of his age in correspondence with his powers and his work." Nor is any sudden change to be expected. Revolutionary destruction of the old is against the Christian spirit. "We know that Paul sent the runaway slave Onesimus back to Philemon, certainly not without reminding the latter of the brotherly relation which is to obtain in the Christian community between master and servant. But it is no less contrary to the spirit of Christianity to halve Christian truths, confronting the world with one half and being silent on the other from opportunist motives. And certain as it is that Christianity has to triumph only by peaceful means, it is still our serious duty, as Christians, in our official relations and where we have to discharge our duties as citizens of the smaller or greater commonwealth—the State—to which we belong, no less than in our personal intercourse, to secure for the individual the recognition of his worth, and the rights following therefrom. This must be the first and foremost exercise of the love of our neighbour, so far as it relates to the improvement of his earthly relations. I must certainly, as far as I can, be the good Samaritan to all the oppressed and wronged, and still more is it the duty of every Christian to guard his fellow-man from violence."

"In emphasizing with such energy the value of man, Christianity by no means depreciates the community. Christ commands us to give Cæsar what is his. His promise of salvation is to the congregation or Church. He sends forth His disciples two and two. Men are adapted to society. Only in fellowship with other men do we learn to develop and use our powers. Such fellowship discovers to us our faults, and helps us to overcome them. But we are not for the sake of society. The community is for the individual. The communities of the family, nation, Church are essential. But their necessity depends on a higher one, namely, the necessity of conducting the individual, who enters life unformed, to the highest possible unfolding and use of his capacities—physical, mental, moral, religious—that he may become a child of God, fitted for every good work. Thus the good of the individual is the standard by which we must judge the healthiness of the State, the Church, the family. And it is no sacrilege to deprive the family of the education of children where it is unconscious of its duties to them, or to permit the State to abridge the rights of individuals when these cannot be exercised without others being wronged in their personality. The social question has been called a religious one. We accept this in the sense that the question is only brought nearer solution in proportion as the value of the individual, which Christianity preaches, attains recognition."

FAITH AND THEOLOGY. By Pfarer TRAUB, Leonberg, Württemberg (*Stud. u. Krit.*, 1898, No. 8).—The position taken in this essay is one extensively advocated in Germany, and on this account is well worth notice. It involves considerable departure from old ways. The paper is written with remarkable clearness and precision.

The starting-point is the statement that theology is a matter of the Church. Schleiermacher's definition is to the effect that it is "a positive science, the parts of which are united into a whole by their relation to the Christian consciousness of God and the practical duty of guiding the Church thus implied." Luthardt puts the case more simply when he says that the test of theology is that one can take its statements to the bedside of the sick and dying and use them in instructing the ignorant, and confirming doubters in serious questions of conscience. The meaning, of course, is not that every theological proposition can be so used, but that theology as a whole should correspond in method and matter to the faith, which is both the basis of the Church's existence and the support of the individual Christian in life and death. Two questions have to be considered: 1. The Nature of Faith; 2. The Nature and Task of Theology.

1. How does faith arise? In what does it consist? Christ's words to Peter show that faith must be the effect of a Divine act in man. Outward means were not ignored. In Peter's case these means were personal intercourse with Christ, and the great confession was the result. There is no other way still. "By the preaching of the Gospel Jesus comes into our field of knowledge. He humbles us by His moral greatness, and first brings us to the sense of our lost, wretched condition. But He also lifts us up by His heart-winning love, and by showing us God's love in His own love He gains our confidence as the only one able to save. There is no other road to faith in Christianity. To the wealth of Divine ways and means no limit can be set. But they must all at last meet in one point, if Christian faith is to arise. They must secure the bringing home to a man of the Gospel of Jesus and its power over his heart." The origin of faith explains its nature. It is nothing else than hearty confidence, trust in Christ and the God revealed in Christ. In the Lutheran confessions faith and the promise of God are correlatives. The promise is simply God's gracious disposition revealed in Christ, and faith the trust that lays hold on God's grace. It is evident that this statement does not exhaust the contents of faith. "Only the immediate ground and the direct object of faith are fixed in it. On the other hand, in the complete contents of faith everything is included, which stands in necessary connection with confidence in God's revelation in Christ; and the task of theology is to unfold the thoughts involved in that initial experience."

This statement of the case is part and parcel of the teaching of the Reformation. "Even to the early Protestant orthodoxy *fiducia* is the core and crown of faith." But that orthodoxy goes on to say that the *fides specialis* presupposes *fides generalis*; and the latter again includes *notitia*, as knowledge of the contents of Scripture, and *assensus*, the full order being *notitia, assensus, fiducia*. Each succeeding element implies the preceding, but the preceding does not necessarily imply the following. I may know the articles of faith without regarding them as true, and I may regard them as true without making them an object of trust. Hollaz says: "*Fides est intellectu ratione notitiæ et assensus, in voluntate ratione fiduciæ.*" Quenstedt: "*Priores duæ (partes fidei) ad intellectum, tertia ad voluntatem pertinet.*"

Herr Traub contests the position of *assensus* in this statement of the order, holding the true order to be *notitia, fiducia, assensus*. The argument is that to make saving faith depend in any sense or degree on an intellectual act is to change its nature and destroy its certainty. Intellectual assent to articles of faith even on the authority of Scripture is a falling back to the standpoint of the Roman Church, Scripture being substituted as a formal authority for the Church. "To us Protestants it is a sin to hold anything as true in matters of faith which does not attest itself as true to our conscience by its import." Besides, how is this

assent, which is to precede faith, to come into existence? The doctrines which it accepts are not clear to the natural understanding. They can only, then, be accepted by want of thought or an act of will. Faith thus becomes an act of man instead of an act of God. And, again, this view changes the object of faith, which is not Christ, but something about Christ. On the contrary, Christ Himself is the only true object of faith. "To *this* object of faith *fiducia* corresponds as a direct correlative. I believe in Christ when Christ, by the revealed import of His person, wins my trust. To require assent as a condition has here no sense. . . . Certainly, an *assensus* is involved in *fiducia*. I shall hold as true all doctrines which Christian knowledge develops from the initial act of faith. But this holding true does not precede trust, but is a part of the trust itself."

It may be objected that faith in Christ implies assent of some kind. Christ lived centuries ago, and unless we have some sort of historical faith in Him, we cannot exercise trust. Herr Traub, however, rejects the suggestion. It would, he says, make saving faith depend on the result of intricate historical inquiries. True, nothing is to be feared from such inquiries. But as they are possible only to the few, the faith of Christians would practically be in the hands of these few. "Thus it is the freedom of faith which forbids us to make the certainty of faith depend on any historical conviction as a precedent condition. No doubt faith includes an historical conviction, for without the certainty that Jesus belongs to history Christian faith cannot exist. But this certainty does not precede faith, but grows out of and with it." The writer acknowledges *notitia* to be necessary beforehand, but denies this of *assensus*. He supports himself by the agreement of Professor E. Haupt. And yet with all respect it is difficult to understand how assent can be excluded any more than knowledge. There must surely be an antecedent historical certainty, which experience converts into religious certainty. "By the power which the Christ of the Gospels gains over the heart, He convinces men of the reality of His person. Whoever has felt this power knows that this figure of Christ is not a product of fancy, but historical fact. A conviction, so grounded, need not fear the result of historical criticism. For what is gained in the way of personal experience cannot be taken away again by the results of science. Perhaps the individual believer is unable to refute the objections raised because not versed in history. But this he knows, that any historical science must be wrong which would take from him the most certain of all realities."

2. What, next, is the right course of Theology? It is a science of *faith*, and it is a *science* of faith.

(1) It is a science of *faith*. "Its business is 'to formulate Christian truth in all its parts as truth of faith, so that faith, and only faith, which is *fiducia*, can appropriate them.' We have seen God's saving revelation in the historical person of Jesus to be the immediate ground and direct object of faith. Here is the point at which Christian theology has to strike in, and from which it has to sketch the system of Christian truth. The saving gift, disclosed in Christ and secured by Him, forms its starting-point and foundation. From this point of view it must obtain the doctrine of God, grasp the nature of sin, unfold the idea of the Church, the Word of God, the Sacrament, the meaning of eternal life. Therewith much which traditional dogmatics usually includes falls away. But what is lost in extent is abundantly compensated by the unity and compactness, as well as the practical usefulness, of the system of Christianity thus sketched."

The writer then tries four forms of theology by this test—the orthodox, speculative, experimental, and Biblical. The prolegomena of the old orthodox systems

consist in a natural doctrine of God, a rational doctrine of sin, and the conditions of redemption as determined by the nature of justice and sin. Only then does the account of the Person and work of Christ come in. "The objects of faith are described, not as they exist to the experience of faith, but as the intellect professes to understand them in their own nature. Then the subjective experience of faith comes into account. This order of treatment corresponds thoroughly to its conception of the nature of faith. If an intellectual acceptance of articles of faith forms the postulate of saving faith, it is only consistent for Christian truth, not to be sketched from the standpoint of experience, but to be set forth as intellectual truth in its objective connection. But if this conception of faith contradicts the evangelical view, this also holds good of the doctrinal system in harmony with it. *Criticism of the orthodox conception of faith is also criticism of the entire orthodox system of doctrine.* It cannot be denied that this criticism is the most serious that can be passed on the current Church theology. Were it merely said, this theology contradicts science, it might accept the reproach and simply affirm that science should bow to the obedience of faith. But the theology is quite otherwise affected by the allegation that it is out of harmony, not merely with science, but also with faith, whereas it claims to be in a special sense a theology of faith."

Speculative theology takes as its basis the Hegelian principle, that religious faith represents the form of presentation which is raised in philosophy to idea. Here faith suffers wrong: a system of ideas is imported into it belonging to another region altogether.

Experimental theology is that which builds on subjective experience as a complete, self-contained transaction. Divines like Frank are no doubt pointed to. Here, again, it is said, subjective experience is an empty abstraction apart from objective revelation. "Personal experience must form the starting-point of dogmatics, but not in isolation as a subjective transaction, but in its relation to objective revelation."

The fourth form of theology criticized is "Biblicism," represented by Beek and Kübel. This also is said not to correspond to the nature of saving faith. While drawing from Scripture a system of Divine teaching, it does not first determine the historical fact, "which forms the direct ground of faith, and from which alone the sketch of a complete view can be attempted." Its object of faith—a doctrinal system—corresponds more with faith as *assensus* than as *fiducia*: "For I can only trust in a person, not a system." "The nature of faith only admits such an exposition of doctrine as makes faith in the historical revelation in Christ the source and norm of Christian knowledge, and from this point judges all the several parts of the Christian system."

(2) Theology, again, is a *science* of faith. An objection is sometimes made that theology as a science must be dependent on worldly knowledge: it will improve as ordinary philosophy improves. But no such dependence is necessary. As matter of fact, theology has often been so dependent, but not from any inherent necessity. The freedom of faith secures the freedom of theology. It is true, also, that theology uses in its processes the formal laws of knowledge; but it only does this in the same way as other sciences, such as psychology, do. Its independence is secured by its subject-matter.

There are two points at which the independence of theology seems to be threatened by its character as a science. In proving the truth of Christianity it has to appeal to moral standards, and so may seem to be subject to the science of ethics. But it is no philosophical system of ethics that is appealed to, but only the general

ethical truth which is universally acknowledged. Again, the fact that theology assumes some theory of knowledge may seem to imply some sort of dependence. The fact is undoubted, but the inference is wrong. "The theory of knowledge, which theology needs, assumes the certainty of faith. Only from the objects of faith can the rule be sketched by which knowledge of those objects has to shape itself." "Theology starts from the facts of religious experience, analyses their conditions latent in the subject, and thus arrives at the subjective functions active in all religious knowledge." Theology needs a theory of general as well as of religious knowledge. If a scientist denies the being of God, the theologian has to prove him wrong by showing that he is overstepping his province. And he does this by distinguishing between the certainty of faith and that of science, and showing that faith and science are two different fields with different laws. The independence of faith, and so of theology, is thus amply shown.

The affinity of faith and theology is clearly evident. The differences between them are no less certain. "Faith is an act of God in man's heart. Theology is the explanation of this act with the instruments of human knowledge. Since, then, all human knowledge is liable to error, the Gospel, on which faith depends, is an unconditional authority, but not theology. This is always merely a relative authority, namely, so far as it gives expression to the Gospel. Now, it is certainly the duty of every theology to give the purest possible expression to the Gospel; and every conscientious theologian must be convinced that his system is the best and purest he can arrive at. Else he could not defend it. But it would be sin in him to bind any one else to it as an unconditional authority. The authority is not his system, but the Gospel which he desires to serve by his system. Certainly he cannot indicate *in concreto* where in his scheme the Gospel ceases and man's thoughts begin. Else he would have to strike out the latter. But *in abstracto* he must maintain the distinction, unless a theologian is to become a Pope. Hence also no theological system or dogma is essential to salvation."

The same number contains an article by Professor E. König, of Rostock, on "The Evidence of Language in Literary Criticism, especially of the Old Testament," and one by Professor J. Weiss, of Göttingen, on "Jewish Christianity in the Acts and the so-called Apostolic Council"; both are important, elaborate, and highly technical.

PHILOSOPHICAL VOICES OF THE DAY ON CHRISTIANITY AND THE CHURCH. VON HARTMANN and FRIEDRICH PAULSEN (*Die christl. Welt*, 1898, No. 14 and 26).—It cannot be denied that the philosopher of the Unconscious has shown himself in the course of time an accomplished critic in the most diverse fields. Once a military officer, then regarded by professed scholars as a fantastic dilettante, E. von Hartmann has won the reputation of an indefatigable, many-sided, deeply penetrating thinker, combining astonishing wealth of knowledge with great speculative talent. His long series of works, great and small, abundantly prove how he has striven to work his way out of superficial vagueness to depth and clearness. His labours in the field of ethics and the philosophy of religion have not been all of a merely destructive tendency.

In a recent essay Von Hartmann has expressed most disparaging opinions of the present state of the Protestant Church in Prussia. According to him, it is ruled by hierarchical tendencies; its trust is in ecclesiasticism, not truth; its leaders look with admiration and envy on the strict discipline and organization of Rome. While the conservative parties are Romish in spirit, the liberal divines are not even Christians. He classes Ritschlians with the former. The writer in the *Christliche Welt*

thinks there is a modicum of truth in this estimate. He himself accuses the reigning powers of the Church of greater anxiety for position than truth. "The warm breath of love is wanting, the free, strong impulse of true idealism; all earnest, decided thought is under a ban. If this spirit grows, there will follow as an unavoidable consequence, not indeed the dissolution of Christianity, but of a certainty the dissolution of the Prussian National Church."

But our business is with Hartmann's attitude to Christianity generally. This has not changed for the better since the publication of his pamphlet on the *Dissolution of Christianity* in 1874. In the last edition he says, "Jesus was a Jew from head to foot; he lived and died in the circle of ideas of his age and people, sharing the superstition of the former, and the hope of the latter. . . . Love in its deeper sense was first made the central point of ethics by John, and it is utterly unhistorical to read this position into the teaching of Jesus. Even in an ethical respect nothing distinctive remains of the teaching of Jesus that would be serviceable, and what is serviceable shrinks into occasional citations whose depth and bearing Jesus cannot be shown to have seen. . . . For the religion of the future more is to be gained from Buddhism than from Christianity." Our critic says well, "Such utterances do no honour to Hartmann's spirit of inquiry and justice; they testify of a bitterness against Christianity such as can only be explained by deep antagonism of inward disposition. The pessimistic spirit in Hartmann plainly revolts against the joyous spirit of the Gospel. The Christian faith is in reality born of the strong love of life, whilst the philosophy of the unconscious owes its origin to weariness of life." Here and there in his writings Hartmann surprises us by utterances which are more akin to Christian ideas, as Buddhism does. Thus in one place he says, "Only faith in Providence can give man security that in his moral conduct he is not sacrificing body and life to an empty fiction; only faith in Providence can lead humanity to trust without reserve in the divine leading of the universal process of good, and to co-operate with its unknown aim in the calm certainty that it means real good." But in Hartmann, as in Buddhism, single sayings cannot blind us to the ineradicable antagonism in essentials and on the whole. His Providence is different from the Christian. "Hartmann's Providence leads men gradually to see the utter futility of earthly existence; Christian doctrine on the other hand teaches us to regard the sorrows and joys of the present as the designed means for an eternal purpose."

From his standpoint of complete antagonism he holds that there is an impassable gulf between modern culture and Christianity in every form, that cultured ministers can only retain their position by unworthy compromises, that by the end of the present century every Church retaining the Christian name will be effete, that the Romeward tendencies of the Prussian Church open the way for "comprehensive schemes of reform, either on Christian ground or beyond the circle of Christian ideas." But Hartmann's conceptions of Christianity are so perverted that his judgments on such questions are worthless. "Wherever the possession of high culture is independent of the reception of certain metaphysical dogmas, wherever Christianity is something different from what it is to the philosopher of the unconscious, it will be evident that thoroughly Protestant and cultured preachers can discharge their office without unworthy compromises. Wherever, instead of Hartmann's caricature, the historical image of Jesus is apprehended by faith, the consciousness of agreement with all who from the heart acknowledge Jesus as Lord so predominates, that Church fellowship can be maintained with a good conscience despite many differences and antagonisms. Those standing outside (among whom Hartmann is reckoned) will

never be able to distinguish between principal and secondary, between kernel and shell; they will be readily inclined to magnify differences within the Church, and to suspect double-dealing when critical Protestants do not energetically assert their opposition to orthodoxy. On the other hand, one standing within religious fellowship, and inwardly possessed by its spirit, will be in a position to overlook secondary differences, because he has the feeling that he is one in essentials with the earnest-minded members of the Church.

Friedrich Paulsen as a writer on ethics is scarcely less influential than Hartmann, and is in much closer sympathy with religion and Christian faith. "Few philosophical works of the present day equal his in lucidity and brilliant expression." Many of his positions will raise serious objections. But his work on ethics is to be judged, not by its general philosophical principles, but by its detailed discussions. Whoever seeks in him a complete, harmonized system will be disappointed. But whoever seeks impulse and direction in the most diverse problems of the day will be amply satisfied.

In contrast with his colleague, Von Gizycki, "a priest of morality without religion," he energetically asserts the necessity of religion in order to the healthy unfolding of man's inner life. He says, "Religion belongs to the normal functions of human nature; its absence is always a sign of disorder, either in the individual or the collective life." However scientific research may modify the conception of existence, there will always be room for the religious sense. Religion will never die out; it answers too closely to the inmost, deepest need of human feeling. In success, in order that we may not perish of pride and infatuation, we need the contemplation of something better, that we may say with joyous gratitude that success is not a merited reward, but a free gift; in the downfall of our hopes and plans we need the thought that earthly things are not of absolute worth; in the absolute uncertainty of all earthly things and the profound ignorance of our own future, in order not to fall a prey to helpless superstition, we need the confidence that, whatever may happen, it will turn to our good; it is certainly not chance that, wherever this faith fails, superstition grows." In his newest work, the *Introduction to Philosophy*, he acknowledges that only religions of a historical character possess vital force. "Religion only exists and only can exist in the form of concrete national religions, which have grown historically and are embodied in symbols and sacred acts. No abstract religion, such as is sought under the name of rational or natural religion, is possible; so far as anything of the kind is found in individual men, it is a survival, a last reflection of a full, concrete religion." "Whoever accepts the saying, Be ye not servants of men, may still to-day, undismayed by the mockery of the scornful and the hatred of guardians of confessional yokes, with the multitude of the true disciples of Christ in all ages, acknowledge himself a believer in God and His only Son. In the life and death of Jesus I get the sense of life, the sense of things in general; and that which makes life possible and shows its significance, this I call God and God's manifestation: so may the sincerest, truest, freest man say to-day as much as in any age."

Paulsen's conception of the morality of the New Testament is too narrow. To him its characteristic is renunciation of life, with its duties and joys. He contrasts it in this respect with the early Greek religion, whose aim was the self-conserving and self-unfolding of the natural man. Early Christianity, on the other hand, is characterized by "abstinence from the world, neglect of culture, devotion to the future life." "The fundamental sentiment of life is longing after the end of this bodily life." "In the Gospels, as we have them, the language of world-denial is heard oftener than the tone of joy in life." "The ground-tone in the life of Jesus

is set, not to victory and joy in life, but to death and conquest of the world." Not "the robust and triumphant, the hopeful and happy," but "hearts weary of the world and life" feel themselves drawn to Christ's Gospel.

It cannot be denied that the moral teaching of Jesus has a severe side. Not to confess this is to be unjust to facts. But, on the other hand, the contrast with Greek thought does not exhaust the truth. In such a contrast, the chief moral elements of the Gospel receive scant justice. "The obvious bases of the life and teaching of Jesus are scarcely referred to by Paulsen. In vain one seeks for any clear allusion to the two points on which the whole of Christian morality turns. Nothing is heard of the essential importance of faith in the heavenly Father, who turns everything to good; nothing of the infinite value ascribed to the individual soul. Had Paulsen started from these two points, he would have come to other conclusions. . . . Over against the Greek inclination to worship nature and culture, Christ maintains the specifically moral element. The ascetic strain in primitive Christian morality does not, as Paulsen's account suggests, form the essence of Christ's view of life; it is simply the form in which the truly moral judgment of all relations found energetic expression. The resolute tracing back of morality to its innermost essence, in conflict with hollow sham and selfish devotion to the world, quite naturally took an unworldly, ascetic stamp. Without a certain recklessness, the unfolding of moral life in the world is inconceivable. Man's highest duty, as Christ revealed it in all its majesty, demands unreserved subordination of all temporal gifts to the one supreme good. Where such a demand is refused obedience, nothing avails but, instead of making base compromises, to insist severely on the lofty rights of the moral world. Sentimental culture may not approve this; but every truly moral nature will sympathize with a spirit that is ready to put all outward glory second when the eternal weal of a single human soul is at stake. The primitive Christian feeling is not as strange as Paulsen thinks to modern Christians. We feel ourselves in touch, not merely with single aspects of Christ's view of life, but with its innermost kernel."

A similar judgment must be passed on Paulsen's judgment of the Reformation. Here also secondary features are touched on, while the essential is passed by. Paulsen complains that some Protestants will be satisfied with nothing but unqualified condemnation of Rome and praise of Luther. We require neither one nor the other; but we rightly ask so able and earnest a thinker as Paulsen to take notice of the chief features of Luther's life and work, and not pass them by. "When, after a cursory and inadequate account of the religious position of Luther, it is simply said that the Reformation 'promoted the release of the modern spirit from the supernaturalistic view of the world and life,' and contributed to the secularizing of modern times, this can scarcely be described as an adequate and just account. The main evangelical ideas, which are of such significance for ethics, are unjustly treated. The right of the individual personality to treat independently with God in the highest and holiest questions, the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, the rejection of the monkish ideal of life in favour of the laws of nature and God—all these weighty aspects of the Reformation deserved to be taken into account in an historical survey of the development of moral theories. But Paulsen preferred, instead of considering the positive ideas, to put some secondary, negative phenomena in the foreground."

We regret these mistakes all the more as in many passages Paulsen shows such fine discernment. In the Introduction to Philosophy he says: "Faith by its very nature is the tenderest, freest, most inward expression of life. It dies when force,

fear of man, and policy come into play. This is the plainest of all the truths taught by the history of the Western nations, certainly a truth hard of belief to politicians. What can we do, then, to preserve religion to the people? Truly I know not, unless it be to take care first of preserving religion in yourselves." He has good hopes of the future, rejoicing at the appearance of a line of thought which distinguishes between dogma and doctrine. He says, "Following in Luther's steps, who in rejecting scholastic philosophy and theology rejected the false unity of faith and knowledge, the new school wishes to draw Protestant theology out of the intellectualism of orthodoxy, the passion for demonstration and system-making, in order to place the Church's life on the ground of redemption by faith and love." One thing clouds his hope: "The radicalism, absolutely hostile to religion, at present spreading among the masses of the people. The hostility excited a generation ago in the circle of the educated by government patronage of religion has now permeated the masses, who are in a ferment of political and social unrest." Still he holds fast his confidence. "Christianity, which has survived so many State convulsions, so many changes of culture, so many States and peoples, will also survive the storms which seem to await the European nations. Yea, who knows, whether its release from association with the interests of the ruling classes may not be the condition of a new and vast development of its life?" We agree with him that Christianity is, not at the end, but at the beginning of its victorious course on earth.

CURRENT DUTCH THOUGHT.

THE APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES. By Dr. W. C. VAN MANEN.—The principal contribution to the first number of the *Theologisch Tijdschrift* for 1898 is an exhaustive article on the Apology of Aristides, by the Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the University of Leyden. The article embraces an account of the discovery and publication of the various manuscripts of the Apology—Armenian, Syriac, and Greek; a critical discussion on the different texts and versions; and a Dutch translation, on the basis of the Greek text, with notes and various readings. An account of this long-lost work having already appeared in *THE THINKER*,¹ it is unnecessary to do more than reproduce a few paragraphs from the concluding portion of Professor van Manen's article, in which he gives his estimate of its value for all who take an interest in the earliest history of Christianity.

Harnack, who dwells on this point in No. 18 of the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* for 1891, does not reckon the Apology of great value in this respect; whereas he discovers afresh, and in a remarkable way, what he thought it possible to adduce from the Syriac text of the fourteenth chapter with regard to the relation of Aristides to the Jews. We cannot follow him in what concerns this particular point, because the Syriac text, as he recognizes himself, gives an entirely different view of the relation of Aristides to the Jews than does the Greek; whereas the latter is nevertheless undeniably the more original, and where it differs deserves, as a rule, to be preferred. The work of Aristides must be judged according to the Greek text, which, with a few exceptions, may be regarded as correct. The variations preserved in the Syriac and Armenian versions are valuable for our knowledge of a later Christianity—a Christianity, perhaps, in some respects a few decades, or it may be even two or three

¹ Vol. i. pp. 266-67.

hundred years later—but not for the life and thought of the Christians of Aristides' own days. On the other hand, we learn from this writing not to despise details, which we may value all the more according as we are less convinced than Harnack is of the accuracy of his view of the history of the most ancient Christianity, and according as we are more assured than he is of the trustworthiness of the tradition which considers the *Apology* to have been written about the year 125.

There it stands, then, first of all as a noteworthy witness of the manner in which a cultivated Christian of those days, a born Greek, and in all probability a native of Athens, thought it proper and possible to defend the cause of Christianity. Its force lies in its attack upon the polytheism of the heathen, in contrast to which the belief in God, the Most High, the only One, and the Almighty, commended itself, without further evidence, as reasonable and true, so that he did not feel the necessity of wasting many words over it.

Still, it would be a mistake if one were to think that for him Christianity resolved itself into the worship of one God. This is plainly enough seen where he holds reckoning with the Jews, and distinguishes them from the Christians, and combats their position in spite of the fact that they are worshippers of one Almighty God. It is true that they thereby stand closer to the truth; still, they do not advance it. The truth itself remains concealed from them because they have not accepted Christ the Son of God, and persevere in the denial of Him.

The Christians alone are in possession of the truth, because they do not stand still in the worship of God, as the Jews had known Him from of old, and as they still worship Him, although many of them frequently prove unfaithful; but because they permit themselves to be guided by what Christ the Son of God, the Most High, had made known to them concerning His being and commandments. In order to be a Christian, therefore, according to the view here involuntarily given, it was necessary to cherish a well-grounded conviction regarding the unity, the greatness, and the omnipotence of God, as well as regarding the work accomplished by the Son after His descent from heaven. It thus involved the holding of a doctrinal belief; but also, and not less, the serving of this God by unwavering fidelity to what were looked upon as His holy commandments. Indeed, the demands of the moral life established by Christianity are here placed prominently in the foreground, although not specifically, yet just on that account all the more noticeably. In chapter xv. Aristides has devoted a beautiful page to the description of the life of the Christians.

If for these reasons the *Apology* merits the attention of all who inquire with interest after the substance and form of the faith and life of the Christians of about the year 125—so far at any rate as these Christians existed outside of Palestine, and in particular in the refined Græco-Roman world—it is also of importance for the history of Christianity in general and of the New Testament canon in particular. As regards the latter, it settles the otherwise known, yet frequently controverted, fact that the Christians of that period did not yet possess a canon as such, neither in whole nor in part. When they speak of their *γραφά*, anything may be thought of rather than a completed collection of gospels and epistles, let alone a collection such as we now possess in our New Testament. They had a book at their service whenever they wished to revive their knowledge of the Gospel history; but that book was not necessarily, and certainly not always, one of the later canonical Gospels. It may even be that there were things in it which before long would be cast out as heresy, notwithstanding that the work was still in use, was read and quoted by persons who for the moment and later enjoyed the esteem of every one, and who least of all would be suspected of heterodoxy.

Of special importance, both for the history of the canon and for the history of Christianity in general, is what the Apology teaches us as to the writer's relation to Paul. He does not name him, but passes him over in silence, and exclusively associates the work of the evangelization of the inhabited world, during the first period after the departure of Jesus from earth, with the labours of the first twelve Apostles whom Jesus had previously chosen. Still, he displays no enmity to Paul, but rather shows himself familiar with, and captivated by, his Epistles, especially with that to the Romans, although he quotes nothing from it directly. This is evident from his vocabulary, in which are to be found words, expressions, and idioms which are, if not exclusively, at any rate in a marked degree, Pauline.

Aristides is allied to Paul rather than to his opponents in his theology, in his Christology, in his soteriology, in so far as mention can be made of these. God is for him the Most High who has, for the first time, revealed Himself completely in Christ, so that the Jews, although they worship Him, do not rightly comprehend Him. He is the ground, the moving force, the creator and sustainer of all things; free from all human passions and failings; immortal, eternal; He has need of nothing, neither temple-service nor offerings. What He expects from His people is gratitude, and also fidelity to the commandments which concern the moral-religious life, without troubling themselves about the observance of dietetic regimen, circumcision, and the like.

To him Christ is not the Messiah who was promised to the Fathers, the man Jesus who later was elevated to the rank of the Son of God; but the Son from God, the Most High, descended from heaven, become man and appearing to men, not in order that He might found the Messiah kingdom, so long expected by Israel, but in the widest sense *διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων*. This deliverance does not consist in the breaking away from an outwardly oppressing yoke, but in the emancipation from error and sin, whereby so many are prevented from living in a right relation to God and their fellow-men. All who have learned to walk in the "way of the truth" through the preaching of the Gospel shall have a part in the coming salvation, as to which it appears to be impossible to form any purely sensual ideas.

Christianity is here, as it is with Paul, disconnected from Judaism and become a new religion.

Now, how is this relationship with Paul on the one side to be made to coincide with the suppression of his name, and the at least apparent disregard of his person on the other?

Assuredly not by explaining, with Harnack, that the Christianity proclaimed by Aristides is, even less than that of Clemens Romanus or Justin, based on the Pauline system, but that, on the contrary, it is based entirely on Hellenistic lines, "whose origin within the history of the Gospel we do not know from direct witnesses, but are able to reconstruct them without great difficulty." Because apart altogether from the question whether this last is indeed possible, the difficulty would only be pushed aside, and we would see ourselves face to face with the enigma how this Hellenistic Christianity, while displaying great affinity with Paul, could wholly overlook his person and work; and this even while his Epistles were read and there was every occasion to think gratefully of him who was the subordinate founder of the Gospel preached among the heathen.

How was it possible for Aristides, the born Greek, to neglect Paul, to whom he was spiritually allied, and to testify of the Twelve as he does, if it were not that he placed Paul, the founder of Christian communities in Greece, upon the same level with the Twelve; and, as a matter of course, looked upon him as belonging to that

circle which embraced all the early preachers of Christianity, namely, "the Twelve"? How was it possible for the same Aristides to read and make use of Epistles of Paul without committing himself to everything they contained, and without ever mentioning the name of the writer, unless it be that for him these Epistles were destitute of all that tends to canonical authority, and that it did not even occur to him to see in them the work of the "great Apostle of the Gentiles," who was supposed to have written them about three-quarters of a century before to certain individual communities?

We have here a phenomenon similar to that which meets us in the reading of the Revelation of John, the Preaching of Peter, Justin, and elsewhere—enigmatical relation to Paul, upon which the desired light is only thrown when we have learned to distinguish between Paul, the contemporary and spiritual kinsman of the first disciples of Jesus, and the younger Paul of Paulinism. And so for the future the Apology of Aristides may be named among the unsuspected testimonies to the accuracy of the results of the inquiry, conducted on the basis of this distinction, into the origin of the Pauline Epistles and the progress and development of the earliest Christianity.

ELECTION. By G. L. VAN LOON (*Bibliotheek van Moderne Theologie en Letterkunde*, 18^{de} dl., 4^{de} st.).—With regard to this article of faith there has been a long and bitter controversy in the Christian Church; and perhaps no doctrine has been less understood or more abused. The first Christians could not have derived this doctrinal idea of election from any external source. With them Christian feeling, religious experience, and sanctified living came first; and in their doctrinal ideas they translated into words their own spiritual life and Christian experience. The divines of a later age, on the other hand, explained their idea of Election, not from its origin in Christian gratitude for religious privileges which were denied to others, but from a theological system which had taken possession of their heads, and according to which the utterances of the New Testament were explained in a way that was never intended.

The starting-point of this theological system was the dogma of original sin and original guilt, which taught that through Adam's fall it had come about that all his descendants, even to the latest generation, had inherited an endless guilt and a natural incapacity to do any moral good. And men did not shrink from drawing the most startling consequences from this dogma. Every son of Adam was supposed to be incapacitated by the Fall from accomplishing any moral good; but, notwithstanding that, it was seen that a few pious people lived virtuous lives, and it was accordingly concluded that this must have been accomplished by an irresistible manifestation of spiritual power from God. And now speculation went a step further. What God does, He must have resolved from all eternity to do; for the Divine plan of the world existed before it was carried out. If, therefore, some men upon the earth were seen to undergo a change of character, and to repent, it was imagined that in the beginning God must have selected some from the entire mass of mankind—all of whom were subject to condemnation—and predestined them to repentance and salvation. On the other hand, it was believed that by leaving others in their lost estate, He must have predetermined them to everlasting condemnation. This is emphatically and plainly expressed by Calvin, who followed in the path already trod by Augustine, and completed and perfected his system. Calvin's teaching was in the main reproduced in the Confession of Faith of the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands, confirmed by the Synod of Dort, and reiterated in the five points against the Arminians.

It is to be regretted that an attempt should ever have been made to associate this doctrine with the words used by the earliest Christians to express their thanks for the religious privileges which they enjoyed above others. For it is this, and nothing more, that is contained in the texts quoted by Calvin and the Fathers of Dort to give an appearance of conformity to Scripture to this startling doctrine, which even Calvin himself described as "*decretum horribile*."

According to the Fathers of Dort, there are among Christians both elect and reprobate, whereas the New Testament Epistles expressly describe all Christians as elect. As the title "elect" is given to all Christians, without distinction, in the Epistles, it appears to be undeniable that the election, of which mention is made in the New Testament, must be something entirely different from that made use of by the Fathers of Dort, who divided Christians into the two classes above named. But not merely is the New Testament use of the word elect contrary to the use made of it in the Calvinistic doctrine, but this latter use of it runs counter to the whole spirit of the Epistles, which seek to stimulate our faith to lay hold of the living God, "Who is the Saviour of all men, specially of them that believe."

The case may be conveniently stated in the following propositions:—

I. In the opinion of the Fathers of Dort, in contradistinction to the elect, there are the reprobate. In the New Testament Epistles, in contradistinction to the elect, there are the men and the nations who are still without the salvation that is the portion of the elect, but who, later, will be participators of it. This is expressly stated in the Epistle to the Romans, where the question is put to Israel, who had hardened itself and for a while had remained opposed to the elect, "Did God cast off His people?" "Did they stumble that they might fall?" In the end the assurance is given: "A hardening in part hath befallen Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in, and so all Israel shall be saved."

II. In the opinion of the Fathers of Dort, the salvation to which the elect are chosen lies in eternity. From eternity God has placed some to the right hand, some to the left, and so has fixed their lot for eternity. But the election of which the New Testament Epistles speak concerns the methods of God's government of the world in time. It concerns God's predestination, God's predetermined disposition of mankind upon earth. God has chosen some, to what? To live under the blessings of Christianity, and thereby "to be holy and without blemish in love."

III. For the Fathers of Dort there is on the part of God an election, and this election, as was once pointedly observed, serves as a dam to stop the flow of God's grace. For those who do not belong to the elect there is, according to the teaching of Dort, no hope. But the election of which the New Testament Epistles speak serves as a channel for the further spread of the grace of God. Indeed, the elect are ordained to go forth and to bear fruit. The "holy people" is called to proclaim the virtues of Him who called them out of darkness into His marvellous light. Those who are chosen to live under the blessings of Christianity are so chosen according to the council of God who educates men by means of men, in order that they may carry the blessings which they enjoy to every Gentile and Jew who still lacks these privileges.

IV. The origin of election, as represented by the Fathers of Dort, lies solely in God's unfettered power. Yea, they do not shrink from tracing back the double decree of election and reprobation to the dualism of the Divine mercy and righteousness, and from these two attributes to deduce their dogma. At the same time they take care to keep them separate, so that one man should experience nothing of God's righteousness, and another nothing of God's mercy. They supposed that God has necessarily attached importance both to the revelation of His righteousness and of

His mercy ; hence the appointment of one portion of mankind to everlasting misery, and of the other portion to everlasting happiness. In the New Testament, on the contrary, election does not proceed from a secret decree according to which God foreordained mankind, His own handiwork, some to salvation, some to condemnation, and so presented the spectacle of the highest being failing to act as the most perfect. But the Epistles everywhere place the origin of election in God's fatherly disposition towards man, in the greatness of His favour, in the endurance of His mercy, so that it is impossible to speak of it without bursting forth into praise and thanks to God.

Would that men endeavoured by practical piety to make their calling and election sure, as an Apostle expresses it, and lay to heart the warning which Jesus once gave when He said that many are called but few are chosen. Jesus, who never lost Himself in speculation, is not referring to acts of God, but to conditions among men. Among the many who are called to Christianity, who, according to the phraseology of the New Testament Epistles, are chosen thereto by God, the elect, the specially chosen, are few. That is tantamount to saying that many are Christians in name, few in reality. If we, while glorying in the blessing of Christianity, do nothing to carry this blessing to others ; if the principle of Christianity does not ennoble our heart and our character ; if in our conscience we must testify of ourselves that if we serve God at all, we do it all too little ; that we do it almost always with an unwilling mind ; that it is almost always the fear of punishment that influences us ; in that case the fatal sentence must come to us like a sword-thrust through the soul : Chosen are ye to Christianity, but to the elect, in the sense of the Master, ye do not belong.

CURRENT SCANDINAVIAN THOUGHT.

ECCLESIASTICAL TRADITION AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM. By PASTOR A. ANDERSEN (*Dansk Kirketidende*, 1898, No. 16).—There can be no doubt that one of the tendencies of the age is in the direction of putting science in the place of ecclesiastical tradition. But this cannot be done without involving transformations at many points which cannot be overlooked. One such transformation, which is very perceptible, is the alteration in the manner of regarding the sacred Scripture, and along with it, when closely examined, the transformation of Scripture itself. It is science that is now in the ascendant ; and to historical science, as generally cultivated in our days, belong two maxims, with respect to which there are good grounds for asking how far these rightly belong to history, and not rather to natural science. One of these has been frequently propounded, and under various forms, among others by Professor Hermann, of Marburg, one of the most zealous advocates of the new tendency. It starts from the notion that faith in the living God must stand in the closest relation to the acknowledgment of conformity to law in nature ; and the meaning of this is that a historical report that contains anything about miracles is, to say the least, a report open to suspicion. According to the second maxim, which has been largely followed in the science of comparative religion, whenever there are points of transition in the development of the race, connecting links between the old and the new must be sought for and pointed out, so that there may be no large knots on the thread of history.

These two maxims bring to the old difficulties as to the relations between Scripture and science a new and sharply-defined estrangement and inconsistency, which make the Scripture even more than ever opaque to science; and with opaqueness which cannot be made clear, science can have nothing to do. If the result of the old difficulties was that in this sphere science worked under restraint and with little real result, it now comes about that it works quite contrarily to what the Scripture narrates. The consequence is that Scripture has become a purely human book which contains much that is of little importance, much that is unintelligible, and numerous errors. Historical criticism, says Dr. Rade, has placed us in a free relation to Scripture. A clear idea may be formed of what is implied in this from a statement made in a work by Dr. E. Haupt, of Halle, published in 1891. It means that, although historical criticism should demonstrate the unreliableness of every single feature in the books of the New Testament from the one end to the other, a Christian man will look on with the utmost unconcern. Yea, even if it should be shown that the accounts of the resurrection could not be correct, and that therefore they were doubtful in the highest degree, he would not be in the least disturbed. In this connection it may be remarked that a step further might even be taken—a step which Dr. Haupt does not take, but which has been taken by others and again retraced. Some years ago Professor Loman, of Amsterdam, believed that no such person as Jesus of Nazareth had ever lived. According to the new teaching, even although this should be proved to be true, it would not occasion a believing Christian any special difficulty, because—and this is the other side of the free position—all the same, throughout the Scripture as it lies before us, God speaks to the individual man, treats with him, makes him participator of His life. The Scripture is thus quite naturally God's Word, not because it is written by Apostles, but because God speaks to us through it. If you should say: Then the written word through which God speaks to me must also, in the form in which it lies before me, be a true word, the answer is ready—Who are you that you should prescribe to God what means He should employ to reach you?

So the Scripture contains the Word of God, because God uses it as a means for His intercourse with men; and according to its outward aspect, it is a purely human work, which historical criticism may deal with according to its laws in whatever way it can or will. This is the one transformation which takes place. The other is closely allied to it, and is equally, if not still more, comprehensive. It concerns the faith in both the meanings of that word—the belief itself, and the thing believed in.

Offence has been taken by those who have ranged themselves on the side of Professor Harnack in the present controversy on the Apostles' Creed, at the assertion that the real matter at issue is not the symbol, but the faith itself. And this is correct, however strange it may appear at first sight. It is the new interpretation of the faith that lies under and behind the battle. It cannot find its *raison d'être* in the Apostles' Creed. To assume this to be truth, and therefore to submit to it, is, according to Hermann, nothing else than the sure road to unbelief. If, therefore, the Apostles' Creed is to be retained, the new interpretation of faith must find a means of existence under the altered circumstances, but it would be best if the Creed were dropped altogether.

What, then, is the new interpretation of faith? It is somewhat difficult to give a clear answer to this question, for, notwithstanding the eloquent words and the glowing language used to describe the faith, it is not so easy to lay hold of a sober explanation of it. Faith is variously defined as a living experience, an overpowering

influence of God upon man, a consciousness of the beginning of new and heavenly forces in the mind ; it has its seat in that essential part of our being which forms its connecting link with God. All this might with some degree of accuracy be rendered accessible to our understanding by borrowing an illustration from ancient mysticism, and saying that faith in its essence is to be conceived of as something passive rather than as something active. It is the entering in of God into man's inner world, the world of mind ; little or nothing is said of man's entering into God's world.

What, now, is comprehended in this faith ? It is first of all the living experience that there is a God, and the feeling that there is a supernatural world. It is next the living experience that this God is gracious and merciful, pardoning the sinner, and raising him up to everlasting life. This living experience is reached through Jesus Christ. Even although the description which is given in the Scripture of Jesus of Nazareth is more or less incorrect and faulty, still God speaks through it to men ; through this medium He enters into union with the individual, and reveals Himself to be just such a one as is portrayed in the Scripture narratives.

Faith is a living experience, and thereby a certainty as to God and as to fellowship with Him. Every individual believing man can approach to greater and greater clearness in this faith, to richer and deeper apprehension of it ; he may expound it as has been done in the Scripture, and many times since ; but every one ought to be conscious that he may just as readily err in the apprehension of his faith as in his moral life. As none of us has any sort of Christian right to demand that our conception of that life shall be the standard for all others, just as little right has any one else to impose his view upon us. In this respect an Apostle is not different from other men ; indeed one may go a step further and ask, Is Jesus Christ Himself in this matter different from others ? There are deeper and less deep understandings, but is even the deepest understanding in possession of the truth ? As to this the Church does not possess any infallible writing, or any infallible teacher or system of instruction ; and just as little is there an infallible Confession of Faith. It is natural and reasonable that the individual and that the Church should give expression to their confession of faith ; but it is not natural and reasonable, it is at variance with true evangelical faith to seek to set it up as a model of what true faith is. Every one must have his own opinion, and the more cultivated the individual is the more readily must this right be conceded. That which is common to all is only the original root and kernel : certainty as to God and as to fellowship with Him in Jesus Christ.

That this conception of the faith is different from what has hitherto prevailed within the Lutheran Church is acknowledged by the men of the new tendency themselves. That it is also different from what is to be found in the New Testament writings need scarcely be pointed out. The new conception of faith has been formulated thus : In a historical fact there can be no faith, but only in a personality. If there is any meaning at all in this, it must be that faith can have regard to nothing that has happened at a certain specific time, but only to what exists at all times. Faith can only find a place in the permanent vital relation between God and man ; but there can be no faith in the conception of Jesus Christ by the Holy Ghost, there can be no faith in His resurrection. As occurrences in time these, together with all that pertains to them, come within the domain of history, and so under historical knowledge and criticism—not under faith.

Thus the faith and the Scripture are transformed, and much is transformed with them. It is quite certain that the motive power in all this has not been a new and large increase of Christian life ; but because science has been set up in the place of tradition. The consequence is that the faith has had to be transformed so as to

contain as little as possible of a positive nature, and thus avoid coming into conflict with science; and that the Scripture has had to be transformed into an indefinable something for which as yet a name has not been found.

RELIGIOUS INSANITY. By Rev. L. J. MOLTESEN (*Dansk Kirketidende*, 1893, No. 19).—When certain psychological phenomena are branded by experts in mental diseases as religious insanity, the enemies of Christianity are sometimes not slow to lay hold of this as a convenient weapon. On the other hand, many Christians have shaken their heads and felt awfully shocked at the conduct of the medical experts. By neither of these parties has it been particularly observed that religiosity and Christianity are not one and the same thing—that one may be religious without being Christian. Religious emotion as such is no more Christian than the other emotions, and it is subject to the same conditions to which they are subject. If harmony is to arise in a man, the various emotions must be placed in accord with each other; if one of them is neglected or fails, the result is a weakness, and this weakness will influence the whole spiritual life; if one of them is overstrained, it will bring about a want of harmony that will disturb the whole. In either case, mental disease will undoubtedly result, especially if there are hereditary tendencies in that direction.

If religious emotion is held to be the noblest of all emotions, the most essential duty of every man is to secure its harmony as much as possible, and so to promote its well-being in every way. If one has learnt from experience that Jesus Christ is the source whence religious feeling has its wants supplied, and that in Him alone is this satiety to be found, he will listen as to a foolish tale when he hears it said that Christianity can make a man insane. If there is anything that Christ is more capable of doing than another, it is of healing the diseased mind. He could do that when He walked about here upon earth, and He can do it day by day even yet. Christ has always been and is still the greatest physician.

When in the history of the Church a great religious awakening has arisen, it has always been possible to point to examples of over-excitement and religious insanity, and not seldom have such conditions been taken as an evidence of special holiness, as in the case of heathen religions. These religiously over-excited men at these times become the most effective preachers; but in their ecstasy they preach themselves, and not Christ. The leaders of revival movements, as a rule, look more to religious rapture than to Christian wisdom in the choice of their preachers; but it is with these preachers (who are for the most part laymen) as it is with the so-called "wise" men and women. Some of these people have a natural delicacy, which enables them to see more clearly than the doctors and thereby to render help when the latter stand powerless; but, all the same, the State feels bound to prescribe a limit to their activity. In the same way, the Church must set bounds to the activity of lay-preachers—indeed, it is all the more necessary in this case, considering that there are much greater interests at stake. In order to preach, one must have, first and foremost, gone to the school of Christ, and in it the unlearned may advance as far as the learned; but over and above that there is required a knowledge of mankind, a psychological intelligence—now more than ever that human emotions have become so complex—and with these very few indeed are endowed by nature. In the case of by far the greatest number these are only reached by serious study. There are many clergymen who lack that discipline of the soul which is necessary in order to preach aright, but there are even more lay-preachers in whom the same discipline is wanting.

In connection with this subject, the results of an interesting investigation have recently been published by Pastor S. M. Hafström, who has had excellent oppor-

tunities of studying mental diseases, both practically and theoretically, and who has devoted special attention to those forms of them that had a religious colouring. His little book has received a hearty welcome from the medical profession, and it equally deserves the commendation of the clerical profession. It deals with a present-day topic with great ability, and is full of meaning from beginning to end.

Pastor Hafström shows, first of all, that what people are accustomed, almost as a matter of course, to call religious insanity does not arise from religious influences at all. If an insane person indulges much in religious phraseology many conclude that his disease must be of religious origin, thereby mistaking the cause for the effect. If a madman sings lively songs, no one thinks that it is the blame of the writer of them that he has lost his reason; but if he sings psalms, religion is immediately suspected. It is reasonable to expect that insanity should frequently take on a religious colouring, for religion plays an important part in many a man's life. But the connection is not to be treated otherwise than in the case of many characteristic forms of insanity now prevalent in which the thought hovers round ingenious mechanical discoveries, such as telephones, &c. Both Gentiles and Jews may give utterance to a certain exclamation when a feeling of pleasure or of annoyance overtakes them, without any conclusion as to their Christianity being drawn therefrom, and in the same way an insane person may make use of religious phrases in order to find vent for his pleasure or his pain. Pastor Hafström shows by examples that the younger physicians think that the number of those who lose their reason under the influence of religious troubles and scruples is in reality much smaller than is usually supposed; and he cites cases in which insanity manifests itself in a decidedly anti-religious aspect even among men who, when in health, are pious and resigned to the will of God.

All the same, Pastor Hafström observes that unhealthy religious influence may be the cause of insanity, or at any rate have a very real share in producing it; and he gives a table of statistics for the years 1878-92, showing the proportion of cases attributable to religious influences admitted during that period to one of the principal Danish asylums. The number amounts to only 5.04 per cent., and of these two-thirds of the cases were traced to the influence of the home mission. In twenty cases the exciting cause came from companions, relatives, &c.; in twelve from lay preachers; in ten from clergymen; in seven from missionary meetings; and in eleven from the home missions in general. These figures must, of course, be taken with caution, but they cannot be altogether overlooked. It is not so much in mental or spiritual excitement that the danger lies as in fear; and there can be no doubt that religious insanity is almost wholly attributable to those who work upon the emotions with the view of awakening fear or dread, and that for every one who loses his reason under such influence, there are hundreds who under the same influence fight shy of Christianity altogether. Although this influence is largely exercised by lay preachers connected with home mission work, Pastor Hafström points out that not a few of the clergy are often lacking in psychological insight. Among them *oratio* is seldom wanting, *meditatio*, often, *tentatio*, very frequently. In order to preach Christ successfully it is necessary to be in possession of inward faith accompanied with psychological insight and delicacy of feeling.

THE BOOK CRITIC.

SOME LIGHTS OF SCIENCE ON THE FAITH. EIGHT LECTURES PREACHED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD IN THE YEAR 1892. By ALFRED BARRY, D.D., D.C.L., Canon of Windsor, late Primate of Australia. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

THIS volume forms the Bampton Lecture for the year 1892, and, as its title indicates, seeks to keep up the continuity of the series by bringing out some aspect of religious truth in such relations to current thought as will serve for a true Apologetic. As is well known, the series has furnished us with some of the most able and brilliant defences of the Christian faith. Although this volume may not be placed in the front rank with those of Mansel and Mozley, it will compare very favourably with many of its predecessors in respect to freshness of thought, comprehensiveness of view, and calm, judicial tone. The author is too well known to require any introduction to our readers. His reputation as a scholar and thinker precedes the publication of these lectures, and it will be well sustained by what is here presented. Making allowance for occasional redundancy of style, or rather parenthetical fulness, here and there—arising probably from consciousness of an audience in St. Mary's, Oxford, on the look-out for qualifications of statement—the writing is entirely suited to the subject in hand, and gives one the impression that the author is accustomed to weigh moral evidence and to recognize on all sides the congruities of truth. The title of the volume is suggestive of limitation, and awakens curiosity to know what department of science is referred to, and what particular rays of light are selected for rendering the faith more luminous. In some quarters it has been assumed that all science is light and all faith is darkness. Knowledge on the one side, and ignorance, *alias* superstition, on the other, have been pitted one against the other. Science and the Faith have been represented as incompatibles. The light shining from science is held to have revealed the unreasonableness of Theistic and Christian belief. But this period of strong assertion is now coming to an end. That which was to have exposed the weakness, the futility of faith is, now that the first feverish flush of excitement is past, taken up by the loyal hand of Religion and shown to reveal the congruity of the main conceptions of the believer in God and Providence and Christianity with the most assured acquisitions of science. Natural science, speaking the language of evolution, was once thought to be the irreconcilable enemy of our Faith: it is now, while speaking the same language, seen to be a friend and helper. It was appealed to to curse, and when the real testing came it could only bless.

Adopting the principle enunciated by St. Paul in the statement that "the Law was our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ," Dr. Barry holds that the scientific conception of Law, in its right place, will prove to be a *παιδαγωγός* to lead us to Christ, though not in the same way as the Law of which St. Paul spoke; that is, not "through its moral acknowledgments, but through its intellectual discoveries and conceptions." The view which is put forth and abundantly illustrated in these lectures is well expressed thus:—

"That while scientific idolatry of Law must supersede faith and virtually ignore the Christ, yet that the true recognition of Law in its true sphere does really thus lead up to faith in the Gospel of Christ, as the true and all-sufficient satisfaction of the maturest thought. I venture to urge the truth of St. Paul's bold contention, that such faith belongs to maturity of idea and character, and that the absolute rest on Law—so confidently set forth to us as

an advance towards the firm, sad grasp of ultimate truth, at the sacrifice of bright childish delusions and hopes—is really a going back instead of forward ; because it ignores that consciousness of a spiritual self, which is the sign of growth out of childhood to manhood, and that recognition in faith of an ultimate spiritual sovereignty, ruling not by compulsion but through freedom, which alone can harmonize with that inner consciousness” (p. 11).

In what way the scientific conception of Law is performing the part of a school-master to educate us to faith in a living God and a faith in Him as revealed in the true Son of Man, is then ably pointed out. It is shown to lead up to the necessity of some faith in God, as surely as the Law of Mosaic origin led up to the necessity of a faith in Christ as the *raison d'être* of its own existence. It is also pointed out how the method of science finds a real analogy with the method of Christian faith, and, when properly appreciated, prepares us for the processes by which we are led to the matter and form of faith we now hold. Not only so, but science, as now established, leads up to some very important points in the very substance of our faith. It is with this bearing of modern science on faith that these lectures are chiefly concerned.

It is interesting to note the skill and admirable judgment with which Dr. Barry makes the scientific doctrine of heredity bear on the Biblical doctrine of the transmission of sin. From the time of the Pelagian controversy there has grown up, largely through the influence of Augustine and Calvin, a view of “original sin” which while embracing a real truth of nature and revelation, yet lays a heavy burden on the Christian conscience. Whatever has come to his descendants through the sin of Adam, it is not “guilt.” There is no true conception of what the term implies if it be said that we share or inherit his “guilt.” Sin, as an undeveloped tendency of the nature to evil, is not identical with sin as the definite act of an individual personality. The Pauline view of the organic unity of the race may be a condition of the creation of guilt by the free action of the individual moral being, but it is in no other way related to it. If the bias toward evil is a most serious disadvantage from the Adamic side, the abounding grace in the Second Adam for all men is a counterbalancing advantage, which must be considered when the difficulties of the position are pressing. Science has rendered immense service to Christian theology in showing so abundantly that as the ancestor so is the descendant. “Original sin,” in the Pauline sense, is heredity in theology. No one claiming to be scientific ought to take exception to it on that account. On the other hand, the scientific doctrine, applying as it does to all organisms, is a true *παύλαριος* preparing the cultured mind to accept the same substantial truth in the highest department of human life. Nor does this apply only to the sadder side of our moral life. As our author points out, it holds good for those elements of our moral nature which possess moral worth. Heredity is comprehensive of our entire being. And here comes in the interesting problem as to the extent to which, in the course of ages, the more perfect culture of the good will tend to weaken or overbear the force of the hereditary taint. Nor is this a mere question of the play of purely human forces—the struggle of the good and the bad Adam within us left to itself unaided. Science recognizes the action of new environments, and the appearance now and then in the sphere of evolution of new forces, or increments to existing forces. The action of the Second Adam is an increment to the previously existing forces in and around human nature. The Christian mediation is, so to speak, the introduction of a new element analogous to the introduction of life into the inorganic cosmos and of consciousness into the organic. In each case there is the setting up of a fresh force or set of forces which, after their introduction, work in with pre-existing forces on evolutionary principles. The “grain of mustard seed

is to evolve. The grace of the Kingdom of Heaven is to work its way and tend to create qualities that will qualify the hereditary transmission from father to son. There is doubtless a difference when we compare spiritual heredity with the determinism of nature, but the difference does not destroy the analogy in the main.

The foregoing may suffice to show the scope of this excellent work. Our space forbids any detail on the subject of Natural and Supernatural Evolution, Christ and all Creation, and Christ and Human Society. On these subjects there is compressed within three of the lectures a treasure of sober thinking and wise, far-seeing observation. Some of the most important of our modern controversies are here set forth in the clear, cool light of an impartial judicial mind. The latter part of the volume is devoted to a consideration of Criticism and the Supernatural, Criticism and Holy Scripture, and Truth in Revelation. Here, as in the earlier part, the scientific spirit and method and results are boldly accepted as bearing legitimately on the fact, the form, and vehicle of Revelation; and, so far as they are true in themselves, it is shown that, instead of weakening our faith, they tend to a faith that is more and more unassailable. Our author distinguishes rightly between the extravagant naturalism of Kuenen and the criticism which proceeds on an acceptance of ALL the data, and especially the clear historic *doctrine* of a Supernatural Christ, which is the true key to much in the Old Testament record that otherwise is unaccountable. Evolution is true in full measure of the Hebrew national life in its political, social, and religious aspects, but Christ is not the outcome of such evolution. He is the supernatural element introduced into the ordered process of the universe by which the earlier introductions of life and consciousness will evolve into a higher form than was otherwise possible. Again may it be said that Dr. Barry has produced a work that deserves careful study by the doubter and the believer alike. Its calm faith, broad sympathies, and sober reasonableness cannot but bless the attentive reader.

CHARLES CHAPMAN, M.A., LL.D.

DR. HERMANN SCHULTZ'S OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY. Translated from the fourth German edition by Professor PATERSON, Edinburgh. 2 vols. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.

THE name of Dr. Schultz of Göttingen is one of the most considerable among those of living German theologians. For more than twenty-five years his works have been regarded by theological readers as deserving their best attention. His earliest, *Die Voraussetzungen der Christlichen Lehre von der Unsterblichkeit* (1861), was an ingenious and learned essay touching one of the most recondite questions in his own proper department, viz., the belief in a future life held by Old Testament writers. The first edition of his main work, *Old Testament Theology*, appeared shortly after (1869). More recently (1888) came his treatise on our Lord's Divinity, *Die Gottheit Christi*, and now we have the latest fruit of his labours in the fourth edition of the work, by which he will continue to be best known, put into the hands of the English-reading public. We agree with all that has been justly said in the many notices that have already appeared in theological journals as to the superior excellence of Professor Paterson's rendering of a book in itself so masterly and so absolutely deserving of translation. These are not mere words of course. Few living German theological writers handle their own language in a way so brilliant and so entirely free from the characteristic defects of Germanism as Professor Schultz. And this book is translated; in fact, it is transplanted. It can be read from beginning to end with as absolute certainty of the meaning, and with as much ease and enjoyment, as if it had been thought as well as written in English. But it is time to make some attempt to

put readers in possession of the author's leading views, and to weigh the results he arrives at on his important theme.

The author's theological standpoint has not been invariable through the whole course of his literary activity. There appeared little reason in his earliest work for ranking him elsewhere than with that "modern" treatment of Christianity which finds its best-known German exponents in the late Dr. Lipsius and the living Dr. Otto Pfleiderer. A much warmer and more definitely believing tone characterizes all his later work. We shall probably not be wrong in tracing some of this effect to the influence of his great colleague in Göttingen, Dr. Albert Ritschl. For the last ten or twelve years certainly, Dr. Schultz has been reckoned as of the school or "direction" which bears Ritschl's name. His critical standpoint has also changed with the rapid fluctuations in Continental Old Testament criticism. The determination to be up to date on these points has had a curiously disturbing effect on the successive editions of the original work. Again and again the book was altered so seriously as, in form at least, to be scarcely recognizable for the same. In this latest edition Dr. Schultz commits himself to the most recent critical positions—those of Wellhausen and his school—with a sanguine confidence which it would be hard to justify from his own previous experience. But he now delivers himself as a theologian from the vicissitudes of criticism, in a measure, by adopting the very sensible arrangement of separating the whole of the matter into two divisions. The first of these deals with Israel's religious history through its whole extent from the prehistoric down to the Asmonean age. The second discusses, in theological order, the contents of Israel's entire religious consciousness, or the doctrinal results. These two divisions correspond to the first and second volumes of the work as translated. The first, which is really the most fresh and helpful, is thus rather a history of the religion of the Old Testament than an account of its theology. Yet here the point of view is distinctively believing. True to the principle announced in his title-page, our author treats the whole as the "pre-Christian stage of revealed religion." It is not to him the mere religion of the Hebrews. He takes his ground in firm opposition to the dictum of Renan and other rationalists who would account for the monotheism and for every other spiritual characteristic of the Old Testament as simply the outcome of the national religious genius of that people.

"The Old Testament religion, like the Christian, did not come forth out of humanity, according to the mere law of natural spiritual development, but as a result of the working upon Israel's spiritual life of that Divine, self-communicating Spirit which aims at establishing the kingdom of God among men. . . . This religion rightly regards itself as called into existence by God . . . by the clear separation of this one people from the life of the other peoples of the world. . . . Indeed, the natural life of Israel, where it follows its own promptings, comes constantly into conflict with the religion of the Old Testament. Hence it can be explained only by revelation, *i.e.*, by the fact that God raised up for this people, men . . . who possessed religious truth not as a result of human wisdom and intellectual labour, but as a power pressing in upon the soul with irresistible might."

This is in a true sense a doctrine both of Revelation and of Inspiration. It need hardly be said that it includes also a thoroughly worthy conception of the continuity of Revelation proper throughout the Old and the New Testaments both. The cognate theme of the authoritative character of Scripture as the record of Revelation is not formally treated in this book. Dr. Schultz has said a good deal on this topic in other writings of his, *e.g.*, in a brochure of 1890, on "The Evangelical Theology in its relation to Science and Piety." We must take leave to doubt the entire consistency of his positions there, with his firm ground announced here as to Revelation, in the special sense understood in the Evangelical Church. Still more

difficult to reconcile with this fundamental assertion is the large place which he assigns to myth and legend in the Book of Genesis, also his doubt how far the name and life of Abraham are to be regarded as historical. "It goes sorely against the grain" with him, he says, "to give up"—and yet he does give up—"the Mosaic authorship even of the Decalogue." "Nothing in the Psalter, with the exception perhaps of Ps. XVIII., can be attributed to David." It is to be regretted that a work so masterly in its treatment of the revealed character and spiritual elements of the Old Testament religion should be still so entirely under the spell of the Kuenen-Wellhausen redaction of the sources. The vicious circle of that school of criticism constantly recurs. "Such and such writings cannot in any measure proceed from the pen of Moses or of David, because the sentiments contained in them cannot have been so early in the possession of Israel." So far criticism. Then, when the sources have been thus disarranged and redacted, "the course of religious thought must have proceeded in such and such an order, because our reconstruction of the historical sources demands this order." When the common sense of Biblical scholars shall have emerged from this temporary eclipse of reason, much of the critical value of works even like this must pass away.

Meanwhile, it may be safely said that we have no book on Old Testament theology which can be named beside this of Dr. Schultz for completeness, clearness, and accurate presentation (on the grounds of modern scholarship) of the contents of the older revelation, along with a reverent and cordial acceptance of these contents as the very truth of God.

J. LAIDLAW, D.D.

SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE. Second Edition, Vol. I., Parts I. and II. John Murray, 1898.

MR. MURRAY has rendered valuable service to students of Christian history and antiquities by his admirable series of Dictionaries, the earliest of which, the well-known *Dictionary of the Bible*, was published in 1868. Since that time, many new facts bearing upon Biblical Science have come to light, and during no period of equal length has the study of Holy Scripture been prosecuted in this country with more zeal, learning, or candour. It is not surprising, therefore, that it has been found desirable to issue a new edition of this important work, in which the history of recent discoveries should find a place, and the progress of criticism during the last quarter of a century should be recorded. So large have been the additions to the former edition that the new first volume exceeds the old by more than 550 pages, and it is therefore issued in two parts. "The second and third volumes," write the editors, "having been composed on a more extended and comprehensive scale than the earlier part of the Dictionary, do not call for similar revision; and there is, therefore, no present intention of bringing out a new edition of them." Here we cannot refrain from adding (though it is ungracious to look a gift horse in the mouth) that we are very sorry to hear it. As things are at present, we have the subjects from A—J treated in a critical and ample manner by the best scholars of the day, while the remaining articles were composed for the needs and with the information of thirty years ago. The articles on the three Synoptic Gospels seem to need revision quite as much as did the article on St. John; we should all be glad to have an article from Sir Charles Wilson on "Palestine," comparable with his great memoir on "Jerusalem"; the articles, "Messiah," "Son of Man," "Son of God," "Philippians," "Pentateuch," "Revelation of St. John," "Timothy," "Titus," not to mention others, would bear re-writing with advantage. And we say this, not because we wish to find fault or to undervalue this great Dictionary, but because we value it so much

and use it so constantly that we should be sorry to see it left in an incomplete state.

When one has to review a book of this magnitude, the difficulty (one difficulty, at least) is to know where to begin. There is so much that calls for notice, and all the new matter is so interesting, that it is hard to make a selection. Generally speaking, we believe that it is in the articles on the books of the Old Testament that the most striking changes have been made. Dr. Driver writes on "Genesis," "Exodus," "Deuteronomy," "Joshua," with that fulness of detail, clearness of style, and sobriety of judgment which he has taught us to expect from him. That it should have been found necessary to substitute a fresh statement of the problems of the Hexateuch for the admirable discussion given by Bishop Perowne in some of the corresponding articles in the old edition, affords in itself a remarkable indication of the mind of the English public on the subject of Old Testament criticism. The first volume of the *Speaker's Commentary* comes in for severe handling in one or two caustic notes (see pp. 1024, 1152); and, on the whole, the account given of the various books of the Old Testament is such as would have been very unacceptable to the readers for whom the former edition was written. Changes, of course, in public opinion there must be in thirty years; but the remarkable point here is that doctrines which many even yet brand as heretical and destructive of true religion, such as the late date of Deuteronomy, are set down in one of the most widely-read standard theological dictionaries of the day. The publication of these articles in *Smith's Dictionary* marks, we believe, an epoch in the history of English criticism. For facts as to the Old Testament literature that up to this were only known to professed scholars, and hypotheses which up to this were often quietly dismissed as "German theories," will in future, for good or for evil, be accessible to all, and are now introduced to the public in the best of company. Other articles, besides those by Dr. Driver, deserve attention in this section. Those by Dr. Kirkpatrick on "Habakkuk," "Haggai," and "Hosea," and by Mr. Margoliouth on "Job," seem especially good; though we do not presume to criticize in this department. We must be content to record what has been done, without expressing any opinion on the many statements advanced. We notice one article of a more "conservative" tendency than any of those we have mentioned, a very full and able notice of the Book of Isaiah by Dr. C. H. H. Wright. In this the unity of authorship of the whole book is pleaded with skill and power, though the argument may not carry complete conviction. Dr. Lumby writes on the "Bible" generally; his article, and one by Professor Ryle on the "Apocrypha," which is really a treatise in itself, are both written for the new edition.

When we come to the New Testament, two of the most important new contributions seem to be Bishop Lightfoot's on the "Acts" and Dr. Salmon's on "Galatians." The article on the Acts is a masterpiece, but one feels regret that the Bishop did not express a more definite opinion on some vexed questions. For instance, little is said about the date of the book. St. Luke, probably, had not seen St. Paul's letters when he wrote it, but yet, as it is subsequent to the Gospel, and as the Gospel may not have been written until after the destruction of Jerusalem (p. 40), the date of the Acts can hardly be as early as many writers have supposed. The reader who turns from Bishop Lightfoot's article on "Acts" to Archbishop Thomson's article in the old edition on the "Gospel of Luke," will find that the inconvenience (of which mention was made at the beginning of this notice) which results from leaving part of a large work like this unrevised, is very serious. There is a complete divergence of opinion not only as to the date of St. Luke's

Gospel, but as to the date and the structure of the Acts. For the Archbishop argues (and he has been followed in this by many) that the abrupt conclusion of the Acts is to be explained by the fact that St. Luke, when he published the book, had no more to tell, for no more had happened; and he hence argues that the Acts was completed about 68 A.D. Bishop Lightfoot, on the other hand, holds that the Acts is really a complete and finished work, that its plan is strictly analogous to the plan of St. Luke's Gospel, and that therefore as its ending is not abrupt, but artistic, no argument as to early date can be based thereon. For further details we must refer to the article itself.

Reading Dr. Salmon's article on "Galatians," with Professor Ramsay's new book still fresh in our mind, we naturally turn to what he has to say about the situation of the Churches of Galatia. And it is interesting to find that Dr. Salmon came independently to a conclusion not far removed from that made, as it seems, certain by Professor Ramsay's researches—viz., that the Churches founded by St. Paul on his first missionary journey, Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, Derbe, and Lystra, are the Churches addressed in the Epistle to the Galatians. This view was held by Renan and others, though rejected by Bishop Lightfoot; but Dr. Salmon, in the article under our notice, approaches it very nearly. He holds that Iconium and the rest "might in a sense be described as Churches of Galatia," and he adds, "we find ourselves unable to assert with any confidence that St. Paul was ever in *Galatia proper*," i.e., the northern part of the country. Bishop Westcott's article on "Hebrews," and Archdeacon Watkins' on the "Gospel of John," are both of the highest value; but the commentary of the former, and the recently published *Bampton Lectures* of the latter, to a certain extent render these contributions less novel than some others. Dr. Plummer writes on 1 and 2 Corinthians and on the Epistle of St. Jude, and Dr. Sanday on Colossians. We notice that the late Dean Alford's articles on the proper names which occur in the Acts have all had to make way for fresh notes by Canon E. R. Bernard, of Salisbury. A supplement by Dr. Sanday on the recent history of criticism is appended to Archbishop Thomson's article on "Gospels," which, as the editors truly say, has a historical interest of its own, justifying its retention. We cannot, however, feel the same about the article "Jesus Christ," by the same writer, and think it a pity that it was not entrusted to some new hand. The old article has done good service in its day, but there is little in it specially worth preserving, nor does it take any account, of course, of recent investigations. But to return to Dr. Sanday's supplement to "Gospels," which is one of the most careful additions in the new publication. We do not know where else the English student could find, within anything like the same compass, so full and trustworthy an account of the criticism of the Synoptists. It would be impertinent and impossible to review a memoir like this in a few lines, and we do not attempt it. We call special attention, however, to the ingenious argument based on the varying *order* of the Gospels as they appear in the older Versions; and to the "Comparative Table, showing the analysis of the First Three Gospels under different forms of the documentary hypothesis."

The knowledge we have of Palestine, its plants, its animals, its people, its cities, has been so largely added to by the labours of the Palestine Exploration Fund since the first edition of the Dictionary was issued that we expect to find numerous additions and improvements in this department. And we are not disappointed. Canon Tristram, said to be the best English authority on the Flora of Palestine, has contributed the articles on Botany and Natural History. And the geographical articles have all undergone the most thorough revision, as any one

may see who will compare the new edition with the old. Some of them are by Major Conder, *e.g.*, "Gennesaret," "Judæa," "Hittites" (in which ethnological and linguistic questions are also discussed). Those on "Goshen," "Egypt," and "The Exodus" are by the distinguished Swiss Egyptologist, E. Navile; but the lion's share of the work seems to have fallen to Sir Charles W. Wilson, the Director of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The geographical articles in the old edition have all been revised by him, and many have been re-written. The most elaborate and important of his articles is that on the topography of Jerusalem, which has rather a special interest just now, on account of the revival of the controversy as to the true site of the Holy Sepulchre. The article in the first edition of the Dictionary by Mr. James Ferguson was marred by its special pleading in defence of the peculiar theory of its author, that the "Dome of the Rock" was the Church of the Resurrection, a theory which never met with much favour; and consequently an impartial statement of the case from perhaps the greatest living authority on the question is all the more acceptable. The results of recent excavation are utilized, as well as the witness of the early Latin pilgrims to the state of the buildings in Jerusalem in their day. This last source of evidence is only beginning to be studied in England, and that mainly through the exertions of the "Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society"; but it cannot be safely neglected by any future writer on these subjects.

Another specially valuable article by the same writer is that on "Jordan." Here, too, much that is interesting is made accessible to the reading public for the first time. A remarkable circumstance is recorded on p. 1787, on the authority of M. Clermont-Ganneau, in reference to the stoppage of the waters of Jordan when the Israelites crossed into the Promised Land. "In A.D. 1257, whilst the bridge *Jisr Dâmieh* was being repaired, a somewhat similar stoppage of the waters of the Jordan is said to have occurred. Upon this occasion, a landlip, in the narrow part of the valley, some miles above *Jisr Dâmieh* (Adam), dammed up the Jordan for several hours, and the bed of the river below was left dry by the running off of the water to the Dead Sea." This opens up large questions, which we cannot discuss here.

One of the most interesting articles we have noticed is that by Dr. G. Ebers on "Joseph." In this a fascinating account is given of life in Egypt in the time of Joseph, which Dr. Ebers' vast stores of knowledge of that country enable him to portray with picturesqueness as well as fidelity. Mr. Pinches contributes learned and full articles on "Assyria," "Babylon," and kindred subjects. The illustrations with which his discussions are enriched are more numerous and better than those in the first edition. Dr. Sayce writes on "Baal," "Chedorlaomer," &c., and Dr. Schiller-Szinessy's aid has been called in to elucidate the musical notes in the Psalter. Another new article is that by Mr. Warwick Elwin on "Confirmation." Mr. Elwin's discussion is an indication of the increasing interest in the important subject with which it deals, an interest which has been stirred in recent years by the publication of such books as Dr. Mason's *Relation of Confirmation to Baptism*.

On the whole, it will appear that no pains have been spared to secure the writers most conversant with the topics treated, and the result is that the first volume of the Dictionary is far in advance of the remaining two. It remains to say a word about the editorial work proper.

Sir William Smith has availed himself of the assistance of Rev. J. M. Fuller as assistant-editor, and a large amount of work has evidently fallen to his share. He has added his name to the greater number of the short articles, and has thus made himself directly responsible for them; and has also contributed notes and additions to some longer contributions, *e.g.*, Bishop Westcott's on "Daniel." He has also

inserted a useful set of short notes on commonly misunderstood words and phrases in the Authorised Version, *e.g.*, *eschew*, *infidel*, *by and bye*, and *do to wit*. The amount of labour that necessarily devolves upon the editor of a work of this magnitude is so enormous and so varied that it is not gracious to criticize small details. Yet there are one or two things that strike one. In the first place an undue space seems to us to be given to the bibliographical appendices. Very little is gained by printing a long list of commentaries, say, on a book of Holy Scripture, unless a serious effort is made to eliminate all those which are not first-rate, and to note the distinguishing characteristics of each. For instance, the bibliographical appendix to the article on "Jeremiah" occupies three columns; but it does not supply much information which could not be gained by looking through any great Library Catalogue *sub voce*. What ordinary readers (for whom this Dictionary is, we take it, mainly intended) require is a list of books likely to be within their reach and to be really serviceable. It is much to be desired that the note added by Bishop Lightfoot to his account of the literature that deals with the "Acts" had been duly weighed. "This list," he says, "might be considerably increased, if there were any object in increasing it."

Again, as was pointed out in the preface to the first edition, it is to be expected that "in a work written by various persons, each responsible for his own contributions, differences of opinion" will occur. For instance, the reading "eight" in 2 Chron. xxvi. 9 is adopted on p. 1588 in preference to the "eighteen" of 2 Kings xxiv. 8, whereas a different judgment is laid down on p. 1568. Or again, whether or not the word *almah* connotes virginity may be fair subject for discussion (cf. pp. 1485 and 1457). And it is perhaps desirable that the conflicting views on the vexed question of "The Brethren of the Lord" should both find a place in the Dictionary, but it is surely unnecessary to call attention to this so many times (see pp. xiv., 1514 n., 1517 n., 1806, 1886 n.). And as there is no article at all under the title "Brethren of the Lord" (the subject being discussed under "Brother"), we are surprised to see the erroneous reference given in the old edition repeated on p. 1517 n., while it also appears for the first time at the end of the article "Joseph." Of misprints there seem to be few. On p. 487 line 1, ver. 28 should be ver. 23, and there is a typographical error on p. 1515 n. The editors have revised the list of contributors to the first edition and noted which of them are still living, but they do not seem to be aware that Bishop FitzGerald has been dead for some years. The article "Education" is left unsigned, but it is a reprint of Canon Phillott's contribution to the first edition. But these are slight blemishes in so great a work.

J. H. BERNARD, D.D.

THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO THE BIBLE. C. J. Clay & Sons, 1898.

THIS volume is similar in purpose to the Queen's Printers' *Aids to the Student of the Holy Bible*, which has been before the world for twelve or fifteen years, and by its immense circulation has proved that it supplied a very real want. In both cases the work is composite, different scholars supplying different sections. In the volume before us the amount of information supplied in what is in the most literal sense a *handbook*, is immense. One cannot have everything: and something of real importance has of necessity to be sacrificed in order to get this mass of condensed material into so portable a volume. The print, although perfectly legible, is unpleasantly small; and it would be a severe trial to the eyes to read the book through, even without the glossary, concordance, &c., which occupy just about half the space. For the benefit of those whose eyes are not strong it would be worth while to publish pp. 1-206 in much larger type. There are many who would find

such a volume attractive in comparison with the present one : while there are not a few who simply *dare* not use the present volume at all, because to read two or three pages would mean eyes aching for hours afterwards. This is the one adverse criticism to which the work seems to be fairly open ; and in making it one admits that the small print is necessary if a book light to the hand is required. All that is suggested is that a companion edition in much larger type should be issued, either divided into two volumes, or possibly including only half of what is given us here.

The following are the contents of the volume. Professor Ryle leads off with two sections on the Structure of the Bible and on its Limits and Growth. In the latter section the secondary and apocryphal Books of both Old and New Testament are considered ; and the Bishop of Durham adds an appendix on Sacred Books of other faiths, *e.g.*, of Confucianism, Taoism, Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Zoroastrianism. The third section, on the Preservation and Translation of the Bible, is mainly the work of Dr. Sinker, the Librarian of Trinity College ; but Mr. Murray, of Emmanuel College, supplies the important portion which treats of the Text of the New Testament, while Dr. Moulton, Head Master of the Leys School, adds a compact note on the History of the English Bible. Introductions to the several Books with summaries of their contents form the fourth section. The Bishop of Worcester takes the Hexateuch, Professor Lumby the Historical Books, the Master of St. John's College the Poetical Books, Professor A. Davidson, of Edinburgh, the Prophetical Books, and Professor Ryle the Apocrypha. The New Testament is taken by Mr. Murray, of Emmanuel. These four sections occupy 142 pages : the fifth section, on Bible History, adds 100 pages more, the joint work of Mr. A. Carr, Professor Robertson Smith, Professor Stanton, Professor Armitage Robinson, and Professor Gwatkin. The Chronology of the Bible is discussed by Professor Lumby, who also helps Dr. Watson, Canon Awdry, and Mr. Bevan with the Antiquities. The Geography, Geology, and Climate are appropriately assigned to Professor Bonney. A Glossary, a Concordance, with other lists and indices, each by a different hand, and together occupying over 200 pages, complete the letterpress ; and the volume closes with eight excellent maps. In the index of Proper Names no information is given as to pronunciation, nor even as to the quantity of syllables : this, perhaps, might have been supplied with advantage in some cases. One would be sorry that a book of this kind should promote pedantry, by encouraging young curates to startle their congregations with unusual although accurate pronunciations. Yet good service might be done by protecting the ears of those who know better from such atrocities as *Melita*, *Eubulus*, and *Coos* or *Core* pronounced as one syllable. But the volume as it stands is of very great usefulness, and cannot fail to promote an intelligent study of the Bible.

ALFRED PLUMMER, D.D.

BUDDHISM, PRIMITIVE AND PRESENT, IN MAGADHA AND CEYLON.

By REGINALD S. COPLESTON, D.D., Bishop of Colombo. London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1892.

THE present volume has a twofold purpose : first, to describe the primitive Buddhism of northern India, the parent-stock of the varied Buddhist systems of central Asia, Burmah, China, Ceylon, and then to describe the Buddhism of Ceylon, the earliest offshoot, and the purest existing representative, of Buddha's teaching. The author is qualified for his work, not only by study of the original Pali texts, but also by long residence in a Buddhist country and atmosphere, an invaluable addition to mere book-knowledge. It is less the metaphysical side of Buddha's doctrine that is

expounded than the moral side. This is amply illustrated in about eight chapters, other seven chapters being given to Buddhist monasticism, which is, of course, the most perfect realization of the Buddhist ideal. The moral teaching of Buddhism is its strongest side. Bishop Copleston does full justice to its excellences; but he is not, like many indiscriminate admirers, blind to its defects. The lights and shades are faithfully brought out. The contrast with Christian teaching is pointed out, though it is not pressed in a polemical spirit. The author remarks that, while humanity may be said to be the central, cardinal virtue in the Buddhist code, it is by no means conspicuous in Buddhist practice. "The credit of having first founded hospitals belongs undoubtedly to Buddhism." The brief chapter on the moral ideal of Buddhism is very suggestive. The ideal is made up rather of passive and negative than active virtues, and the omissions are striking. "The idea of conscience has no exact counterpart in the Buddhist system, any more than the Christian idea of sin, as implying moral responsibility, or the transgression of the commands of a Person." Gentleness, repose, purity, earnestness of a certain kind, are the chief aims. The Buddhist, too, has to depend on himself for all things.

It is curious to observe how Buddhism anticipates such modern theories as agnosticism, pessimism, positivism, philosophical empiricism. Its pessimism is thoroughgoing. The way to salvation is conviction, not of sin, but of universal, necessary suffering, and then of the cause of that suffering in desire and individual existence. Ignorance is the one evil to be got rid of; knowledge the grand means of redemption. But, as our author points out, it is ignorance and knowledge of the special tenets of Buddhist doctrine. The system, too, is quite at one with the empirical denial of the existence of the soul, except as the sum of thought and feeling. "The Self, or personality, has no permanent reality; it is the result of certain elements coming together, a combination of faculties and characters." Self, or soul, is merely a popular name for the aggregate of these. So, again, all knowledge is of phenomena; cause is unknown and unknowable. In one of the sacred Sutras we read: "Gotama was asked, 'Do you hold the view that the world is eternal?' He replied, 'No.' 'That the world is not eternal?' 'No.' 'That it has end?' 'No.' 'That it has not an end?' 'No.' 'That the life and the body are the same?' 'No.' 'That the life is one thing and the body another?' 'No.' 'That the individual exists after death?' 'No.' 'That he does not?' 'No.' 'That he both exists and does not exist after death?' 'No.' 'That he neither exists nor does not exist after death?' 'No.'" This doctrine is illustrated by the burning fire. When it goes out, we do not ask where it is gone; we simply say, it is gone out. So is it when man has attained true knowledge. This is the final Nirvana. Our author justly says that Buddhism, unlike Brahminism, knows nothing of absorption in the Supreme, because it has no Supreme.

The Buddhism of Ceylon has remained nearer the primitive theory than the other branches of the system. The first Buddhist missionary to Ceylon was Mahinda, son of the great Buddhist monarch Asoka, in the third century B.C. The author follows the fortunes, and describes the history, of the Ceylon community from those days to the present. In recent times, under the competition of Christianity, an attempt has been made to carry out a Buddhist reformation—i.e., to revert to the original teachings of Buddha. So far the reformation seems to have been mainly confined to educated circles.

We are glad to see the tribute of respect which the author pays to the accuracy of one of the first explorers in this field, Spence Hardy. He says that he purposely avoided consulting the works of the latter until his own work was finished, and then

he was surprised to find how the results of their investigations coincided. The present work is a valuable addition to our sources of information about Buddhism, especially because it is based on personal knowledge, as well as study of written authorities.

J. S. BANKS.

It may be worth while to point out how much mischief may be done by well-meaning theologians who have but slightly studied the modern criticism of the Old Testament. Dr. Adolf Zahn, one of the very few representatives of old-fashioned Calvinism in Germany, and already known by a reactionary work on the Book of Deuteronomy, and by some not uninteresting though equally unprogressive theological essays, has lately published *Serious Surveys of the Delusion of Modern Old Testament Criticism* (Ernst Blicke, &c., Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1898), one chapter of which is devoted to English pretenders to the name of critic of the Old Testament. These pretenders, it appears, do but copy from German works, and are devoid of independence or originality. Happily a defender of sound views and consummate scholarship has arisen, who on linguistic grounds has shown the futility of Anglo-German criticism. The learned author has derived this information from one of our leading Presbyterian divines, not generally supposed to be an opponent of progress. I forbear to give names; the curious student can find out for himself. It hardly need be added that German criticism is attacked with still greater vehemence, but one may reasonably be surprised that the editor of the *Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft* should find it necessary to protest against this in the very home of critical theology.

T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

SCRIPTURES HEBREW AND CHRISTIAN, arranged and edited for young readers as an introduction to the study of the Bible. I. Hebrew Story from Creation to the Exile. II. Hebrew Literature. III. Christian Scriptures. By EDWARD T. BARTLETT, D.D., Dean of the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School in Philadelphia, and JOHN P. PETERS, Ph.D., Professor of Hebrew in the University of Pennsylvania. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1886-93. 8vo, pp. xii, 545; xi, 569; xii, 601, \$5.

The object which the editors had in the preparation of these volumes was highly commendable. Those who most appreciate the Bible are those who know it best, and these in turn are those to whom it is a living history as well as vital truth, instinct with purpose and plan. In these volumes the intent has been to give the biblical history and revelation and their Divine unfolding as nearly as possible in biblical language, and "to furnish a sufficient clew for the guidance of the ordinary Bible reader and student." At times the narratives have been condensed and rearranged, with some simplifications of the language for the easier comprehension of the less learned, and for young readers. The guiding principles have been, first and foremost, the sacredness of the volume, and next the sound assumption that, in order to learn aright, the correct point of view must be obtained, so that even partial teaching may be true. It is exceedingly important that the student shall have nothing to unlearn. A competent guide to Scripture is in this regard doubly needful and beneficial. In order to this the revelation of the Bible must be presented to the reader as it was actually presented in its order and progress in accordance with the plan of God. The best interpretation that we can get is that which was in the original unfolding of the redemption which the Bible proclaims. The historical standpoint is thus the one of most value and advantage.

Under the guidance of these thoughts the editors have worked. At times they have presented the books in their order, at others the narratives have been woven together, so that the reader of the Old Testament is brought into contact not only with the actual words of a prophet, but also with the historical setting which gives so much more of meaning to the words which he uttered. The whole thus becomes an organism of developing truth, gaining, not losing, in significance.

The first volume is divided into four

parts: from the Creation to the time of Saul; to Rehoboam; the history of Israel and Samaria from scattered notices, with the prophecies of Amos and Hosea interwoven, the whole forming a continuous narrative; Judah down to the Captivity, the narrative being made up from the books of Kings and Chronicles, with the insertion of the portions of Isaiah and Jeremiah which belong in this connection. Under the history of Josiah those portions of Deuteronomy are introduced which are necessary to the comprehension of the narrative. Thus are brought together all the passages which relate to the same event.

The second volume is divided under six heads. First, the period from the destruction of Jerusalem to the time of Ezra—a period meagre in its record of political history, but ample in its monuments of intellectual, religious, and literary progress. Second, the Hebrew legislation, setting forth the codes of the Pentateuch from a practical standpoint, so that the various provisions can be easily compared. Third, those tales, episodes, such as Ruth and Esther, which could not be woven into a continuous narrative. Fourth, prophecy in those parts easy of comprehension, without an extensive knowledge of contemporaneous events and without extended comment. Fifth, Hebrew poetry, consisting of selections from the Psalms and other lyrical pieces, without any attempt at chronological arrangement. Finally, selections from the wonderful "Wisdom" literature of the Hebrews, the latest development of their religious thought.

The third volume deals with the New Testament. The text is based upon the Revised Version, but it does not follow it exclusively. The whole of the Testament is not given, as this was not considered necessary to the purpose of the series, which is to give an introduction to the historical order of the writings in connection with the historical setting. An excellent feature is the italicizing of the passages quoted from the Old Testament. This serves to point the lesson that the connection between the Old and New Testaments is not only that of temporal sequence, but also of logical consequence in the Divine plan. The order adopted is: Synoptic Gospels and the Acts; General Epistles by the earlier Apostles, James and Peter; the Epistles of Paul in four groups; books belonging to the time of the great tribulation, Hebrews and the Revelation; and books belonging to the closing period of the Apostolic age, Gospel and Epistles of John. A list of quotations from the Old Testament follows at the close.

The series is a monument to that love of the truth which has animated it, and it is a noble attempt to so arrange the portions of Scripture in their order that they shall

appeal to an age which is historical in its instincts and methods.

CHARLES R. GILLETT.

New York.

CREATION OF THE BIBLE. By MYRON ADAMS, author of "The Continuous Creation." Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., the Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1892. 8vo, pp. iv., 318.

The title of the book is misleading. "Creation of the Bible" leads one to expect a discussion of the origin of the Bible, or, more precisely, its origin after the analogy of the creation of the universe. Soon discovering that the author means evolution when he says creation, the reader hopes to find a sketch of the successive stages of the progressive revelation. If the inferiority of the earlier is shown, it will be to bring out in contrast the superiority of the later. He is, however, disappointed. There is plenty of the former, but the latter is not very marked. Evolution of the views of the Bible held by the author is well illustrated, but evolution of the Bible is not consistently carried through.

"The Bible, like all creation, defective," seems to be the author's main thesis; for "it is proposed in this book to give in a simple manner some view of recent Bible study. In doing so, certain principles of interpretation will be employed: First, the Bible is a part of creation; second, the order of creation is one of progress and improvement; third, all progress is co-ordinate; fourth, the Bible is to be studied as any book is to be studied; it is properly subject to human criticism; fifth, its contents furnish to a large extent the means for its investigation."

It is needless to say that after this declaration the author does not spare criticism. Indeed, his fourth point is his chief one. He says of himself that "he does not profess to be a critic, but one who has resorted to the critics and to historical criticism for help." If to get help is to become what he is in his views of revelation, many will not follow his example.

There is too much criticism and too little appreciation. He is as dogmatic as the dogmatists. The frame of mind of the average theologian in the past is, to be sure, not entirely commendable, but the pendulum cannot stay at one end of its swing any better than the other. There is a position for the Bible student, where he may recognize and acknowledge all the proven facts of literary criticism and at the same time not discard the fundamental truths of Christianity.

This sentiment is more expressive of the

author's temper of mind than of his whom he would ridicule: "There is no entirely good reason why we should be more stupid about the Bible than about any other book. In fact, there is good reason why we should bring to the Bible a mind which has at least a little clearness."

His view of miracles of the Bible is thus given: "One trouble with the miracles of the Bible is that they have no scientific evidence. They are told us, not by eye-witnesses, and not by persons who know anything beyond the common of a natural order. So far as the form of them is concerned, we may fearlessly render them to the scientific Cæsar to whom they belong."

He discards the virgin-birth of Jesus: we do not need the story in the future, for it rests on a slender foundation; man is divine anyway: it would deprive us of fellowship with Christ were His miraculous birth a reality.

In rejecting the idea of sacrifice from the true view of religion he has overlooked the fact that on all sides the principle is to be seen in operation. The farmer uses it when he sows his seed; the moneyed man when he invests his funds. The earlier statement of the principle may be at fault, but the principle cannot be spared, either from the realm of matter or of spirit. The more thoroughly the social system is permeated with it, the better for all mankind. The "sociological religion" of the author will be a capital place to exhibit and foster this idea, which he says "rests upon the imagination. Not only so, but it belongs to the less developed imagination; the imagination of the man who is trained in reasoning does not respond to it."

The book, neatly gotten up and readable, adds nothing valuable to the literature of the subject. The reader will learn what the views of the author's school are, but it is to be hoped that he will not suppose himself to be bound to think with him.

OWEN H. GATES.

Oberlin Theological Seminary.

MOHAMMEDANISM AND OTHER RELIGIONS OF MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES. By G. T. BETTANY, M.A., B.Sc. London and New York: Ward Lock, Bowden & Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. vii., 322, \$1.

Mr. Bettany treats of eight different religions within the compass of 320 pages. Of course little more than mere outlines can be expected. For scholars or even thorough students the book is scarcely a real accession to the science of religions, but to those who have only time for a brief compend, the writer has rendered a fairly good service.

The indication or implied promise given in the preface that a "gradual approach

to monotheism will be made to appear in the history of the religions treated" is hardly fulfilled. It seems to be merely a passing recognition of a theory which, on the hypothesis of evolution, assumes in the outset that all religions must of course rise toward monotheism, which is the highest type. It is indeed asserted in Judaism and Mohammedanism, but the latter simply borrowed it in its completeness, and there is no proof whatever that the former reached it by any gradual process.

In treating of the religion of ancient Egypt, the author again assumes a "tendency" or drift toward monotheism, following the opinions of Tiele and Amelia B. Edwards instead of the great preponderance of learned opinion, which regards the earlier stages of the Egyptian religion as far purer than those of a later day.

It is doubtless true that in Egypt, as in most other countries, monotheism in the sense of a worship of one Supreme God coexisted for centuries with the worship of secondary deities, who were either creations or descendants of the *One*; but nowhere is there clearer evidence than in Egypt of an increasing degradation in the number and the character of its swarming polytheistic deities; and with this tendency there was a corresponding decline in morals.

The relations of the Babylonian and Phœnician religions are not clearly traced, though the general character is correctly indicated. Much more emphasis might be given to the enormities of Baalism, with its triple crime and shame of female prostitution, sodomy, and the sacrifice of children. It was the foulest of all heathen systems.

Rather too much space is given to rehearsing the Greek mythology, which is supposed to be already known to the average school-boy, but amends are made by a brief but satisfactory reference to the great leaders of Greek philosophy.

To Mohammedanism Mr. Bettany gives chief attention. In the 180 pages given to ancient and modern Islam a condensed but clear and quite satisfactory outline of the history and the chief characteristics of the system is given. Mohammed is, on the whole, fairly estimated. There is no disposition to settle his historic status with mere ignorant denunciation, nor, on the other hand, is there any flippant and easy-going laudation.

The prophet is presented as a reformer growing into fanaticism, strengthened by persecution, then rendered unscrupulous by success, and swept on finally by his ambition to remorseless cruelty, and covering his lust and marital infidelity with blasphemy. Modern Islam is set forth in its changes and ramifications with painstaking accuracy.

The Teutonic, Slavonic, and Celtic faiths

are but meagrely outlined. The reliable sources, it is but fair to say, are few.

F. F. ELLINWOOD.

New York University.

PAGANISM SURVIVING IN CHRISTIANITY.
By ABRAM HERBERT LEWIS, D.D. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1892. 8vo, pp. xv., 809, \$1.75.

It is by no means an easy matter to decide whether the merits or the demerits of the work before us preponderate, for both are considerable. The scholarship manifested is respectable, the industry of the author in bringing together from many sources striking and effective materials, and his skill in arranging them are worthy of all praise. With many of his conclusions we heartily concur; indeed, they are commonly accepted by scholars whose views are widely different from ours or his. On the other hand, one's appreciation of the book suffers from the author's manifestly polemical aim. The work is in an emphatic sense a "tendency" production. The author, as is well known, is the literary leader of the Seventh Day Baptists, and is devoting himself assiduously to the defence and propagation of the dogma that the Jewish Sabbath is of perpetual obligation, and that the great mass of Christians are guilty of the most grievous disobedience to the Divine command in disregarding the Jewish Sabbath and in making the Lord's Day the weekly time for rest and special religious exercises. He edits a magazine devoted solely to this cause, and his books and pamphlets on this subject are numerous. No one acquainted with his career and his habits of mind could conceive of his devoting himself to historical research in a purely scientific interest, or could imagine him writing a book in which the defence of Sabbatarianism occupied other than the most prominent position.

In chapter 1, twenty-three writers, representing many denominations and modes of thought, are quoted to show that much of paganism survived in the Christianity which gradually supplanted the old cults, and which, after the union of Church and State, absorbed the great mass of paganism without any adequate effort to transform it. This is universally acknowledged, and scarcely needed to be so elaborately proved. Circumstances being as they were, the paganization of Christianity was, so far as we can see, inevitable.

In chapter 2 the author proceeds to show, by like quotations from writers, ancient and modern, that pagan methods of interpreting Scripture from the second century onward became dominant and contributed much to the corruption of Christian doctrine. Here he relies largely upon

Hatch, Harnack, and Baur (the last name he uniformly writes "Bauer"). That the allegorical method of interpretation was pagan in its origin, and that it exerted a highly corrupting influence on Christian thought from the earliest post-apostolic time is undeniable.

The third, fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters are devoted to water-worship, which the author proves by ample quotations to have been of world-wide prevalence, and by the influence of which he seeks to account for the early appearance in the Christian Church of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, belief in the magical efficacy of water-baptism, belief in the necessity of water-baptism to salvation, and the consequent rise and growth of the doctrine and practice of infant baptism. That the progressive departure of the early Church from apostolic precept and example as regards the nature and the subject of baptism was due largely to pagan influences seems highly probable; though the author lays more stress on these influences than is meet.

Chapters 7-14 are devoted to an effort to show that Sunday is a purely pagan institution. The author brings together a large amount of material to show the wide prevalence throughout the Roman Empire of the observance of Sunday (the day of Apollo, of the Persian Mithras, etc.), and lays much stress on the well-known fact that Constantine made Sunday a legal holiday quite as much in honor of the sun god as in honor of Christ. He attempts at considerable length to show that there is no warrant either in apostolic precept or example for the substitution of the first day for the seventh, ignoring or lightly setting aside the considerations by which those who believe in the perpetual obligation of the Jewish Sabbath justify the change from the seventh to the first day of the week.

We shall not attempt here to refute the author's views, which we believe to be erroneous and mischievous; we may be allowed to express the opinion, however, that Sabbatarianism cannot be successfully met by those who maintain the perpetual obligation of ceremonial Sabbath observance.

ALBERT H. NEWMAN.

McMaster University, Toronto.

PRAYER-MEETING THEOLOGY. A Dialogue. By E. J. MORRIS. New York: Putnam's Sons, 1892. 12mo, pp. 263, \$1.25.

A different title would, perhaps, have been more attractive to some, at least, of those who will find this book to their mind. All that it has to do with prayer-meetings is, that the personages of the dialogue got into their discussion at the end of a prayer-meeting. They are moral people, members of a little Congregational

church in a Welsh settlement away back in Pennsylvania. For all that, they talk in the same elevation of style and thought above that sort of people that Milton gives to Farmer Adam and wife. It is, however, animated talk, out of a full mind, and the parts are well sustained. A is a sturdy believer, who never had a doubt, and is hard on doubters and unbelievers, thinking it better to be unconciliatory, but true, than to be tender to men's feelings while treacherous to their souls. B is plagued with doubts that he cannot solve, but he fights them down by tenacity of resolution to believe the church doctrine. C has thought through it all, and rests his faith on the essential grounds of religious belief more than on the formal "evidences" as presented in the books. The talk of these friends takes a wide sweep, including the being and personality of God, the problem of evil the question of immortality, the authority of the Bible, miracles, the person of Christ, the Resurrection, Christian unity, future punishment, Unitarianism, and agnosticism. C, despite his avowal that he still believes, in spite of inward rebellion, in endless punishment, very ably contends in all other points for liberal positions, but does not succeed in convincing his friends, A regarding him with dismay as a heretic, and B taking to the cold comfort that he can only offer the prayer of doubt in place of the prayer of faith. With this *reductio ad absurdum* of the opposition, C seems to be left in possession of the field. The book is ably written and helpful to one who is troubled with speculative difficulties in religious truth, and strongly in the interest of Christian charity and catholicity.

JAMES M. WHITON.

New York.

BRIEF NOTICES, BY THE EDITOR.

We take pleasure in calling attention to three new issues of the Expositor's Bible series: *The Book of Joshua*, by Professor William Garden Blaikie, D.D., LL.D., of New College, Edinburgh (pp. viii., 416); *The First Book of Kings*, by F. W. Farrar, D.D., D.C.L., Archdeacon of Westminster (pp. xii., 508); and *Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther*, by Walter F. Adeney, M.A., Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Church History, New College, London (pp. viii., 404. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1893, crown 8vo, \$1.50 each). It would be very easy to point out excellencies in any and all of these works. They are worthy of places beside the earlier volumes which have uniformly received favorable review in these columns. Especially timely and apt is the introductory essay in Archdeacon Farrar's volume, on "The Higher Criticism;" not because

it contains anything particularly new, but on account of the speaker, the spirit and the form of his words. The character of the books in general is of a high order, and they promise to be very useful to those fortunate enough to possess them.

The Doctrine of the Prophets. The Warburtonian Lectures for 1886-90. By *A. F. Kirkpatrick*, Regius Professor of Hebrew, Trinity College, Cambridge. (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1892, crown 8vo, pp. xviii., 540, \$1.75.) This is a very valuable addition to the literature of Old Testament study. It is intended to set forth the contributions of the various prophets to the sum and progress of Divine truth revealed in the course of the older dispensation. These are placed in connection with their historical settings, so as to display the interaction of providence and revelation, proving at once the naturalness and the supernaturalness of the whole as a unique, Divine revelation to the world. The author has thus exhibited the prophecies from the standpoint of their delivery rather than of their fulfilment.

The Gospel of the Kingdom. A popular exposition of the Gospel according to Matthew. By *C. H. Spurgeon*. With introductory note by Mrs. C. H. Spurgeon, and an introduction to the American edition by Arthur T. Pierson. (New York: Baker & Taylor Co., 12mo, pp. viii., 502.) This latest of the publications from the pen of the eminent preacher is a welcome memorial of his genius. It is not eminent for novelty nor for any striking diction, but it will be received with joy by many because of the directness with which it goes to the teaching of the passages expounded, setting forth the truth with simplicity and power.

Christ and Criticism. Thoughts concerning the relation of Christian faith to biblical criticism. By *Charles Marsh Mead*, D.D., Professor in Hartford Theological Seminary. (New York: Randolph, 1893, 12mo, pp. xi., 186, 75 cents.) Professor Mead seems to blow both hot and cold so far as the Higher Criticism is concerned. In his preface he boldly says: "I regard the higher criticism as not only entirely legitimate, but as very useful, and indiscriminate condemnation of it as foolish." He then goes on to depreciate the "results" of the existing criticism, with more or less of repetition of the arguments now so familiar. The explanation may be that his approval affects the ideal critical procedure, but his reprobation attaches to the actual. His work will doubtless have the effect of convincing the already convinced.

Truth and Criticism. Essays by Congregationalists. (New York: Dutton & Co., 1893, 12mo, pp. viii., 490, \$2.) As indicated by the title, the nine papers which compose this volume have been inspired by the purpose to help "those very numerous seekers after truth, whose minds have been disturbed by the work of criticism in biblical and theological questions." They are not directed to the learned, but to those who know enough to appreciate the fact that fear and prejudice are no sufficient arguments against scholarly investigation and progress; and to those who, believing that all truth is from one source, desire to see the reconciliation of truths which some have dogmatically declared to be incompatible. To this and all similar efforts we would bid welcome and success.

The Decalogue. By *Elizabeth Wordsworth*. (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 12mo, 1893, pp. xxiii., 240, \$1.25.) The author is the daughter of Bishop Wordsworth, and the Principal of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford. The discussions which make up the volume were given as talks before some of the young lady students under the author's charge on Sunday evenings. They are remarkably clear and "practical," a valuable addition to the literature of the subject from a side not heretofore cultivated. They are calculated to build up strong and true character.

I Believe in God, the Father Almighty. By *John Henry Barrows*. (Chicago and New York: Revell, 1893, 12mo, pp. 137, \$1.) Four discourses on theism, suggested by the first clause of the Apostles' Creed; well and effectively written, and calculated to impress the lessons of the strength, truth, and comfort of theistic belief, as against the uncertainty of doubt and the despair of denial.

A Short History of the Book of Common Prayer, together with certain papers illustrative of liturgical revisions, 1878-92. By *William Reed Huntington*, D.D., rector of Grace Church. (New York: Whittaker, 1893, 12mo, pp. 235, \$1.) The "Short History" is now first printed; the other papers have appeared in periodicals, and serve to set forth the work of revision, with the author's connection therewith. Comment is needless.

Christ and Modern Unbelief. By *Randolph Harrison McKim*, rector of the Church of the Epiphany, Washington. (New York: Whittaker, 1893, pp. iv., 146, \$1.) Seven lectures, apologetic in character, aimed to defend the central position of the Christian truth regarding the person

of Christ. They are written in a clear and simple style, the result of careful and scholarly thought; aimed to do good to an audience composed of teachers and taught; and form an interesting contribution to the "rediscovery of Christ by modern theology."

In Spirit and in Truth. Essays by younger ministers of the Unitarian Church. With an introduction by the Rev. James De Normandie. (Boston: G. H. Ellis, 1893, 8vo, pp. 163, \$1.) Suggestive papers upon subjects of importance in religious life and thought. Some of the topics are "The Philosophy of Religion," "The Revelation of God in Nature," "The Thought of God in the Bible," "The Revelation of God in Man," and "The Christ."

Sermons, preached in St. John's Church, Washington, D. C., by *George William Douglass*, S.T.D. (New York: Randolph & Co., 1893, 8vo, pp. viii, 294, \$1.50.) This volume contains twenty-one sermons, published at the request of former parishioners as a memorial of a pastorate. They are of interest not only in this connection, but also for their own sake, on account of the spirit which informs them.

Primary Convictions. By *William Alexander*, D.D., Lord Bishop of Derry and Raphoe. (New York: Harpers, 1893, pp. xvi., 322, 8vo.) It is matter of congratulation that these lectures have appeared in print. They comprise, with some additions, the Columbia College Lectures on the evidences of Christianity, delivered a little over a year ago. In form they are sermons; in substance, a commentary on the clauses of the Apostles' Creed.

Outlines of the History of Dogma. By Dr. *Adolf Harnack*, Professor of Church History in the University of Berlin. Translated by Edwin Knox Mitchell, Professor of Græco-Roman and Eastern Church History in Hartford Theological Seminary. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1893, 8vo, pp. xii., 567, \$2.50.) The task of translating such a book as that of Dr. Harnack is one of exceeding difficulty; and when translated it is likely to be of service only to those who possess an intimate knowledge of the subject. It is, therefore, not probable that the volume will ever become the *vade mecum* of the theological student or of the pastor, despite the great importance which attaches to the works and investigations of the distinguished author. We regret to be compelled in all honesty to say that the character and quality of the translation is not likely to assist in the popularization of the

views of Professor Harnack, since it would be easy to find innumerable faults with the renderings here given in ways too numerous for present mention.

Studies in the Civil, Social, and Ecclesiastical History of Early Maryland. Lectures delivered to the young men of the Agricultural College of Maryland. By the Rev. *Theodore C. Gambrill*, D.D. (New York: Whittaker, 1893, 8vo, pp. vii., 240, \$1.50.) Dr. Gambrill is already known through his "Church Life in Colonial Maryland." In the present volume he has traced a very interesting chapter in the early history of this country, showing the course of progress from the peculiar conditions of the original charter of Maryland to broader and truer ideas of human liberty. He has given a philosophical view of the case, and has not been content to relate merely the external facts of the history.

Straight Sermons to young men and other human beings. Preached before the Universities of Yale, Harvard, and Princeton. By *Henry van Dyke*, D.D., pastor of the Brick Church, New York. (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1893, 12mo, pp. xiii., 233, \$1.25.) The odd designation of these discourses is fully justified by the directness which characterizes the author in his approach to the subjects which he discusses. There is no cant in his designation of his intention in addressing them to "human beings." His life, faith, work, and purpose are real and downright, and the sermons reflect the man.

Moses, the servant of God. By *F. B. Meyer*. (New York and Chicago: Revell, pp. 190, \$1.) The value of this book lies not in the historical lore which it contains, but in the wonderful facility of the author for drawing deep and useful lessons of comfort and impulse from simple and plain statements of the text of Scripture. To him the Bible is replete with spiritual truth.

Future Tenses of the Blessed Life. By *F. B. Meyer*. (The same, pp. 162.) A sweet book of comfort, and a worthy companion to "The Present Tenses," which appeared some time since.

Missionary Landscapes in the Dark Continent. By Rev. *James Johnston*, A.T.S. (New York: Randolph & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 264.) Mr. Johnston does not pretend to have given a history of African missions, but he has presented a series of most interesting views of the field at certain points. The sketches are vivid and good,

and the tale is one to cause rejoicing in the hearts of those to whom the missionary command is dear. Some of the topics treated are the following: "Nyassa, 'The Lake of the Stars'"; "Evangelization in Egypt and the Nile Valley"; "Uganda under Conquest"; "The Universities' Mission to Central Africa"; "Sunrise in Kaffraria"; "Missionary Advance up the Congo Waterway"; "Missions on the Niger River." The chapters are not too long, but they contain a large amount of information in readable form.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Buck, Robert, B.A. Revelation by Character. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham, 2 Cooper Union. \$2.00.

De Witt, John, D.D., LL.D., Litt. D. What is Inspiration? New York: A. D. Randolph & Co., 132 Fifth Ave. \$1.00.

Dixon, A. C., Pastor of the Hanson Place Baptist Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. Milk and Meat: Twenty-four sermons. "As new-born babes desire the sincere milk of the Word, that ye may grow thereby" (1 Peter II. 2); "But strong meat belongeth to them that are of full age" (Heb. v. 14). New York: Baker & Taylor Co., 740-742 Broadway.

Fuller, F. W. The Primitive Saints and See of Rome. London: Longmans, Green & Co.; New York: 15 E. 16th St., 1893.

Gardner, Hattie Sleeper. The Endeavours of Maple Grove. Omaha, Neb.: Megeath Stationery Co., 1804 Farnam St.

Guirey, George, Rev., Author of "The Unanswerable Word," "Is the Bible True?" "How to Open the Windows of Heaven," etc. The Hallowed Day: a Fletcher Prize Essay, Dartmouth College, 1892. New York: Baker & Taylor Co., 740-742 Broadway.

Strong, Josiah, Rev., D.D., General Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance for the United States. The New Era: or, The Coming Kingdom. New York: Baker & Taylor Co., 740-742 Broadway.

Sunderland, Jabez Thomas. The Bible, its Origin, Growth, and Character, and its place among the Sacred Books of the World. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 27 W. 23d St.; London: 24 Bedford St., Strand, 1893.

AUGUST MAGAZINES.

HARPER'S Magazine for August contains: "Polyeuct and Pauline," frontispiece; "The Cock Lane Ghost" (a story), Howard Pyle; "Greenwich Village," Thomas A. Janvier; "The Handsome Humes" (a novel), Part III., William Black; "His Bad Angel" (a story), Richard Harding Davis; "Polyeuct and Pauline" (a poem), E. W. Latimer; "The Dead Lover" (a Roumanian Folk-song), R. H. Stoddard; "Italian Gardens," Part II., Charles A. Platt; "Riders of Tunis," Colonel T. A. Dodge, U.S.A.; "Horace Chase" (a novel), Part VIII., Constance Fenimore Woolson; "Bride Reese" (scene), William D. Howells; "A Queer Little Family on the Bittersweet," William Hamilton Gibson; "A Cast of the Net" (a story), Her-

bert D. Ward; "Black Water and Shallows," Frederick Remington; "A Landscape by Constable" (a story), F. Mary Wilson; "At the Hermitage" (a story), E. Levi Brown; "A Lament for the Birds," Susan Fenimore Cooper; "Editor's Study," Charles Dudley Warner; "Monthly Record of Current Events"; "Editor's Drawer."

THE AUGUST CENTURY contains: "Portrait of Phillips Brooks," frontispiece; "Fez, the Mecca of the Moors," Stephen Boneal; "Phillips Brooks's Letters to Children," Phillips Brooks; "The Prince and Princess Achille Murat in Florida," Matilda L. McConnell; "Fox and Crow," from a painting by Winalow Homer; "Cup Defenders Old and New," W. P. Stephens; "The White Islander," Part III., Mary Hartwell Catherwood; "Little Nell," from a group "Dickens and Little Nell"; "Balcony Stories: One of Us; The Little Convent Girl," Grace King; "Breathing Movements as a Cure," Thomas J. Mays; "Farmer Eli's Vacation," Alice Brown; "The Famine in Eastern Russia: Relief Work of the Younger Tolstoy," Jonas Stadling; "An Artist's Letters from Japan: Yokohama-Kamakura," John La Farge; "Contemporary Japanese Art," Ernest Francisco Fenelloe; "A Swedish Etcher" (Anders Zorn), Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer; "Mr. Jones's Experiment," James Sager Norton; "The Poet," Frank Dempster Sherman; "The Philosophers' Camp," W. J. Stillman; "A Sister of Saints," Marion Libby; "Benefits Forgotten," IX., Wolcott Balestier; "Quatrains," Thomas Bailey Aldrich; "At Niagara," Richard Watson Gilder; "The Redemptioner," Edward Eggleston; "August," John Vance Cheney.

THE CONTENTS OF SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE for August are: "For Awhile No One Said a Word," frontispiece; "The House on the Hill-Top," by Grace Ellery Channing; "The Newspaper Correspondent," by Julian Ralph; "A Sin-Offering," by W. G. Van Tassel Sutphin; "Beneath the Mask," by Howard Pyle; "A Song," by Robert Bridges; "Thomann to Tubby Hook," by H. C. Bauner; "Types and People at the Fair," by J. A. Mitchell; "The Copperhead," Chapters III., V., by Harold Frederic; "Her Dying Words," by Thomas Bailey Aldrich; "The Flight of Betsey Lane," by Sara Orne Jewett; "The Opinions of a Philosopher," Chapters VI.-VIII., by Robert Grant; "Silent Amylea," by Edith M. Thomas; "The Wedding Journey of Mrs. Zaintree (Born Greenleaf)," by William Henry Shelton.

THE CONTENTS OF LIPPINCOTT'S for August are: "In the Midst of Alarum," Robert Barr; "Zachary Taylor, his Home and Family," Annah Robinson Watson; "The National Game" (Athletic Series), Norton B. Young; "Freedom," Clara Jessup Moore; "Jane's Holiday" (Lippincott's Notable Stories, No. VI.), Valerie Hays Berry; "The Dream-Ship," M. H. G.; "The Lady of the Lake," Julian Hawthorne; "Mortality," Howard Hall; "A Philadelphia Sculptor," E. Leslie Gilliams; "Supermundane Fiction," W. H. Babcock; "Men of the Day," M. Crofton.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for August contains: "His Vanished Star," III., IV., Charles Egbert Craddock; "Washington the Winter before the War," Henry L. Dawes; "The Meeting of the Ships," Walter Mitchell; "Little Boy Blue," Olive Thorne Miller; "The Teaching of the Upanishads," William Davies; "A Strategic Movement," Ellen Olney Kirk; "Jonathan Belcher a Royal Governor of Massachusetts," George Edward Ellis; "A Boston Schoolgirl in 1771," Alice Morse Earle; "The First Principal of Newnham College," Eugenia Skelding; "The Breakers," Charles Washington Coleman; "The Ogre of Alewife Cove," Edith M. Thomas; "Studies in the Correspondence of Petrarch," II., Harriet Waters Preston and Louise Dodge; "Ben," A. M. Ewell; "Relations of Academic and Technical Instruction," Nathaniel Southgate Shaler; "Anti-Slavery History and Biography," "Comment on New Books," "The Contributors' Club."

INDEX OF PERIODICALS, JULY, 1893.

Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index of Periodicals.

- Af. M. E. R. African M. E. Church Review. (Quarterly.)
 A. R. Andover Review. (Bi-monthly.)
 B. S. Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quarterly.)
 B. W. The Biblical World.
 B. Q. R. Baptist Quarterly Review.
 Ch. Q. R. Church Quarterly Review.
 C. M. Q. Canadian Methodist Quarterly.
 C. R. Charities Review.
 C. T. Christian Thought.
 Ex. Expositor.
 Ex. T. Expository Times.
 G. W. Good Words.
 H. R. Homiletic Review.
 K. M. Katholische Missionen.
 L. Q. Lutheran Quarterly.
 M. R. Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)
 M. H. Missionary Herald.
 Missionary Review.
 New Christian Quarterly.
 Newbery House Magazine.
 N. W. The New World.
 O. D. Our Day.
 P. E. R. Protestant Episcopal Review.
 P. M. Preachers' Magazine.
 P. Q. Presbyterian Quarterly.
 P. R. R. Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
 R. Ch. Review of the Churches.
 R. Q. R. Reformed Quarterly Review.
 R. R. R. Religious Review of Reviews.
 S. A. H. Sunday at Home.
 S. M. Sunday Magazine.
 T. Tr. The Treasury.
 Y. R. The Yale Review.
 Abeldard's Doctrine of Atonement, Hastings Rashdall, Ex.
 Africa and the Educated and Wealthy Negroes of America, J. G. Robinson, AfMER.
 Agnosticism: Its Ethical and Religious Tendencies, W. Quance, CMQ.
 American Board Been of Help in Bohemia? Has the, Alois Adlof, MH.
 American Board Therein, Bohemia and the Work of the, Francis Kadlec, MH.
 American Board in Spain, The Work of the, Enrique de Tienda, MH.
 Apostolic Churches: Their Doctrine and Fellowship, The, Robert A. Watson, PM.
 Baptized for the Dead, Talbot W. Chambers, PRR.
 Beek's "Through Christ to God," David H. Lawrence, ExT.
 Bible, Exploring the, W. A. Labrim, PM.
 Bible Study, Chancellor Burwash, CMQ.
 Bishop of the New World, A Model, S. Linton Bell, SM.
 Black Codes in the Southern States, New, Joseph Cook, OD.
 British Gulana, William Walrond, AfMER.
 Carriage, That Fine, Edwin Whelpton, SM.
 Charles P. Kranth, Adolph Spaeth, LQ.
 Christ's Atonement, The Nature of, III., W. Jackson, CMQ.
 Christ on Character, The Influence of, VII., Bishop of Ripon, GW.
 Christ, The Unfinished Teaching of, Frederic Relton, ExT.
 Christianity, The Survivals of, George C. Foley, PRR.
 Christianity in the Roman Empire, Professor Mommsen, Ex.
 Christianity in America, Four Centuries of, H. M. Scott, OD.
 Church, The Lazy, Frank M. Goodchild, TTr.
 Churches, The Progress of the, Archdeacon Sinclair, J. Reid Howatt, Dr. Mackennal, Dr. Clifford, P. W. Bunting, RCh.
 Church and the Empire, The, Professor W. Ramsay, Ex.
 Criticism, The Higher, Bishop Tanner, AfMER.
 Crucifixion of Christ, The, G. Lorimer, TTr.
 Crucifixion, The Date of, Arthur Wright, BW.
 Curiosity and Obligation, Thomas G. Selby, PM.
 Difficult Words of Christ, The, III., James Stalker, Ex.
 Diligence, The Power of, A. Maclaren, TTr.
 Empty Shells, Harry Jones, GW.
 Esther, The Book of, A. H. Huizingsa, PQ.
 Eugène Bersier, G. Kingscote, NHM.
 Evolution and Christian Ethics, Thomas G. Apple, RQR.
 Ezra iv. 6-23, The Chronology of, Bishop of Bath, Ex.
 Fall, The Babylonian Story of the, W. St. Chad Boscawen, ExT.
 Fatherhood of God, Homiletic Aspect of the, Charles A. Salmond, PRR.
 Frederick Godet, A. Gréullat, ExT.
 Free Church of Scotland, The Celebration of the Jubilee of the, RCh.
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CHRONICLE.

(Closes on the 30th of each month.)

June 14. The nineteenth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, in Zion Church, Toronto.

June 22. Opening of the Eighth Biennial Convention of the Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society of the General (Lutheran) Synod, in Omaha, Neb.

June 22-30. International Convention of College Young Women, at Northfield, Mass.

June 22-July 7. The Kentucky Chautauqua, at Woodland Park, Ky.

June 25-30. Irish Wesleyan Methodist Conference, at Cork.

June 29. In St. Paul's Cathedral, London, consecration of Rev. John Sheepehanks Bishop of Norwich, Rev. Dr. J. S. Hill, Bishop of Western Equatorial Africa, Rev. Drs. Isaac Oluwole and Charles Phillips, Assistant Bishops of Western Equatorial Africa.

June 29-July 2. International Epworth League Conference, at Cleveland, O.

July 1-9. World's Student Congress, at Northfield.

July 5-9. Twelfth International Christian Endeavor Convention, at Montreal, Canada.

July 6. Summer School of Methods of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, at Ocean Grove, N. J.

July 6-12. Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Summer School of the American Institute of Christian Philosophy, at Prohibition Park, Staten Island.

July 9. Opening of the Christian Alliance Convention, at Asbury Park, N. J.

July 11-20. Ninth Annual Session of the Ocean Grove Sunday-School Assembly.

July 11. Beginning of trial of Rev. John Campbell, D.D., Professor of Church History and Apologetics in the Presbyterian College of Canada, for heresy, before the Presbytery of Montreal.

July 13-16. Third International Convention of the Baptist Young People's Union of America, at Indianapolis, Ind.

July 17-22. Baptist Grove Meeting, at Weirs, N. H.

July 19-20. Formation of the American Institute of Christian Sociology, at Chautauqua.

The Rev. Samuel Hart, D.D., has declined his election to the bishopric of Vermont; the Rev. George Hodges, D.D., has been chosen bishop-coadjutor for Oregon, and the Rev. Dr. Chesire, Jr., D.D., bishop-coadjutor for North Carolina.

The following changes have recently taken place in theological faculties: Prof. W. W. Martin has resigned the chair of Hebrew in Vanderbilt University; Prof. Theodore W. Hopkins has been elected Professor of Church History, and Prof. J. S. Riggs to the chair of Biblical Criticism, in Auburn Theological Seminary; Prof. R. R. Beattie, D.D., now of Columbia Theological Seminary, has been chosen to the Chair of Systematic Theology in the Seminary at Louisville, Ky.; Prof. Albert T. Swing has been appointed Professor of Church History in Oberlin Theological Seminary; Rev. P. J. Searle becomes Professor of Theology in the Seminary at New Brunswick, N. J.; Prof. M. D. Buell becomes Dean and Resident Professor of the School of Theology of Boston University; Rev. Robert W. Rogers, Ph.D., goes as Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in Drew Theological Seminary; Rev. W. F. Oldham, D.D., takes the chair of the English Bible at Albion College, Mich.; and the Rev. John E. Tuttle has been called to the pastorate of the Amherst College Church, which carries with it the chair of Biblical History and Interpretation.

OBITUARY.

Davis, Rev. Werter Renick (Methodist Episcopal), M.D. (College of Physicians and Surgeons, Cincinnati).

natl), D.D. (Asbury, now DePauw, University), in Baldwin, Kan., June 22, aged 73. His career has been peculiarly picturesque. He was born of Episcopalian parents; so entered Kenyon College; was there converted to Methodism, on this account being so ridiculed by his classmates that he left without taking his degree; he entered the Ohio conference, 1830, and worked in Virginia; preaching there a sermon on "The Jews in Bondage," he stirred up opposition as an abolitionist, was convicted and sent to prison; his friends insisted on the court being reconvened, his sermon was preached before the judge who had condemned him, and who thereupon reversed the decision; he was transferred to the Missouri Conference in 1833; became Professor of Natural Science in McKendree College, 1834; was elected President of Baker College, 1835; became, presiding elder of Baldwin City district, 1838; the same year he was chaplain of the 12th Kansas Volunteer Infantry; was made colonel of the 8th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, 1864; and in 1868 led an expedition against the Indians in the Black Hills. Since that time he has served fourteen years as presiding elder of the Fort Scott, Manhattan, and Topeka districts. Besides attending as delegate the General Conferences of 1868 and 1872, he attended the Ecumenical Conference of London in 1881 and the Centennial Conference of Baltimore, 1884. His position as an instructor has done much for the educational interests of Kansas.

Findley, Rev. William Thornton (Presbyterian), D.D., in Perrineville, N. J., June 14, aged 72. He was graduated from Franklin College, 1833; was licensed by the Second Associate Reformed Synod of Ohio, 1840; engaged in mission work in Dayton, O., 1841; became pastor of the Associate Reformed Church in Chillicothe, O., 1843, part of the time of his stay here being also principal of the Chillicothe Academy; became pastor of First Presbyterian Church, Springfield, O., 1855, and of Presbyterian Church at Kenia, O., 1859; removed to care of the Central Presbyterian Church, Newark, 1869; subsequent to 1884 he accepted charge of the church at Perrineville, where he died. In 1867-68 he edited the *Family Treasure*, a literary and religious magazine. His publications have been confined to sermons and addresses.

Graves, Rev. J. R. (Baptist), D.D., LL.D., near Memphis, Tenn., June 26, aged 73. He did not receive a collegiate education, but qualified himself for his work by indefatigable devotion to study. He became principal of the Kingsville Academy, Ohio, 1839; then of the Clear Creek Academy, Ky., 1841; was called to ordination against his desire, 1845; removed to Nashville, Tenn., the same year, opening a school there; took charge of the Central Baptist Church in that city in the autumn of 1845; became editor of the *Tennessee Baptist*, 1846, eventually raising its circulation to exceed that of any Baptist paper in the world; originated the Southwestern Publishing House for disseminating Baptist literature, 1848; formulated the plan of the Southern Baptist Publication Society in 1870, and in 1874 turned over to it an endowment of \$130,000 which he had raised. In 1883 he was sent by the Domestic Mission Board of his church to found a church in New Orleans, which he did, making it one of the strongest in the South. He has been especially active as a controversialist, having engaged in numerous public discussions on Baptism. He has published "The Desire of All Nations," "The Watchman's Reply," "The Trilemma," "The First Baptist Church in America," "The Little Iron Wheel," "The Great Iron Wheel," "The Bible Doctrine of the Middle Life," "Exposition of Modern Spiritism," besides numerous other works, as well as editing Wall's "History of Infant Baptism" and Robinson's "History of Baptism."

Gregg, Rt. Rev. Alexander (Protestant Episcopal), D.D. (South Carolina College 1859), in Austin, Tex., July 10, aged 74. He studied and practised law in early life, later turning his thoughts to theology. He was ordered deacon in 1846, and priest in 1847; became rector of St. David's Church, Cheraw, S. C., 1846; was consecrated Bishop of

Texas, 1880. He has also acted as trustee and chancellor of the University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn., to the interests of which he was very devoted. He has published a "History of South Carolina," numerous "Charges," "Addresses," and "Sermons," besides contributing some of the most valuable articles to the "Church Cyclopedia."

Harvey, Rev. Ezekiah (Baptist), D.D. (Colby University, 1831), at Hamilton, N. Y., June 23, aged 72. He was graduated from Madison University, 1845, and from Hamilton Theological Seminary, 1847; became tutor in Madison University, 1847; accepted pastorate of Baptist church at Homer, N. Y., 1849; became pastor at Hamilton, 1857; became Professor of Church History and Pastoral Theology in Hamilton Theological seminary, 1858; was made Professor of Biblical Criticism and Interpretation and Pastoral Theology, 1861; became pastor of First Baptist Church, Dayton, O., 1864; returned to Hamilton as supply of church there, 1868; resumed his place in the seminary, 1869; was relieved of his work in the Old Testament in 1875; and in 1891 was relieved of his department of New Testament Interpretation, retaining only the work in Pastoral Theology and performing the duties of Dean of the faculty. He has published a "Biography of the Rev. Alfred Bennett," "The Church," "The Pastor," and the commentary on the Pastoral Epistles and the Epistle to Philemon in the "American Commentary on the New Testament."

Hay, Rev. Charles Augustus (Lutheran General Synod), D.D. (Pennsylvania College, 1839), at Gettysburg, Pa., June 26, aged 72. He was graduated from Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa., 1839, and at the Lutheran Theological Seminary in that town, 1841; studied at Berlin and Halle, Germany, until 1843; became pastor of Lutheran church at Middletown, Md., 1844; was called to chair of Hebrew and German in the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg the same year; entered the pastorate again at Hanover, 1846; removed to charge of the First Lutheran Church of Harrisburg, 1849; was again called to the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg to teach Hebrew, German, Biblical Criticism, and Pastoral Theology, 1863, since which time he has remained with the seminary. He leaves a wife, three sons, and two daughters. Among his publications are "Life of Captain Sees," a translation of Schmid's "Doctrinal Theology of the Evangelical Lutheran Church," and numerous contributions to the *Evangelical Review* and other reviews on critical and practical topics.

CALENDAR.

July 15-August 6. Roman Catholic Summer School, at Plattsburgh, N. Y.

Aug. 1-13. World's Conference of Christian Workers, at Northfield, Mass.

Aug. 11-20. Sixth Annual Interdenominational Seaside Bible Conference, at Asbury Park, N. J.

Aug. 31-Sept. 2. Second World's Sunday-School Convention, at St. Louis, Mo.

Sept. 2. Roman Catholic Education Day, at Chicago.

Sept. 5-9. Catholic Congress, at Chicago.

Sept. 6-7. Convention of the Catholic Young Men's National Union, at Chicago.

Sept. 11-30. World's Parliament of Religions, at Chicago.

Sept. 15-21. General Missionary Convention of the Disciples of Christ (Christian Evangelist), at Chicago.

THE THINKER:

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No. 3.

THE SURVEY OF THOUGHT.

THE INTERNATIONAL HEBREW BIBLE.—The critical edition of the Hebrew text of the Book of Job, by Professor Siegfried, with English notes, which has just appeared, has exceptional interest as the first instalment of a work of immense importance and unusually representative character. It is edited in America, and published in Germany; the contributors hail from Great Britain, Australia, Canada, the United States and the German Empire, and include Jewish as well as Christian scholars; and the undertaking claims, according to the German prospectus, to be the first systematic critical revision of the Hebrew Bible since the fixing of the Massoretic text. Two other remarkable features also call for special notice. Different sources are indicated by different colours, and the language of the notes is to be uniformly English, the editor evidently agreeing with the late Dr. Döllinger that English is the language of the future. The form of this first volume is almost all that can be desired. It is no exaggeration to call it "a thing of beauty." Only the abbreviations which indicate the nature of the textual changes are rather too small. The arrangement of the Hebrew text is admirably clear. Poetry and prose are plainly distinguished as in the Revised Version of the English Bible. The portions believed to constitute the original book are printed on a white ground. Blue indicates parallel compositions. The most noteworthy of these is the latter part of the speech of Jehovah (xl. 6—xlii. 6). Red marks correcting interpolations and green polemical interpolations. The latter consist of chapter xxviii and the speeches of Elihu; and the former include the difficult passage xxvii. 11-23. A number of other passages supposed to be later interpolations are given in foot-notes, the colour of the ground varying according to the principles stated above. The text has been freely handled by Professor Siegfried. Emendations are very numerous and many passages are considered incurably corrupt. Space admits of only a few illustrations of the new text. The seventh verse of chapter v. is read:—

"Man is born to trouble
As the young eagles fly upward."

Instead of **בני נשר** Professor Siegfried suggests **בני נש**. The last clause of x. 15 is read with Lagarde "intoxicated with misery" **וראה עני** for **עני ורוא**. This reading undoubtedly improves the parallelism. In xxiv. 14 **לא אור** is read with Abbott instead of **לאור** "as it is difficult to see why the murderer should choose a time when he would be most exposed to the danger of being surprised by the approach of daylight." The great passage in the nineteenth

chapter is given with six emendations. Literally translated Professor Siegfried's text runs as follows, the italics marking the alterations :—

“And I know that my avenger liveth,
 And *my survivor* shall stand up upon *my dust* (grave)
To quicken my skin that must suffer this (leprosy).
And by God have these things been done to me.
Uim shall I see for myself
 And my eyes shall behold and not another.”

The passage is considered “a later gloss in which the resurrection of the just is regarded as a possibility contrary to the opinion put forth in the Book of Job with regard to Sheol.” If the execution of this volume represents the average of the whole series, the completed work will be a magnificent monument of the scholarship of the closing years of the nineteenth century. Students will look forward with eager interest to the forthcoming volumes, and with not less interest to the translation of the revised text which is to appear under the same auspices.

HEBREW AND GREEK IDEAS OF PROVIDENCE AND RETRIBUTION.—In a very interesting article contributed by Mr. C. G. Montefiore to *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, a comparison is instituted between Hebrew and Greek ideas with regard to the divine rule of mankind, and many striking examples are given of similarity of religious thought on the part of the two great races. Mr. Montefiore, indeed, goes so far as to say—though, we suppose, he only expresses the opinion of the more liberal section of the Jewish community—“even in religion there are certain points in our faith to-day which you will find more fully and clearly stated in the Dialogues of Plato than in the Hebrew Scriptures.” He points out that the modern Jew or Christian enters upon an enquiry into the relations of God and man with certain pre-suppositions which were unknown to the ancients. One of these is the absolute goodness or unselfishness of God—that God can only desire the ultimate good of His creation and nothing for Himself. “On the other hand,” he says, “in Greek literature the conception of divine envy or jealousy plays a great part. In Hebrew literature the more completely moralised character of the national God left less room for it, and it assumes for the most part a form in which it has become half-reconciled with the prevailing justice of God. And where the Greeks feared the Deity's envy, the Hebrew feared His wrath. Nevertheless, old ideas of divine jealousy in its simplest and purest form are easily discernible in the story of the Fall. Just as to the Greeks the distinguishing mark between God and man is the divine immortality, so in Genesis the jealous fear is expressed by God lest, after the acquired knowledge of good and evil, man should eat of the tree of life, and thereby, by becoming immortal, become divine. Therefore is he expelled from paradise. And precisely similar is God's fear at the building of the Tower of Babel. Unity of language had made the young race of man too powerful; the building of the Tower is an earnest of further undertakings yet to come. Nothing will be unattainable by them which they have

imagined to do. The gulf between God and man will be bridged over. The envy of the gods is an idea referred to in Greek literature down to its latest period; but its partial moralisation began at an early date, and is already known to Herodotus himself. Just as in the Hebrew prophets the old notion of divine jealousy against mortal pre-eminence fades away into an enmity against pride and the more or less conscious opposition to Jehovah, so in Greece the quality which provokes the wrath and punishment of the gods is not mere greatness in itself, but that overweening insolence which either accompanies exceptional power, capacity, or success, or which is inevitably produced by them. Over against this insolence the Greeks set the virtue of self-restraint—moderation, temperance, sanity, balance of mind—which recognized the limit of human power and the difference between the human and the divine. It is interesting to note that license or boastfulness, whether in pleasure or in victory, in public or in private life, in thought or in deed, was held to be the specific characteristic of the barbarian, whereas self-restraint or temperance was the characteristic virtue of the free-born Hellene. And so among the Hebrews, humility and lowliness came gradually to be regarded as the distinguishing mark of the Jew; pride and insolence the mark of the heathen, the enemy alike of Israel and Israel's God. It is curious how similar a form the national particularism in each instance assumed." Mr. Montefiore's article is pervaded by an earnest and devout spirit, as well as by a wide knowledge of the subject treated of, and no unbiassed reader can fail to admire his generous sympathies with the truth in whatever quarter he finds it.

BAPTIZED FOR THE DEAD.—Probably there are few passages in the writings of St. Paul that have been found more difficult to explain than his allusion in 1 Cor. xv. 29 to those who have been "baptized for the dead." The view that has met with greatest acceptance in modern times is that he refers to the custom of vicarious baptism. According to the testimony of Tertullian some such custom prevailed among the Cerinthian or Marcionite heretics: when a catechumen died without baptism, a friend might be baptised for him, *i.e.*, as his representative, so that the dead might enjoy the benefit of the ordinance. None who followed this superstitious practice could logically deny the resurrection. So that if the Apostle has these persons in his mind's eye his argument is a forcible one: "If you deny the resurrection there is no meaning in your administering baptism in the interest of such as are already dead." There are, however, serious objections to this interpretation of the passage. There is no proof that the custom mentioned by a writer in the third century existed in the apostolic age: it may, indeed, have been founded upon a misunderstanding of these words of St. Paul. And then, too, if such a custom had existed in Corinth we should have expected the Apostle to denounce it, and to expose the folly of it, and not to use it as an argument in support of the resurrection. In an article in *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review* a more satisfactory inter-

pretation of the passage is given by Mr. T. W. Chambers. He says: "The section, vers. 20-28, is plainly a digression from the general argument—a digression occasioned by the Apostle's desire to present the blessed and glorious consequences which are to result to believers from the fact of Christ's resurrection. Then he returns to his main theme, the proof of the resurrection, and adduces some fresh evidences of the all-important truth. To see the full force of his logic we must omit the digression, and connect ver. 12 with ver. 19. The Corinthian error lay in the assertion that there is no rising again of the dead (ver. 12). The Apostle meets this by an appeal to the *fact* that Christ, a dead man, had actually risen; and this being the case, it was absurd to hold that a resurrection was impossible. Hence he dwells on this fact, and develops the hideous consequences that flow from a denial of its reality. The first is that the Apostle's teaching is made a vain and empty thing: nothing that such false witnesses teach can be trusted. A second is that the faith of the believer is made fruitless. It is all founded on a lie. Christians instead of being redeemed are still in their sins, and those who have fallen asleep in Jesus are perished. And the living, since they have hope only in this life, are of all men most miserable. Then, passing over the digression, we come to the third painful result (vers. 29-34), viz., that the whole Christian life is a mere farce, whether in its ritual (ver. 29) or in its real aspects (vers. 30-34). If there is no life after death, why accept the Christian rites, all of which point to eternity, to a hope of something more than we obtain on earth and in time, and why face the trials of the Christian life, the living death which he who dies daily needs to suffer? In this view the preposition in ver. 29 is to be rendered 'in relation to,' and the phrase 'the dead' is to be understood as practically equivalent to 'the other world.' The course of the argument would therefore be as follows:—The initial rite of the Church bears a relation, not to this life only, but to what is beyond the present scene—it symbolizes a cleansing which is not fully experienced here but only in the world to come. Now, if this is the case, if we are baptized with a view to the future, to what is beyond the grave, then to assert the non-resurrection of the dead is to rob the rite of its chief significance. It becomes an empty formula. 'If the resurrection is a myth, baptism is a farce.'" Fewer and less formidable objections can be brought against this explanation of the passage in question than those which lie against all other solutions of the *crux* that have been suggested. A great point in favour of it is that it is on similar lines to the explanation favoured by Chrysostom and other Greek expositors, to whom the New Testament was a work in their native language. Other things being equal, their opinion on a question of exegesis should have exceptional weight.

MISSIONARY JUDAISM.—It seems rather late in the day to enquire whether Judaism is capable of making itself felt as a religious system worthy of attracting people who are not of the "seed of Abraham," and most of us would regard an attempt to convert the world to the Jewish faith as an

eminently Quixotic enterprise. An enthusiastic Jew, however, we could believe, might regard the undertaking as both a reasonable and a hopeful one. The suggestion that it should be entered upon is broached by Mr. O. J. Simon in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, though it is only fair to him to state that by Judaism he means something different from what the word ordinarily denotes. He is of the opinion that both on the Christian and on the Jewish side very considerable changes in religious opinion have set in: that many Christians have ceased to hold the doctrines of the Incarnation, the Trinity, and the Atonement, and that in Judaism there is an undeniable modification of opinion in respect to matters of ritual, to rabbinical authority, and to the restrictions required to maintain the identity of the Jewish people. In the one case fundamental dogma is affected, in the other it remains unchanged. "With regard to the nature of God, as to His oneness, His immutability, and incorporeality, there has been no change whatever; and as to the spiritual relations of the human and divine, the religion of the psalmists is still the religion of the modern Israelite, whether he be orthodox or reformer." To those, therefore, who have lost their hold on Christianity, and who are nevertheless still disposed to cultivate a religious life, he thinks that Judaism might be presented in such a form as to meet their wants. He would exempt such persons from observance of the distinctive rites of Judaism—such as circumcision, the eating of unleavened bread, dietary laws, and the keeping of the seventh day as a Sabbath. "These," he says, "are institutions which do not possess any important significance for persons who are not hereditary members of the House of Israel; they are a kind of family tradition." He would evidently allow converts to hold the most advanced views with regard to Old Testament criticism, and to ignore or deny the miraculous element in the history of the Jewish people, so long as they are appreciated at its due value the spiritual experience enshrined in the Scriptures, and received the testimony Israel has to give as to the necessity and efficacy of a life with God. He suggests also that, with some modification, the great Jewish festivals might still be retained. The Feast of Passover could be celebrated as the commemoration of the principle of human liberty: those that had their origin in summer and autumn changes would still be useful as landmarks in the year; and the Day of Atonement could be made to suggest year by year the ideas of remission of sin and reconciliation with God. Mr. Simon may assert that he has enunciated religion in its ultimate form, but who will go bail for him and make us sure that he is in the right? We fear that the learned editors of *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, if they were appealed to, would say that they are not responsible for the opinions expressed in any of the articles they insert in it. It may be prejudice, but we think that something more than a magazine article is needed to authorize such radical changes in the religion that was founded at Mount Sinai. The best evidence Mr. Simon can give of his belief in his own project is to begin the enterprise he suggests. He will, of course, have to begin by converting all Jews to his way of thinking, for unless he

does so he will have no ground for asserting that he is giving expression to the message that Judaism has for the world. This fact is of itself a guarantee that no very hasty changes in religious thought are in store for us.

THE PAULINE EPISTLES.—In an article in *The Expository Times* on "The Gospels and Modern Criticism," the Rev. Arthur Wright draws an illustration of one of the points on which he lays stress from the writings of St. Paul. His brief sketch of the main characteristics of the successive groups of Epistles and of their connection with the various epochs of the Apostle's life is very suggestive. "Read," he says, "the thirteen Epistles in their chronological order, as every Bible student ought to do, and you trace step by step the development of the Apostle's inner life. They may be arranged into four groups, which, to assist the memory, may be roughly separated by an interval of five years in each case. The first group (A.D. 52) contains the Epistles to the Thessalonians, which may almost be described as a youthful effort. The Tübingen critics, with singular lack of appreciation, judged these Epistles to be unworthy of the master-mind, and it is only as a first work that we can defend their genuineness, but as such they are of the highest value. In the second group (A.D. 57) we have the product of manhood. The Epistles to the Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans have no equal, whether we regard them in respect of creative genius, of variety, or of vigour. They have been accepted as undoubtedly Pauline writings by even the most destructive and narrow-minded critics. They are practically unassailable. In the third group (A.D. 62) we have the result of chastened experience. The Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, Philemon, and Ephesians are the work of the imprisonment. Age, grief, and disappointment have sobered, but given depth to the Apostle's spiritual hopes. To many persons these writings have been the most consolatory of his efforts. Lastly, in the Pastoral Epistles (A.D. 68) we see the old man retiring from speculation, and devoting himself to organization. The radical has become a moralist. He who boldly trusted to great principles now descends to petty details, for the time of his departure is at hand, and he feels the need of providing successors and endowing them. Here, then, are all the stages of progress from weakness through strength to maturity, and even the beginnings of decay. Everything shows that inspiration quickens, vitalizes, energizes, but does not alter the laws of thought, nor change the character of the human mind."

I HAVE to state that the article by Dr. Ginsburg, which appeared in our December issue, was not written by him for this Magazine but was originally intended for the *Pulpit Commentary* of which I was Editor and was transferred to our pages without Dr. Ginsburg's consent or knowledge, I being under the impression that the article was at my disposal. As I proposed inserting the article in our Magazine I added his name to our list of contributors, but without thinking it necessary to ask his permission. We

apologize to Dr. Ginsburg for so doing, and deeply regret that the article contained several printer's errors, for which he is in no way responsible. We are sorry that he should have been subject to this and can understand his feeling a very natural annoyance. We the more regret having made use of Dr. Ginsburg's paper on the First Psalm, as we understand that having withdrawn it from the *Pulpit Commentary*, he intends, in due course, to publish as an independent work a commentary on the entire Psalter. I therefore wish to state publicly that the article is Dr. Ginsburg's property and that I have no claim whatever to the copyright.

BIBLICAL THOUGHT.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

By REV. W. M. LEWIS.

THE Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews cannot be maintained by the arguments hitherto adduced by its advocates. The place, time, and circumstances given during the life of Paul to its production are untenable, and leave its difficulties unexplained.

May it not yet be possible to find in the life of Paul a place, time, and circumstances into which the Epistle might be fitted, and which would remove most of the difficulties at present acknowledged to be in the way of ascribing it to him as the author?

The suggestion is here submitted that *the Epistle to the Hebrews is the joint-production of St. Paul and St. Luke during the imprisonment of the former at Cæsarea, A.D. 58-60.*

I. *Cæsarea as the place of writing.*

Criticism has not ascribed to this imprisonment any Epistle of Paul. This period of two years is, therefore, a blank in the life of the Apostle as to the production of any writing. The treatment of the prisoner was presumably similar to that accorded to him at Rome, where he wrote several epistles. The restraint on his liberty at Cæsarea was not such as to prevent him, had he so wished, from writing or inditing an Epistle (Acts xxiv. 23): "And he commanded a centurion to keep Paul, and to let him have liberty, and that he should forbid none of his acquaintance to come unto him," &c. The assigning of "the Hebrews" to this place and time would account satisfactorily for the silence or doubts of the Western Church with regard to its authorship. Neither publication nor circulation had connection with the West; the Epistle was, therefore, less known there.

The visit to Jerusalem which led to this imprisonment would account for the prominence given in the Epistle to the Temple ritual. Impressions had been revived, and the typical significance of the ritual had been suggested thereby.

Occasion is given for the writing of the Epistle. The visit to Jerusalem had brought on the Christian community troubles and persecution, of which the Apostle was blamed as being the cause. The Epistle is occupied with these troubles, and "indicates strained relations between the readers and the writer" (Davidson).

"They of Italy" (chap. xiii.) are Christians from Italy at *Cæsarea en route* to or from Jerusalem—probably "from"—and bearers of succour to the imprisoned Apostle, "and do minister." Tradition, except as based on this expression, silent or doubtful as to authorship, is also silent as to place of writing, and does not exclude "*Cæsarea*."

II. *Date of writing*, A.D. 58-60.

The Epistle to the Hebrews, "the most interesting, and we had almost said the most able, of all his productions" (Lewin)—if the production of Paul—cannot have been the production of his old age.

At the time of the *Cæsarean* imprisonment Paul was presumably about fifty-five years of age; and the Epistle to the Hebrews, if written at that time, follows the Epistle to the Romans, and was followed by that to the Colossians.

The above date is in agreement with chronological references in the Epistle—(1) persecutions, and (2) reference to Timothy—if (1) it can be maintained, as suggested above, that the persecutions referred to in the Epistle were those suffered by the Hebrew Christians from the probable rage of the Jewish Sanhedrim at having been baulked of having Paul, their arch-enemy into their hands. This, coupled with the known turbulence of the procuratorship of Felix, appears amply sufficient to satisfy the requirements of the references in the Epistle to persecutions. The references are admitted not to be adequate as descriptions of the ferocious Neronian persecutions (Davidson).

An argument against the supposition just mentioned cannot be based on the silence of the author of "Acts," who, solely occupied with the prisoner, is silent even with regard to the state of the Christian Church at *Cæsarea*, which was at this time large and flourishing.

And (2) if ἀπολελυμένον (xiii. 23), according to the usage of Luke, is translated "dismissed" or "sent away on a mission" (Lewin). In which case I suggest the mission to be as bearer of the Epistle to the Hebrew Churches; and the passage is intended as an introduction to Timothy to the Church or Churches, and also as a delicate allusion to the sacrifice the writer makes in sparing from his side his young friend.

At this period James—the brother of the Lord—was alive, and bishop of Jerusalem; the unusual ἡγουμένους (Heb. xiii.) implies a reference to his pre-eminent position.

III. *St. Luke as joint author with St. Paul.*

The former accompanied the Apostle to Jerusalem, and departed from *Cæsarea* for Rome as his companion, and the narrative in "Acts" of the episodes of the imprisonment is that of an eye-witness. He remained at

Cæsarea during the term of the imprisonment, except the time occupied in occasional excursions into Gallilee, &c., to collect materials for the Gospel and the Acts.

The theory suggests that the thoughts and sentiments of "the Hebrews" were given by the Apostle to St. Luke, to be clothed by him in his style and language in his private study. Paul had for some time discontinued writing with his own hand. He had too high an opinion of the accomplishments of the elegant Greek scholar, Luke, to employ him as his amanuensis. The writing of elaborate letters in prison would also excite the suspicions of the Procurators. The thoughts are those of the Apostle; the writer was Luke. The style and language of the Epistle belong to the latter, together with some subsidiary thoughts, and an unavoidable colouring even to the subject matter.

The supposition here given accounts for the disjointed character of "the Hebrews" as compared with the acknowledged Epistles. The Epistle could not fail to fall into paragraphs in the conditions supposed.

The presence of "catch words" in the different paragraphs is also accounted for. They would be indispensable aids to memory to the writer—the pivots of his thoughts. Heb. xiii. 22, "*διὰ βραχείων*," does not refer to the brevity of the Epistle. "Hebrews" is not short even among the Epistles of Paul. "*βραχύ*," in Luke, always refers to time; also in Hebrews, *βραχύ τι* (Heb. ii. 9); therefore *διὰ βραχείων* = "short intervals," "brief, stolen occasions," an apology therefore for the disjointed character of the Epistle, rendered unavoidable by the conditions attaching to the imprisonment and the mode adopted for the production of the Epistle.

IV. Heb. xiii. bears traces of having been written hurriedly (according to several expositors). The theory suggests that the accession of Festus, and the sudden summoning of Paul to his presence, was the cause of this hurried conclusion to the Epistle. Hence it is suggested that the hurry begins at xi. 32, "time would (will) fail me," &c. Hence also the impetuous rush of the Apostle's thoughts in chap. xii., and the triple reference to the Olympian games (strange in an Epistle to Hebrews), in echo to the celebrations at the time going on outside, consequent on the accession of Festus and the royal visit of Agrippa. May not the vile character of the deposed Felix have suggested the apparently unconnected reference to Esau—*πόρνος*—*βέβηλος*—*ὃς ἀντὶ βρώσεως*, &c. (Heb. xii. 16).

The Epistle was despatched to the Churches by the hands of Timothy. *διὰ Τιμοθέου* in subscript is correct, and is based on a correct rendering of *ἀπολελυμένον* (xiii. 23). *ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας* in subscript is copied from ver. 24. The mission of Timothy with the Epistle rendered unnecessary the author's name. The hurried conclusion deprived him of the time necessary for the usual address, which was written habitually after the Epistle. The strange alliteration of the name *Παῦλος* in Heb. i. 1, *πολυ-πολυ-πάλαί* may also have had to do with the omission.

Corroborative evidence of correctness of the theory advanced both as to

authorship and date:—Trains of thought, peculiarities of expression, &c., found in the Epistle to the Romans are traceable in "the Hebrews," which immediately followed it. (Arguments from identical words are pronounced by critics irrelevant.)

1. The quotation from Habakkuk, "The just shall live," having been made the text of Galatians and Romans, is touched upon in "Hebrews" before it is dropped (x. 38).

2. The Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii.) is frequently drawn upon for quotations at this period. Vers. 2, 4, 17, 25 are quoted in 1 and 2 Corinthians; vers. 21, 35, in Romans; and in Rom. xv. 10, Paul has arrived at the last verse of the song, "Rejoice," &c. According to the theory, the next chapter written by Paul is Heb. i., and he is found in that chapter quoting from the same verse (i. 6), "Let all the angels"—both quotations being ascribed to God as the Speaker.

3. The formula *καὶ πάλιν*, having been adopted in Rom. xv., is found again frequently in "Hebrews," and is used in the two instances just mentioned.

4. Deut. xxxii. 35, incorrectly quoted in Rom. xii. 19, is identically found in Heb. x. 30.

5. The tripartite nature of man introduced in 1 Thessalonians, and referred to frequently in 1 and 2 Corinthians and Romans, is glanced at in Heb. iv. 12 before it is finally dropped.

The Epistle to the Hebrews, according to the theory, was followed by Colossians. Trains of thought pursued in the former are traceable in the latter (see Col. i. 5, 12, 15, and notes on these passages in Lightfoot; also ii. 17). The services of Luke at Cæsarea are delicately acknowledged in Col. iv. 14. The salutation *ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν*, having been adopted in the shortest form in Hebrews owing to pressure, is afterwards adhered to in Colossians (*al*) (see also *μνημ. δεσμῶν*. Col. iv. 18 compared with Heb. xiii. 3).

St. Paul was suddenly summoned before Festus and Agrippa. He is found in his address gliding into the thoughts and arguments with which he had been occupied in producing the "Hebrews." In Acts xxvi. 22, 23 is found a summary of Heb. i., ii., iii.—"light" = spoken, *πρωτότοκος*; and even the unusual order of Heb. ii., iii.—"Prophets and Moses." In Acts xxiii. 6, 7 is found the argument of Heb. vi.-x. in its minutest particulars—"the hope of the promise to the fathers"—leading to the daily continuous service of the Temple. The Epistle to the Hebrews, newly despatched, is probably the true explanation of *εἰς πᾶσάν τε τὴν χώραν τῆς Ἰουδαίας* (Acts xxvi. 20), otherwise confessedly difficult of explanation. (Compare also the expression "little and great"—Acts xxvi. 22—with the similar expression in Heb. viii. 11.)

Finally, at the time of the Apostle's arrest at Jerusalem, he was deeply pained by the suspicions entertained by the Jews and Christians of his conscientiousness (see Acts xxiii. 1., xxiv. 16, "*πάσῃ συνειδήσει*"; *ἀπρόσκοπον συνείδησιν ἔχειν*; compare these with *πεποίθαμεν γὰρ, ὅτι καλὴν συνείδησιν*

ἐχομεν—Heb. xiii. 18). These references to a "good conscience," to which prominence was given in the address before the Sanhedrim and in the reply before Felix, if compared with the words in Heb. xiii. 18, identify in a most unmistakable manner the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews with the prisoner of Cæsarea.

WHO WERE GUILTY OF CHRIST'S DEATH?

By REV. A. LUKYN WILLIAMS, M.A.

"Who were guilty of Christ's death?" Those who take an interest in Missions to the Jews know how frequently Jews argue that they were not really guilty of this epoch making crime. They endeavour to fix it on the Gentiles, or try to show that it can never have happened in the way narrated in the Gospels because that account is contrary to Jewish tradition. It has been urged that it is impossible to suppose that so many of the recognised rules observed in the trial of accused persons, and in their execution, can have been broken, as they must have been if the Gospel story is true. The investigations recently published by the very learned Prof. Chwolson of St. Petersburg, and summarised in the current number of the Jewish Quarterly Review by Prof. Bacher, himself one of the most scholarly of modern expounders of Talmudical literature, go far to throw light upon this difficulty. He at least makes out a good case for the theory that as the Sadducees were in power at that time, and not the Pharisees, those rules which are to be found in the Talmud, and are therefore of course solely Pharisaic, were not then in force. The Pharisees could do nothing against the will of the Sadducees.

Here, however, Prof. Chwolson goes too far. For he asserts that the Pharisees, unlike the Sadducees, had no ground of complaint against Jesus, and that they showed, by the way they treated Him and His disciples, that they were not hostile to Him. The Professor makes much of the agreement that existed between Jesus and the followers of Hillel on such a fundamental matter as love to man. But although he has himself renounced the tenets of Judaism and accepted those of Christianity, he strangely overlooks the deep gulf that exists between the two religions. Pharisaism, which is essentially Judaism, is, with its doctrine of good works as the basis of eternal life, absolutely opposed to the free grace of Christ's teaching. The whole method adopted by Christ in His presentation of the truth is so radically contrary to the *pilpul* of the Pharisaic scribes that in this alone we have abundant reason for their opposition to Him.

Yet these are only side remarks in the Professor's essay. He devotes his strength to showing that the day of the death of Christ was, as St. John says, the 14th of Nisan, while the passover was eaten on the 13th. But how came it that the passover was kept then? The reply has usually been

that our Lord observed it in a merely informal way ; or else that it was not really the passover at all, but that the meal was called afterwards the passover, by confusion due to the same Greek term being used to designate both the Jewish and the Christian feast. Prof. Chwolson however shows that, according to an interpretation of the earlier Halachic authorities, fully adopted (as he thinks) only after the time of Christ, the sacrificing of the Paschal lamb could not take place upon a Sabbath. Hence, according to this principle, if the Passover fell that year upon a Saturday the lamb must have been sacrificed earlier. But it could not have been sacrificed upon the Friday (*ex hypothesi* the 14th Nisan) because there would not have been time to kill it "between the evenings," according to the meaning of that phrase adopted by the Professor (*i.e.*, just before sunset), for fear of infringing on the Sabbath. Hence in such a case it would be sacrificed upon the Thursday, the 13th. With regard to the eating of it, however, two theories existed (if we understand the Professor rightly), one adopted by our Lord that it should be eaten on the evening of the 13th, the other adopted by the high priest Caiaphas that it should not be eaten until the evening of the 14th. If this can really be proved, Prof. Chwolson's deep knowledge of the history of the Halacha will have been turned to a very profitable use, for it explains most of the strange difficulties to be found in the Gospels, so far as these refer to the actual day of the crucifixion.

EXPOSITORY THOUGHT.

THE THREEFOLD NATURE OF MAN.

By REV. P. J. GLOAG, D.D.

1 THESS. v. 23.

Textus receptus.—Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγιασάι ὑμᾶς ὁλοτελεῖς· καὶ ὁλοκληρῶν ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀμέμπτως ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τηρηθεῖν.

Authorized Version.—And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly : and *I pray God* your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Revised Version.—And the God of peace Himself sanctify you wholly ; and may your spirit and soul and body be preserved entire without blame at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

THERE are no important variations of this verse in the different manuscripts, nor need its exegesis for any time occupy our attention. The Apostle calls God *the God of peace*—a phrase which frequently occurs at the close of his Epistles (Rom. xv. 33, xvi. 20 ; 2 Cor. xiii. 11 ; Phil. iv. 9 ; 2 Thess. iii. 16), because He is the Author and Communicator of peace. The word ὁλοτελεῖς, an *apex legomena*, denotes entirely, completely. The Apostle prays for the complete sanctification of his converts—*sanctify you wholly*. Καὶ introduces the detailed expression of his wish : *and may your spirit and soul and body*

be preserved entire. The adjective *δλόκληρον* is almost synonymous with *δλοτελείς*, and is not to be limited to the spirit, as is apparently done in the Authorized Version, but applies to all three substantives. *Ἀμέμπτως*, without blame, defines *δλόκληρον τηρηθείη*—that they may be preserved in all the parts of their being faultless at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. "The spirit," observes Lünemann, "is preserved blameless at the advent, when the voice of truth rules it, the soul when it strives against all the charms of the senses, and the body when it is not abused as the instrument of shameless actions."

The chief point which merits our attention is the threefold division of human nature, here, apparently, asserted by the Apostle. We usually speak of man's nature as twofold—composed of the body, the material part, and the soul or spirit, the immaterial part. St. Paul here speaks of it as threefold—composed of spirit, soul, and body (*τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ, καὶ τὸ σῶμα*). By the *πνεῦμα* St. Paul does not here mean the Holy Spirit, for he distinguished the spirit which is in man from the Spirit which is in God (Rom. viii. 16); but the higher or spiritual part of our nature, that which assimilates us to the Spirit of God. By the *ψυχὴ* he does not denote the life of man, nor the soul in common parlance—the immortal spirit; but the reason, the seat of our intellectual and emotional feelings, as they are limited by the objects of this world. And by the *σῶμα* he means our corporeal frame as the seat of our passions and appetites. The Apostle does not use the term flesh (*σὰρξ*) to denote the body, because this word is generally employed by him in a bad sense, whereas *σῶμα* is a neutral term. Some suppose that St. Paul does not here employ these words in a strict and literal sense, but that this threefold division is merely a rhetorical statement, an accommodation to current opinions. Thus Professor Jowett remarks: "The Apostle is not writing a treatise on the soul, but pouring forth from the fulness of his heart a prayer for his converts. Language thus used should not be too closely analysed. His words may be compared to similar expressions among ourselves—*e.g.*, 'with my heart and soul.'" But the statement here is too precise to admit of such an interpretation. It rather appears to be a distinct assertion by the Apostle of the three component parts of human nature—spirit, soul, and body. It is true that there are several passages in Scripture where human nature is represented as twofold, composed of body and soul, or spirit. Thus, in Matt. x. 28, it is represented as composed of the *ψυχὴ* and the *σῶμα*; and in 1 Cor. vii. 34 as composed of the *πνεῦμα* and the *σῶμα*. Passages also occur where it would seem that the terms *ψυχὴ* and *πνεῦμα* are used indiscriminately. But in all these passages the reference is to the material and immaterial parts of human nature, where there is no occasion to state the distinction of the immaterial part into soul and spirit. Such a threefold distinction of human nature was not unknown to the Stoics and Platonists, and is to be found in the writings of Philo. Not that St. Paul borrowed from that philosophy, but he affirms as a truth what they had previously discerned or surmised.

Nor is this the only passage of Scripture in which this threefold distinction is made; it is recognized in other parts of Scripture. Thus the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews says: "The word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit" (*ψυχῆς καὶ πνεύματος*) (Heb. iv. 12). In 1 Cor. ii. 14 the Apostle observes that "the natural man (*ψυχικὸς ἄνθρωπος*) receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him: and he cannot know them, for they are spiritually judged. But he that is spiritual (*ὁ πνευματικὸς*) judgeth all things." The natural man is the man actuated by the *ψυχῇ*, whilst the spiritual man is the man actuated by the *πνεύμα*. So also in 1 Cor. xv. 48 the Apostle says: "The first man Adam became a living soul (*ψυχὴν ζῶσαν*); the last Adam became a life-giving spirit" (*πνεῦμα ζωοποιόν*). And Jude speaks of those who were sensual (or psychical) not having the spirit (*ψυχικοὶ, πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες*) (Jude 19). This threefold distinction is illustrated by the adjectives employed by the Apostle in reference to each of these parts: *σωματικὸς* belonging to the body (1 Tim. iv. 8); *ψυχικὸς* belonging to the soul (1 Cor. ii. 14, Jude 19); and *πνευματικὸς* belonging to the spirit (1 Cor. ii. 15, xv. 44, 45).

Such a threefold distinction was recognized by Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and other Greek Fathers; whilst the Latin Fathers, as Tertullian and Augustine, overlooked it, probably because the Latin language did not admit of such distinctions. Thus Justin Martyr observes: "The body is the house of the soul, and the soul is the house of the spirit." And Irenæus, commenting on our passage, says: "What reason had the Apostle to pray for the perfect preservation of these three elements (spirit, soul, and body), unless he foreknew the re-union of all three, and that there is one salvation for them all? They who present all three blameless to God will be perfect."

That the soul and spirit are distinct from the body is evident, and does not require any proof, provided we are not materialists, but believe in the immaterial part of human nature. But the distinction between the soul and the spirit, both being immaterial, is not so obvious. The soul is the seat of our intellectual and emotional faculties directed toward the objects of this world, and not exalted by the hope of immortality toward the objects of the heavenly world. The spirit, on the other hand, is the seat of our religious nature, and embraces these same faculties directed toward God and heavenly objects. The soul is man's intellectual and emotional nature; the spirit is man's moral and religious nature. The organ of the soul is the reason; the organ of the spirit is the conscience. The soul raises man above the beasts which perish; the spirit assimilates him to the angels of God.

The spirit then, in distinction from the soul, is the seat of man's religious nature. It is by the spirit that we love God, hate sin, delight in holiness, strive after righteousness, and exercise the graces of repentance toward God and faith toward the Lord Jesus Christ. God has given us a moral law, and that law He has not only made known to us by revelation, but indelibly

engraved on the living tablets of our hearts. Man universally and intuitively realizes that truth, and justice, and disinterested love are right, and ought to be cultivated; and that falsehood, dishonesty, and hard-heartedness are wrong, and ought to be reprobated. These views are not the result of reason; it is not by the intellect, or the $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$, that we arrive at the conclusion that truth is right and falsehood is wrong; it is the intuitive perception of the spirit, or the $\piνεῦμα$. And so also the idea of God is an intuitive feeling of the human heart; it is the result of an inward voice; it is the perception of the spirit. We may, indeed, reason concerning the existence of God; we may infer the existence of an intelligent First Cause from the evidence of design as seen in His works; we may arrive at the conviction that "God is, and is the rewarder of those who seek Him." But still the idea of God is innate in the human spirit: His existence does not require to be demonstrated by the intellect. There is a God-consciousness in man; we cannot help believing in God, unless we destroy our spiritual nature, or stifle that voice of God which speaks in the human heart. Man is a religious being; and religion necessarily supposes the existence of God, who is its object. Man is possessed of conscience; and conscience necessarily supposes a moral Ruler, who is the Judge of all our actions. Man feels himself under a moral law, and a moral law necessarily supposes a Lawgiver.

It is the spirit, rather than the body or the soul, which is the characteristic of man, distinguishing him from the lower animals. Many of these have, in their corporeal forms, a remarkable resemblance to the body of man; and science is continually lessening the difference between the bodily organs of the lower creation and those of the human race. In some of the lower animals can be observed traces of a mental nature. They perform actions which cannot be referred to mere instinct, but which exhibit signs of reason, of memory, of thought, of reflection. They are actuated by affections, such as love, and hatred, and trust, resembling those which actuate man. But, so far as can be discerned, they are destitute of a spirit, of the $\piνεῦμα$: this is the grand characteristic of the human race. The lower animals have no sense of religion, no realization of God, no feeling of moral accountability, no anticipation of a future life, no consciousness of moral improvement, no growth in moral character. The spirit is the higher nature of man, that which raises him above the lower animal nature; that which assimilates him to the angels of God—those blessed spirits who surround the throne of the Eternal—that which assimilates him to God Himself, the Father of spirits, the source of all spiritual existence.

Man, we are informed, was made in the image of God (Gen. i. 27); and this image constitutes the $\piνεῦμα$, the spiritual nature of man. God is a Spirit, and He breathed into man the breath of life, and man became a living spirit. Not that this spirit in man is an emanation from God, according to the pantheistic notion, but that it has impressed upon it a resemblance to God. The moral law which is written in our hearts is not merely the command, but the nature of God. The same virtues of truth, honesty, justice,

and disinterested love, which we are all constrained to recognize and admire, are in God, our heavenly Father. Truth, for example, is not different in God and in us: it is one and the same virtue. God is true and faithful in the same sense as man is true and faithful. What our moral nature approves is the character of God—His image in the human soul. Sin, indeed, has obscured this image, but has not effaced it. Man, even in the midst of his wickedness and his ignorance, discerns the good, however much he may choose the evil; he knows the right, even although he may have pleasure in the wrong. And hence it is that St. James recognizes the image of God as existing in all men, and derives from this a reason why we should reverence human nature, fallen and degraded though it be: "But the tongue can no man tame; it is a restless evil, it is full of deadly poison. Therewith bless we the Lord and Father; and therewith curse we men, which are made after the similitude of God" (James iii. 8, 9). The reference here is evidently not to the original condition of man, prior to the fall, but to his present condition, as still possessing the image of God. And so also murder is declared to be punishable by death, because man was made in the image of God (Gen. iv. 6). There is an innate sense of God in man; His image is impressed upon our spirit. We have not to go out of ourselves in search of God; the tokens of His existence and presence are within us. The *πνεῦμα* which is in man resembles the *πνεῦμα* which is in God.

And so also it is this resemblance of man to God, this image of God in the human spirit, that renders the incarnation of Christ possible. If there were no real resemblance between the moral nature of God and that of man, there could not have been an incarnation; for how could the Godhead become incarnate in the nature of a being with which it had no real affinity? The Lord Jesus Christ is the manifestation of God—the visible image of the invisible God. He Himself says: "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father." The same love and trust and holiness that were displayed by Him when in the world reside in God, our heavenly Father. But these are human virtues; and therefore these human virtues must have their counterpart in the character of God. It is this spirit in man, this counterpart of the Divine Spirit, that rendered it possible for the Son of God to become man.

The spirit is as essential a part of human nature as the soul and the body. All men have a spirit, in other words a religious nature, or God-consciousness, otherwise they would cease to be men. The spirit is the characteristic of man, and therefore must be universal. And hence all nations, however barbarous and degraded, have some sense of God; they all have a religion—some superior being who is the object of their worship. There never has been discovered a nation of atheists. Assertions to the contrary which have been made by some travellers have been corrected by closer examination and more familiar intercourse with the people. In all places of the earth, and in all ages of the world, man is a religious being, capable of knowing and serving God, endowed not only with an understanding which renders him capable of being taught, but with a conscience

which can be appealed to. God has in no place, and at no time, and to no nation, left Himself without a witness. His voice has gone throughout all the earth, and His words to the end of the world. There is no speech nor language where His voice has not been heard. Hence atheism is abnormal to human nature; it does violence to man's spiritual being. Before a man can be an unbeliever in God, he has first to suppress the spirit which is within him and to stifle the voice of conscience; to degrade himself in the scale of being.

It is the *πνεῦμα* also that is the recipient of revelation. As it is the spirit that recognizes the moral law, and is cognisant of religious truths, so, if there is to be a revelation of new duties to be performed and of new truths to be believed, then duties and truths can only be received by man's spiritual nature. If over and above the original religion, as we may call it, there is a revealed religion, it is the spiritual faculty that can alone accept it. External objects can only be discerned by the eye, and musical sounds can only be heard by the ear; the laws of nature can only be understood by the reason: so spiritual truths can only be realized by the spirit. It is with the heart—the *πνεῦμα*—rather than with the intellect—the *ψυχὴ*—that man believeth unto righteousness. A revelation may be and is confirmed by outward signs, such as miracles and prophecies; we may prove its truth with the intellect; we may refute the objections of unbelievers; but still it is only by the spirit that we can actually embrace the disclosures of revelation, because they refer not to man's intellectual, but to man's moral nature; they must be spiritually discerned. And therefore, however important the external evidences of religion may be in the removal of difficulties, and in answering objections, and in commanding the assent of the intellect, yet it is the internal evidences, the experience of the adaptation of the Gospel to the spiritual nature of man—to man's moral wants and aspirations, that can command the consent of the heart.

It is the *πνεῦμα* that renders man the capable subject of the Spirit's influences. It is only because man is possessed of a spirit that he is capable of being redeemed. As it is the spirit in man which renders the incarnation of Christ possible, so it is also the spirit in man which renders possible the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit acts on those powers and faculties and feelings which bear a resemblance to Himself; in other words, He operates, not so much on the body or the soul, as on the spirit which is in man: "That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit" (John iii. 6). He sanctifies man's moral nature; He improves his moral character; He implants and strengthens within him holy virtues; He creates him anew after the image of God in righteousness and holiness; He elevates his feelings and desires; and increases his moral resemblance to God. The Spirit subdues the power of sin and increases the power of holiness in man. He takes possession of the spirit of man: the *πνεῦμα* is the sphere of His operations. And this is indeed the true exaltation of man; for the spirit is his higher nature, and by its improvement man is

brought into a nearer resemblance to God. And so also we perceive from this the adaptation of the Gospel to all men—to the unlearned as well as to the learned—because the Gospel does not so much refer to the intellect as to the heart; and hence the most ignorant are as capable of embracing the Gospel and of being influenced by the Spirit as the most enlightened.

We may also discern from this the nature and the necessity of the new birth or regeneration. The fall of man did not occasion the death or extinction of the *πνεῦμα* in man; this still constitutes an essential part of human nature; the image of God is not effaced. But the powers of the spirit are weakened: it has become paralysed; its normal supremacy over human nature has been overthrown. Man, instead of being spiritual (*πνευματικός*), has become carnal (*σαρκικός*), or psychical (*ψυχικός*). He is actuated by the carnal mind, which is death and enmity against God, and not by the spiritual mind, which is life and peace. The spirit is downtrodden and dethroned. Hence the great work of the Holy Spirit in regeneration is to quicken the spirit, to impart to it new powers, to raise it from a subordinate to a pre-eminent position. The spiritual man is the man in whom the spirit has the ascendancy over the body and the soul; and this can only be effected by the infusion of the Holy Spirit: without the Spirit acting upon and quickening the human spirit there is no true spiritual man; the flesh or the soul has the mastery. The natural man, he who is actuated by the *ψυχὴ*, receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually (*πνευματικῶς*) discerned (1 Cor. ii. 16).

Each of the three natures in man—the body, soul, and spirit—has its special organs by which it performs its functions, and without which it cannot operate. The organs of the body are manifold, but there are especially two, the heart and the brain, which are pre-eminently essential. The chief organ of the soul is the reason, which constitutes man a rational being, and which, when highly cultivated, excites our admiration. The chief organ of the spirit is the conscience, or what has been termed the moral sense, which recognizes and approves of the moral law, and pronounces judgment upon our actions, condemning us when we do what is morally wrong, and approving us when we do what is morally right (Rom. ii. 14, 15). What the heart is to the body, what the reason is to the soul, conscience is to the spirit. Conscience is the organ by which the spirit works; if we were destitute of this faculty there may be a spiritual nature in us, but it cannot manifest itself or operate; just as a man who is blind may have the power of vision, but he cannot exercise it, because the organ of vision is wanting. Conscience does not belong to the intellectual nature of man; it pronounces its judgments without any reference to the understanding, without any premeditation, and without any regard to consequences. The pain arising from violating the conscience, and which we call remorse, is different from all other kinds of pain; it bears no resemblance to bodily pain; it is not similar to that mental pain which arises from disappointment, loss, or vexation at the conduct of

others; it is purely moral and spiritual, and has reference to the *πνεῦμα*, which is in man. Conscience is the voice of God speaking in the human spirit. When all the other powers of man—his bodily organs and his mental faculties—revolted from God, conscience remained faithful; it became the organ of man's spiritual nature—the vicegerent of God.

The *πνεῦμα* is the highest, the most important part of human nature, and therefore ought to be the most carefully and earnestly cultivated. If we neglect our spiritual nature, we degrade ourselves in the scale of being. When the body gains the ascendancy, and man allows himself to be ruled by his bodily passions and appetites, he degrades himself to a level with the beasts which perish, being actuated by the same motives or instincts which actuate them; his intellectual nature becomes besotted, and his spiritual nature is dormant or paralysed. When the soul gains the ascendancy, and man cultivates his intellectual nature to the neglect of his higher or spiritual nature, he becomes sceptical, living without God and without hope in the world. It is only when the spirit gains the ascendancy, when we cultivate our spiritual nature, when we aim chiefly at moral goodness, that we attain to the true end of our being—the knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ whom He has sent, and whom to know is eternal life. It is by the spirit that we hold fellowship with God.

All the three parts of human nature are sustained by their appropriate food. The body is nourished by the bread which perisheth: this supplies the daily waste, and without this nourishment the body would perish. The soul has its appropriate nourishment, namely, the exercise of our intellectual faculties by thought and reflection—the cultivation of the mind by reading and study; and the exercise of our emotional feelings by fixing our affections on their appropriate objects—the cultivation of the heart by social intercourse and friendship. And so also the spirit must be fed and sustained. We must raise our affections to God, and hold fellowship with Him by prayer and meditation and the devout perusal of the sacred Scriptures. We must especially exercise the graces of faith and love with reference to the Lord Jesus Christ: we must rely at all times upon Him as our Saviour, and draw fresh supplies of spiritual life from Him who is the Life of the world. Jesus Christ is the Bread of life—the food of the spirit (John vi. 54-57). And so also we may deteriorate and weaken all the parts of our nature by want of exercise. The body is enfeebled by want of appropriate exercise: the intellect is impaired by want of mental activity; and especially the spirit is weakened by want of the exercise of holy affections, and by the neglect of prayer and worship and the other means of grace.

Each part of human nature is capable of being destroyed or rendered powerless. The body may be destroyed even in life by various diseases: palsy may annihilate its powers, so that all bodily movements become impossible. The soul may be destroyed in various ways: madness may dethrone the reason, and reduce man to a mere animal existence, or even the excessive indulgence of animal passions may besot or cloud the mind.

In like manner the spirit is liable to be destroyed, or at least so paralyzed, as to be rendered incapable of being awakened. A man, by offering a determined resistance to the principles of his better nature; by refusing to listen to the voice of God within him; by disobeying the dictates of his conscience; by nourishing the evil heart of unbelief, may by scepticism and even by atheism destroy his spirit. Jude speaks of those who are twice dead, plucked up by the roots, and of those who are actuated by the soul, but not by the spirit: "These are they who separate themselves, sensual," or, if we might coin the word *soulish*, actuated by the soul, "not having the spirit."

LUKE XXIII. 15.

By J. SMALL.

THERE are two readings in the earlier part of the verse: ἀνέπεμψα γὰρ ἑμὴς πρὸς αὐτὸν (Authorised Version); and ἀνέπεμψε γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς (Revised Version). There is no difference in the latter part of the verse, which reads: καὶ ἰδοὺ, οὐδὲν ἄξιον θανάτου ἐστὶ πεπραγμένον αὐτῷ. In the Vulgate this is rendered: *Ecce nihil dignum morte actum est ei*. Authorised Version: "For I sent you to him; and, lo, nothing worthy of death is done unto him." Revised Version: "For he sent him back unto us; and, behold, nothing worthy of death hath been done by him."

The present note has reference only to the true meaning of the latter part of the verse; which, I think, is correctly rendered in the Authorised Version, and wrongly altered by the Revisers in substituting "by him" for "to him." There can be no doubt αὐτῷ refers to Christ. The dative, both in Greek and Latin, expresses the object to whom, not the agent by whom, a thing is done. The reading "done by him," adopted by the Revisers, arises from a misconception of the meaning of the verb. In Latin "done by him" would be "*factum ab eo*"; the verb, however, is not *factum*, but *actum*, in the Vulgate. *Acto* is the ordinary technical word used in Roman jurisprudence to express bringing a suit, raising an action, or taking any proceeding, civil or criminal, against any one. The meaning of the Latin sentence is "Nothing worthy of death has been laid to his charge." Pilate, in ver. 14, says that, having examined Jesus, he had found Him innocent. He then goes on to say that Herod had done the same; for he had sent Jesus to Herod, and Herod had sent Him back, and nothing worthy of death had been laid to His charge. He is not simply repeating a second time his own conviction of our Lord's innocence; he is referring to the result of the procedure before Herod, of which he says (rendering freely), "No prosecution involving the penalty of death took place against Him: He was not tried for any offence inferring capital punishment; nothing deserving death has been laid to His charge." Herod had mocked our Lord in cruel sport, but, instead of trying and sentencing Him, he had sent Him back to Pilate;

and it is this that Pilate adduces as a convincing proof of the innocence of Jesus; Herod had not even put him on trial.

The Greek *πράσσω* is no doubt more loosely used than the Latin *ago*. The same expression occurs in Acts xxv. 25: *ἐγὼ δὲ καταλάβομην μηδὲν ἄξιον θανάτου αὐτὸν πεπραχέναι*. Vulgate: *Ego vero comperi nihil dignum mortem admisisse*. And in Acts xxvi. 31: *ὅτι οὐδὲν θανάτου ἄξιον ἢ δεσμῶν πᾶσσει ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος*. Vulgate: *Quia nihil morte aut vinculis dignum quid fecit homo iste*. There can be little doubt that in each of these three passages the more general Greek *πράσσω* has been rendered by the more definite Latin word required by the sense.

The same interpretation is given by Luther in the German version, which reads, "Siehe, man hat nichts auf ihn gebracht, das des Todes werth sei," "They have laid nothing to his charge deserving death."

Substantially the same meaning is found in Ostervald's French version, "On ne lui a rien fait qui marque qu'il soit digne de mort."

With these examples it seems strange that none of the commentators whose works I have consulted should even notice this interpretation, which, besides giving its natural meaning to "*αὐτῷ*," makes the whole passage intelligible. I may only add that probably this was the meaning conveyed by the Authorized Version to its original readers. It is not long since a lawyer ceased to be termed a "doer"; and even to this day, in colloquial language, if one suspected of a crime should not be prosecuted by the authorities, it would be remarked "nothing was done to him."

A MODERN JEWISH INTERPRETATION OF GENESIS XLIX. 10-12.

BY W. TAYLOR SMITH, B.A.

THE German translation of Genesis with a commentary by Samson Raphael Hirsch, Rabbi of the Israelitish Religious Society at Frankfort-on-the-Main, which was issued recently as the first instalment of a new edition of the Pentateuch for Jewish readers, gives a curious and interesting rendering and explanation of this much controverted passage. The word for "law-giver" is translated "pen which writes the law." Not an ordinary pen is supposed to be meant, but a much larger and stronger implement, perhaps one suitable for engraving an inscription on stone. This is supported by the use of the word in the Song of the Well (Num. xxi. 18), where the parallelism demands something which could be employed for making a hole in the ground:

The well which the princes digged,
Which the nobles of the people delved,
With the sceptre and with their staves.

It is added that this last passage almost suggests a sceptre so pointed that

it could be used if necessary as a writing utensil. Such a sceptre or a large stylus for writing on stone might well rest "between the feet." The word "Shiloh," on the interpretation of which so much ingenuity has been wasted, is very oddly treated. The explanation "rest" which has found favour with some modern scholars, is not even mentioned, on the reading represented by the Septuagint and several other ancient and modern authorities שלה for שילה, or the view which regards the word as a proper name. Instead of all these explanations Rabbi Hirsch suggests that שילה may be connected with שיל, "the edge of a garment," "the utmost end" (rendered in the English Bible, Exod. xxviii. 33, "skirts"); and therefore may mean "his end." The writing of the pronominal suffix with ה instead of ו glances at weakness. Jacob describes the last generation as *Shiloh*, meaning thereby that a time will come when the kingdom of the house of David will be seen in extreme depression, when Judah will be apparently characterized by the weakness of a woman, not the strength of a lion, when in fact it will be thought to be at the last gasp. Just then, when the grave diggers of the world's history are preparing the coffin for the expiring Judah, will come a glorious restoration of power and influence which is described or hinted at in the next clause: "and to him," to that Judah which seemed on the very verge of dissolution, "shall the weak old age of the nations belong," that is, sovereignty over the effete Gentile world will be its portion. This strange rendering which is suggested in the Midrash Bereshith Rabbah is got by connecting the word עֲבָרָה rendered by most "obedience," with the root עָבַר "to be blunted," "to be deprived of power." This word thus derived is interpreted to mean "weakness of old age." Thus far our Rabbinic guide has not even alluded to the Messianic application of the passage.

The next two verses however are expressly declared to be Messianic. He who binds his foal to the vine and his ass's colt to the precious vine, &c., is the Messiah, the deliverer of humanity, the conqueror of nations. The ass on which he rides—the beast of burden of daily life—points at peaceful prosperity as a feature of the new order. The king of humanity rides not on a horse but an ass; he comes, therefore, as the prince of peace, and he binds his animal to vines. The last-mentioned point, the selection of the vine as the plant to which the ass is bound, is thought to predict greatly increased productiveness in nature—an echo of Talmudic dreams about the Messianic age. The vines, in our rabbi's opinion, are thought of as strong trees, and therefore must be very different from the vines of the present epoch. Abundance in the natural world and peace in the world of human life are said to be everywhere in the prophets two characteristic marks of this final era of peace and blessedness. "So long," writes this modern rabbi, whose materialistic conception of the happy future is very remarkable, "as the peaceful animal is not installed in its rights, and the rulers of men prefer the warlike horse, and so long as animals are not bound to vines, are we far distant from the regeneration of nature and society which we are

justified in anticipating." A Messiah then is still expected by those Jews whom our rabbi represents. The Messiahship of Jesus is not openly discussed, but it is beyond question covertly assailed. What else can be referred to in the remark that the coming helper will not be a God but a man whose greatness will consist in his eminent righteousness. The whole passage runs thus in the new translation :—

"The sceptre shall not depart from Judah and the law-writer's pen from between his feet, until his apparently last weak descendant comes, and to him who will exhibit manly strength shall the nations which are worn out with age belong. He binds his foal to the vine, the son of his she-ass to the precious vine; he has bathed his raiment in wine, his mantle in the blood of the grape—he who is more glowing in his eyes than wine, whiter in his teeth than milk." This singular interpretation of a very attractive but exceptionally obscure prophecy shows with startling distinctness how tenaciously some of the Jews, after eighteen centuries of exile, cling to ancient ideas and methods, and how obstinately they still refuse to recognize the claims of Christ.

BALAAM: PROPHET AND SOOTHSAYER.

BY REV. DAVID MERSON, B.D.

(NUMBERS xxii., xxiii., xxiv.)

THE problems that gather round this singular personage are about the hardest to solve in the whole of Scripture. It is not simply that there are inconsistencies in his character; the character itself seems to be fed from two different sources, and the main difficulty is to get at the one principle that must all along have guided the life. There cannot be two supreme principles in any man's life; there must always be one dominating motive. And our purpose now will be to endeavour to dig down to the secret spring in the character and conduct of this "strange mixture of a man." Everything about him seems twisted; nay, there is a complete rupture between his words and his actions, the words leading to one conclusion, the actions to another. We listen at a time when celestial visions are passing before him, and words of seraphic fervour drop from his lips; in a little after we find him laying schemes of selfish ambition, and deliberately doing the work of the devil. We feel that there are infinite possibilities of good or evil lurking within him; now one is in the ascendant, and now the other. There is the appearance of wavering at times; but it is not the wavering of weakness, it is the volition of a strong mind. The way a man acts at the supreme moments of his life is the best test of what he really is. The crisis reveals the character; and it is at critical moments that Balaam comes before us, when the latent powers of his being are roused to action. His soul becomes a battlefield of opposing forces. Light and darkness, righteousness and sin

are in deadly conflict ; while the man himself remains perfectly self-possessed, keeping an eye on the main chance, and never failing to strike when his chance comes.

Paradoxical as this description may appear, it must not be rashly assumed that Balaam was a monster of inconsistency. To proceed on such an assumption would be to prejudice free inquiry. We must allow Scripture to tell its own tale about him, and then draw the inference which the premises warrant. The two sides of his nature, when studied each apart from the other, have led to two estimates of him most diverse and contradictory. Some, paying exclusive regard to his words, have pronounced him to be a genuine prophet of Jehovah ; others, looking at his selfish greed and mournful end, have with equal confidence set him down as an unscrupulous Eastern juggler. These are the two extreme opinions, but, as in most extreme opinions, it may safely be said that neither of them expresses the whole truth.

Was he a prophet of Jehovah ? If by prophet is meant one whom God uses to convey His message to men, then beyond debate this man was a prophet ; for he was the medium of conveying truths which no human insight could have discovered, and no human foresight could have predicted. And this opens up the wider question as to the place he filled in the scheme of Divine revelation. Was he a prophet in the same sense as Elijah or Isaiah ? Well, not precisely in the same sense. For Elijah and Isaiah were prophets under the covenant, and loyal to God and the truth ; while Balaam was a prophet outside the covenant, and proved false to the cause he represented. This fact, and what it implies, may help to furnish the key to the character and conduct of this singular man.

We understand a person best by studying him in the midst of his surroundings. Where, then, do we find Balaam ? He himself speaks of being "brought from Aram, out of the mountains of the East," a description which points to the upper part of Mesopotamia, a district which has ever been regarded as a hotbed of idolatry and home of the occult arts. Thus we find him in circumstances not at all favourable to the worship of the true God. Nevertheless he had acquired some knowledge of the true God, partly from the lingering remnants of it from primeval times, and partly from direct revelation ; but this knowledge had got mixed up with pagan superstitions and practices. He seems to have carried on as a trade the art of divination, and probably belonged to the same class as the Magi who came to worship at the manger. At all events, he was a representative of monotheistic worship in that dark region. He has been described as a prophet outside the covenant, and in this respect he stands alongside of several other divinely commissioned agents in the ages before Moses. The Almighty would seem to have made use of one here and another there, to whom He communicated His will, and thus preserved from entire extinction the primitive revelation. Besides the seer of Mesopotamia, we know of at least four others who were so honoured—viz., Abraham, in Ur of the Chaldees ; Melchizedek, king of Salem ; Jethro, priest of Midian ; and Job, the patriarch of Uz. These men

were divinely used in keeping alive a knowledge of the One God amid prevailing polytheism and idolatry, till the time came when a clearer revelation should be committed to Moses, as the first great prophet of a new dispensation.

If this is a correct account of the matter, some light is thereby shed on the position occupied by Balaam in the scheme of Divine revelation. He was Heaven's representative in the darkest portion of the earth. He was one of the agents employed by God to keep alive the knowledge of His name. But instead of diffusing this knowledge to enlighten those around him, he degraded his office, and set himself to make gain out of the spirit of prophecy with which he had been endowed. In this respect how different were Abraham, and Melchisedek, and Jethro, and Job, all of whom appear to have acted up to their light, and served their God as strangers and sojourners on the earth, looking not for human wages, but for a home beyond. But Balaam betrayed his trust. He was untrue to the light he had, false to the possibilities of good within him. He had a splendid post assigned him in the kingdom of God on earth. Though living in a dark age, and amid a dark environment, he was one of the forerunners of a brighter day. He stood on the threshold of a new era. The last prophet of an expiring dispensation, he stands in sight of all the ages a strange, lonely figure, looming through the mists of primeval time; weird, yet strikingly human; a man of low worldly aims, yet not without elements of grandeur; at one time soaring in the heights, at another grovelling in the dust. In him the old beliefs and superstitions of pre-Mosaic times had incarnated themselves, and his position in the twilight of revelation exposed him to temptations which he was ill-fitted to resist.

While, therefore, accepting the view that Balaam was a prophet with a distinct mission from God, we must not forget that he also followed the art of divination, and it was this latter office that exposed him to the temptation which proved his ruin. But is there not an incongruity in ascribing to one man two offices so diverse? He might have been either a prophet or a soothsayer, says one, but not both. Why not? we ask. There is no more inconsistency in saying that Balaam the prophet was a soothsayer than in saying that Paul the Apostle was a tentmaker. As a matter of fact, we know that St. Paul was both, and there was nothing to hinder Balaam also from filling the double office ascribed to him. The art of divination or soothsaying was at that time a respectable calling, to which the cleverest men of the day might devote themselves. To this class belonged the Magians of Gospel history. The men who followed this profession constituted a sort of priestly caste, and were the teachers and guides of the people. They were the learned aristocracy of the day, and appear to have occupied an honourable place in the community; but it is easily seen that in a dark age and among an ignorant people there was great temptation for an unscrupulous man to use his art for base ends, and this was in many cases what actually took place: soothsaying became jugglery, Magianism degenerated into magic.

That the profession had sunk so low as this in Balaam's time is by no means clear ; still, when any business gets into the hands of a class, there is a tendency to manage it for the benefit of that class. To a certain extent, therefore, Balaam's trade exposed him to moral perils. In his double capacity of prophet and soothsayer, he had unusual opportunities, if disposed to use them, of making gain out of godliness. Unfortunately, the temptation was too strong for him, and he carried the meanest spirit of his craft into his work as a prophet. It cannot fairly be said that he descended to jugglery or tricks of magic, indeed he refused to do either more or less than what God commanded him. What took place was something like this: Being in the habit of taking a fee for his services in the art of divination, he attempted to do the same when speaking under Divine inspiration. He was at perfect liberty to put a price on his services in the ordinary prosecution of his trade ; but when uttering the message which God had given him, he had no right to tamper with it for the sake of human wages. He was desirous so to modify the message as to entitle him to earn Balak's reward. His error lay in carrying the commercial spirit into the spiritual sphere, and acting as if God's favour or frown could be bought with money. It was a fatal error, and shows that the possession of supreme gifts is often far removed from a gracious heart. Naturally Balaam was a man of high endowments and keen discernment, and his natural faculties had been quickened by the Spirit of God, but he was still worldly at heart, and carried this temper into the highest and most sacred of functions. He prostituted the gifts bestowed on him by God to selfish ends, and thereby quenched the inner light of Divine truth. There was a light placed within him sufficient to guide him, if he had given heed to it, but his own hand extinguished it.

" His genius and his moral frame
Were thus impaired, and he became
The slave of low desires :
A man who without self-control
Would seek what the degraded soul
Unworthily admires."

Nor are there wanting like instances among those who enjoy greater privileges than Balaam. Under the Jewish Dispensation, when the heavenly light shone brighter than in patriarchal times, we have Saul and the " man of God who came out of Judah " (1 Kings xiii. 1) ; the former, though the spirit was bestowed on him, broke through Divine restraints and went headlong to ruin ; the latter, though unmistakably under Divine inspiration at one time, passed away under a cloud in an act of deliberate disobedience. Then under the clearer light of Christianity we have such falls from faith as Judas Iscariot, Simon Magus, and Demas. All of them made shipwreck on the same rock. That rock was worldliness, avarice, greed. They were false to the light that would have guided them to a safe port. They used their spiritual privileges for unspiritual ends. In the face of such examples it cannot well be maintained that Balaam's case was unique. He was a Divine

medium, as at one time were Saul, the nameless prophet of Judah, and Judas Iscariot; but neither he nor they ever yielded to the power of the truth. The light was clear enough, but the heart was wilfully shut against its entrance. They saw the better, but followed the worse. And the conclusion which all these cases point to is that the Divine Spirit may use men for highest ends, while these men may receive the grace of God in vain.

Passing from generalities, let us now follow the Mesopotamian seer through the windings of his crooked career. A brief allusion to the facts must suffice. The arrival of Israel on the plains of Moab spread alarm among the neighbouring nations, and a deputation, organized by Balak, king of Moab, was sent to Balaam asking him to come and curse the invaders. It is plain from the tone of the request that the son of Beor had a fame far and wide for success in the work to which he was summoned. The words of Balak, "I wot that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed," imply that Balaam's benedictions and imprecations had often been verified. From this we seem justified in drawing the inference that God had spoken through him in the past—that he was a man gifted with the real prophetic spirit and insight. But the gift of prophecy was no safeguard against error in conduct. Though under the Spirit's guidance when delivering God's message, in the sphere of action he is thrown back on the ordinary means of human guidance, and here he broke down. It was no fault of his that the princes of Moab brought the "rewards of divination in their hands," as a fee or bribe for the services they asked. Balaam's mistake lay in allowing the rewards to sway his conduct. At this point he was much in the same position as Elisha when Naaman brought him presents as an inducement to the prophet to cure the leper of his disease. The temptation was the same in both cases, but how different was the conduct of the two tempted prophets! The contrast shows the point where the Mesopotamian went wrong. We cannot see, as some maintain, that he did wrong in lodging the deputation over night, till he should ascertain the Divine will, as the Divine will was often made known in dreams and visions of the night (cf. Gen. xxxvii. 5-10; Gen. xli. 1-8; Dan. ii., iv., and vii.). But the reply he received from God during the night ought to have been final, "Thou shalt not go with them; thou shalt not curse the people, for they are blessed." To dally with the temptation after that was to yield; to falter was to fall. His reply to the deputation has certainly the appearance of loyalty to God, but only in appearance; and Balak was quick enough to detect in it an implied wish to go, if Divine permission could be got, "The Lord refuseth to let me go with you," *i.e.*, I am willing to do what you want, if God would permit me.

Balak pushed his advantage. He knew his man and worked on his weakness. A second and more influential deputation was sent to hold out the prospect of promotion to very great honour as a further inducement to come and curse Israel. The coils of the tempter were tightening fast round the prophet, and this suggestion ought to have been repelled without hesita-

tion ; but again he harboured the messengers, and again made a pious show of consulting God to see if there was not a *via media* whereby he might convey the Divine message and yet secure Balak's rewards. He did not wish to disobey God, he had as yet no determination to sacrifice truth, but his soul was fired with the hope of grasping the gleaming gold. This was his ruling passion, but meanwhile he reins it in, and artfully angles for such a command from God as would enable him to gratify it. His heart is set on the wages of unrighteousness, but he does not dare to catch the nearest way; he

"Would not play false
And yet would wrongly win."

By-and-bye his scruples give way, and the die is cast, as it often is, in the dark. The vision of the night told him to go with the men, if they called him ; but we do not read that they ever did call him ; nevertheless he was ready in the morning to accompany them. Nothing had taken place to justify this action. The case was precisely where it stood when the first deputation left. There was no additional reason why he should comply. The only difference lay in the more flattering prospects held out, and hence we conclude that this was what determined his conduct.

"God's anger was kindled against him because he went." The question is sometimes asked here : Why give him leave to go and then be angry with him because he went ? But the fact is he had never really got permission to go. The condition was not fulfilled, *i.e.*, the princes of Moab, so far as we know, did not call him. He rose and went with them without being called, and therefore without getting permission. But even if he had got permission he was not necessarily on safe ground. For Divine permission does not imply Divine approval. God did not approve of Israel's desire for a king, yet He sent them a king in His anger ; He did not approve of the tribes lusting for flesh in the desert, yet He granted their request, and it became a curse to them. There is a law in the Divine kingdom that, if a man is bent on going the wrong way, the checks become fewer and fewer until he gets his wish. In Balaam's case it was fast coming to this. He was now thoroughly in the grip of his great temptation, and the barriers were melting away.

The crisis came in the course of his fatal journey to Balak. And this brings us to the episode of the ass, an episode which has obstinately refused to yield its secret to the most skilful pen. It may be well to say at once that we dismiss the notion of its being either fable or vision. If it is not real history, why should it occur in the heart of a historical narrative ? We believe we are in the region of real history, and there is a supernatural incident or miracle in it, the only question being, where are we to place the miracle ? in the animal or in its master ? There is surely room for difference of opinion on this point. Is it necessary to hold that the animal expressed itself in articulate speech ? Will not less than this satisfy the conditions of the problem and still be consistent with the miraculous ? It may help us towards a solution, if we keep in mind the purpose for which this episode is

introduced. Its purpose was to arrest the prophet in his downward career ; the angel stood in the way with drawn sword, but the prophet's eyes were shut, his mind was for the moment closed to the supernatural and fixed on the wages of unrighteousness. The animal on which he rode was made the medium through which the Divine message was to reach his conscience and open his eyes, and to endow it with articulate speech for that purpose seems a waste of Divine power. Would not the natural action of the animal be sufficient, the Spirit of God applying it to rebuke the prophet's perverse way? When our Lord wrought His miracles He acted in accordance with His nature. Properly speaking, He did no supernatural works, as far as He Himself was concerned. His works were supernatural only to the on-lookers who discerned the finger of God. So in the case before us, is it not enough to say that the animal expressed itself in accordance with its nature, and that Balaam interpreted this as a message from God? The supernatural element would seem to lie in this : that the action of the animal in refusing to proceed was, by the Divine Spirit, so brought home to Balaam's soul that he saw in it a picture of his own self-willed conduct. It was to him as the reproofing voice of God. The animal stopped when the arresting angel stood in the way ; this was what its master should have done.

This view is confirmed by two circumstances: *first*, that the prophet manifests no surprise at such an extraordinary thing as an animal speaking—surely this is unaccountable if the animal did actually speak ; and *secondly*, that those in his company seem to have heard no such accents as fell on his ears, and whatever they were, they were intelligible to him alone. Can these two things be reconciled with articulate speech? It is little to the purpose to refer to Peter's words that the "dumb animal spoke with a man's voice," for such language might be used quite consistently with the explanation just given. God was unmistakably present and opened the mouth of the ass, so that from it fell such sounds or accents as were not only intelligible to Balaam, but stung him to the quick on account of his sin.

Under this stinging rebuke the prophet paused for a moment in his madness, as with open eye he saw the angel standing in the way. "I have sinned," said the erring man ; "now therefore, if it displease thee, I will get me back again." "Go with the men," said the angel ; and Balaam went to his doom. There is a pious sound about the words, "If it displease thee, I will get me back again" ; and there is a semblance of permission in "Go with the men." But the piety is conditional, and therefore worthless ; and the permission, though seemingly absolute, throws the whole burden of deciding on the man himself. As if the angel had said, "No, no, it is you who must decide whether to go on or not ; you have come thus far against my commands, and if you advance a step further, it is at your own peril." Balaam went on, and no restraining angel met him any more. It is a terrible thing when the Divine restraints are all withdrawn from the path of the perverse. The end is not far off.

In a little we find the seer, along with Balak, on the heights of Moab,

looking down on the goodly tents of Jacob, pronouncing blessing after blessing on the chosen nation. Splendid visions pass before him of the future of that nation. He was for the moment, if ever man was, inspired to utter truths that had been hidden with God; and yet when the vision passed, he sank back into himself again. It is hard to think that earthly prizes could have had such a fatal fascination for a man whose open eye had pierced the secrets of the invisible. To see what he saw, and not be permanently impressed, is a psychological marvel.

“ He saw thro' life and death, thro' good and ill,
He saw thro' his own soul.
The marvel of the everlasting will,
An open scroll,
Before him lay.”

It is no part of our present purpose to expound his visions or parables. But two questions suggested by them court attention in passing. The first bears on inspiration. That he prophesied as one taught of God is beyond dispute. He spoke under Divine control, for he himself says more than once, “The word that God says unto me, that shall I speak.” Here, then, is a man whose utterances were guided by the Holy Spirit, and yet his heart was not right with God. Does God inspire unholy men? Does inspiration necessarily imply a spirit in sympathy with the truths uttered? We are told that “holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit.” But did the Holy Spirit not speak also through men to whom the term “holy” can hardly be applied? Balaam, for one. In framing a theory of inspiration this is a phenomenon that has to be reckoned with.

Another important point comes out in the fourth parable, in which the seer says: “There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel.” Have we not here clear proof that Balaam filled a distinct place in the scheme of Divine revelation? We have already mentioned that he was a forerunner of the Jewish Dispensation. But he was more. His prophecies prepared the heathen world for the advent of Christ; for it can hardly be doubted that the prophecy of the star rising out of Jacob contributed to the general belief in the birth of a great Ruler among the sons of Jacob. And so when the sign in the heavens appeared at the birth of Jesus, the Chaldean astrologers understood what it meant. Balaam's prophecy had lingered among them till it was fulfilled in the star which guided the Wise Men to the Manger of Bethlehem.

But we must trace this tragic story to its close. The last scene reveals the depth of degradation to which this gifted man had sunk. He had not been permitted to lay his ban on the people of God, but there was a more effective way of calling down on them the curse which Balak desired. The curse causeless will not fall, and if he can induce them to act so as to incur God's wrath, his end will be gained. The curse will fall and the rewards will be earned. To this end he now applies himself with diabolic subtlety. Now that he had discharged his mission as a prophet, it may be possible for

him yet to grasp the rewards on which his heart was set. He will not, however, personally cause Israel to sin, but he will get the thing done by throwing a stumbling-block in their way. His plan need not be detailed here. Enough to say that on his advice the daughters of Moab and Miriam invited the men of Israel to one of their banquets; under the excitement of such revelries the result could easily be foreseen. A snare was laid for them, and they fell into it. The wrath of the Lord was kindled against them, and 24,000 of them died of pestilence. In a war of revenge that followed, Balaam fell fighting among the foes of God.

With the main facts now before us it would be easy to pronounce severe sentence on this child of destiny. But there is no need; Scripture has done that, and we are content to abide by its verdict. Let him stand in his own place, a type of those who forfeit the favour of God without winning the prizes of the world, a beacon light to the ages, warning men off the rocks on which so many have struck and gone down. A man of rich endowments and strong passions, Balaam gave reins to the latter and fell a victim to his lower nature in his greed of gain. A man to whom the windows of heaven were opened, and who saw the duty and blessedness of walking with God, yet all the while he kept an eye on the world's prize, pursuing it with fatal eagerness; and just when it seemed mercifully put beyond his reach, he made one bold final dash to grasp it, and perished in the attempt; and so to the end of time he stands a monument of warning to those who deliberately frustrate the grace of God, who know their duty but who do it not.

THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

A POET INTERPRETED BY A PHILOSOPHER.¹

BY REV. THOMAS B. KILPATRICK, B.D.

A POET serves a double purpose to the philosopher in his endeavour to interpret the life of man. In the first place, the poet supplies the philosopher with fact, not mingled, as in newspapers and other chronicles, with a mass of irrelevant detail, but pure and simple in its moral and spiritual significance. In this respect, the poetry of Browning is a perfect storehouse for the moralist or ethical investigator. His "men and women," his dramatic episodes, all present in intensest, most concrete reality some phase of that moral problem which it is the business of the philosopher to deal with by methods of analysis and reflection.

In the second place, the poet expresses, consciously or unconsciously,

¹ *Browning as a Philosophical and Religious Teacher.* By Henry Jones, M.A., Professor of Philosophy in the University College of North Wales.

some leading thought or principle peculiar to the age to which he belongs. Shakespeare, indeed, as Professor Jones points out, is an exception to this rule, and has a quite universal value. But Browning, at least, is a man of his age and time, and gives poetic utterance to the ideas which have emerged in this century, and shall shape the lives of men in many days to come. In chapter iii., Professor Jones has given a masterly review of the course of thought since the Elizabethan period through the successive stages of Puritanism, the *renaissance* of the flesh, the age of prose, down to our own day, with its new life and its deeper insight into the spiritual meanings of the world and human history. To this age both Wordsworth and Browning belong. Wordsworth is the poet of nature, and reveals the Divine truth of which nature is the splendid vehicle. Browning, while accepting Wordsworth's interpretation of nature, pursues the poetic task further, and sings of man, vindicating, now in gems of artistic beauty, and now in elaborate argument which almost denies the form of art, the Divine truth which lives amid the action and passion, the splendour and the gloom, of man's passage through the "probation-space" of earth. The philosopher, therefore, who seeks to understand this age, and to weld its dominant thought into the articulate fulness of truth, necessarily turns to Browning for guidance. "His work, though intuitive and perceptive as to form, 'gaining God by first leap,' as all true art must do, leaves the impression, when regarded as a whole, of an articulated system. It is a view of man's life and destiny that can be maintained, not only during the impassioned moods of poetry, but in the very presence of criticism and doubt.¹" In this light, accordingly, Professor Jones views Browning, namely, as one who holds, teaches, and even preaches a Philosophy of Life. His book is an estimate of that philosophy, an effort to exhibit its truth, correct its error, and use it as a basis for the proof of an ampler and more satisfactory view of life. In reading Professor Jones' book, therefore, we are interested and instructed by his interpretation of Browning; but we are still more interested by his exposition of a thought which he claims to be richer and truer than that to which Browning attained. We need not stay, accordingly, to trace Professor Jones' detailed interpretation and criticism of Browning, or to inquire whether it is at all times just. We desire rather to understand, if possible, Professor Jones' own doctrine on these great problems of the intellectual and moral life of man. In passing, we would congratulate the Scottish University, to whose staff Professor Jones now belongs, on having obtained for its chair of philosophy a teacher whose ability is so conspicuous, whose record has been so brilliant, who adds to great speculative power a practical interest in those problems of individual and social well-being whose ultimate solution will be wrought out, not in theory, but in conduct and character.

The philosophical doctrine which Professor Jones expands in this estimate of Browning is that of thorough-going idealism. Thought, mind, spirit, is supreme in the universe, the ultimate explanation of all things,

¹ P. 18.

that in which they all live and move and have their being. It is essential to idealism of this whole-hearted type that nothing should be left out of the all-embracing sweep of that spiritual principle to which it assigns a position of absolute supremacy. There must remain outside of it, nothing impenetrable by it, unsubdued to its interpretative power. In the world of knowledge it must reign supreme, thought being the absolute *prius* of all things, entering into their very constitution as at once knowable and real. In the world of action and character also the same principle must vindicate itself against facts which might appear to threaten its sovereignty. Evil itself must yield up its independence, and own itself conquered by the power of a principle by whose invincible operation all things work together for good. It will be seen at a glance that a philosophy of this type stands in the very closest relation to Christianity. Christians may well look toward it as a magnificent ally in defending the reality of spirit against all lower explanations of life and experience. Idealism itself, however, in the hands of Professor Jones and other exponents, seems to advance a still higher claim. It is not only an *ally* of Christianity. It *is* Christianity, disentangled from dogmatic distinctions and from historical details, which do not enter into the essence of that dominant idea, which Christianity in the last resort actually is. Professor Jones in a notice of Gallinetz's "Problem of Ethics" speaks in condemnation of those "who ultimately base their religious and ethical faith, not upon its inward rational coherence, but upon a historical event." In this suggested distinction between idea and event, so that the idea might be retained while the event is neglected, there lies the possibility of a profounder antagonism between Christianity and this idealistic philosophy than has yet emerged between Christian faith on the one hand, and any form of philosophical theory on the other. Such a rupture and such an antagonism are greatly to be deprecated. Christianity must always be itself an idealism inasmuch as it regards Spirit as the ultimate truth and the ultimate reality; and it is the conviction of Christians that the Idea, which is the highest explanation of the ultimate problem of life and mind, is so bound to the Event, of which the Christian Church is the standing witness in the world, that without the Event the Idea would prove powerless to vindicate for itself objective truth, and would finally pass away as one more merely subjective and therefore inadequate theory.

When we turn to Professor Jones' treatment of his theme, we find two masterly chapters in which idealism is regarded chiefly as a doctrine of knowledge. It is impossible to follow his argument in detail. In one chapter, entitled "Browning's Idealism and its Philosophical Justification," we find him refuting that pseudo-philosophy which has failed to learn the lesson of Hume's destruction of sensationalism. Here he is really summarizing the work which Professor Caird, of Glasgow, and the late Professor Green, of Oxford, have already accomplished. But even when Professor Jones is traversing beaten ground he has always some fresh points of interest to bring into view. His hearty adoption of the category of develop-

ment, and the almost humorous way in which he turns it into an instrument of idealist triumph, are peculiarly interesting. We can allow ourselves only a few lines of quotation.

"The idea of evolution, when it is not muddled, is synthetic—not analytic; it explains the simplest in the light of the complex, the beginning in the light of the end, and not *vice versa*. In a word, it follows the ways of nature, the footsteps of fact, instead of inventing a wilful backward path of its own. And nature explains by gradually expanding. If we hearken to nature, and not to the voice of illusory preconceptions, we shall hear her proclaim at the last stage, 'Here is the meaning of the seedling.' Now it is clear what it really was; for the power which lay dormant has pushed itself into light, through bud and flower and leaf and fruit. The reality of a growing thing is its highest form of being. The last explains the first, but not the first the last. The first is abstract, incomplete, not yet actual, but mere potency; and we could never know even the potency, except in the light of its own actualization." . . . "That the idea of evolution, even when applied in this consistent way, has difficulties of its own, it is scarcely necessary to say. But there is nothing in it which imperils the ethical and religious interests of humanity, or tends to reduce man into a natural phenomenon. Instead of degrading man, it lifts nature into a manifestation of spirit."¹

In treating, as he does in this chapter, of Tyndall, Huxley, and Spencer, Professor Jones moves with a sense of easy triumph. But in the chapter entitled "A Criticism of Browning's View of the Failure of Knowledge," Professor Jones is as one who draws his "ringing gauntlets" on. He stands face to face with an antagonist whom he does not name, though he describes and discusses his views. There is something, by the way, dramatic, almost ominous, in this reticence. It is like an artillery duel fought in darkness. We hear the roar and see the flash of the guns; but we cannot discern the faces of the combatants. The antagonist in this case is an idealist, too, after a fashion, who carries the Idea forward, almost to a complete victory. The outer world, as we know it, according to teachers of this school, is indeed framed by thought. They have learned Hume's lesson. They have accepted Kant's teaching, and remain abiding at that point. Experience is constituted by thought. But still it is only thought working in the minds of men. Between thought and reality there is still a great gulf fixed. Thought pressing downward through experience never touches the bed-rock of things as they really are.

This is an idealism, indeed, but one that is framed on a strictly limited plan. It says to men, "Here is the circle of your experience. Here thought is supreme. Live here and be content. But outside this thought-world there is another, the world of reality. What goes on there, what gigantic forces play, whether after all the ultimate reality is matter, and the ultimate victory that of evil, men know not, nor can know." With this position Professor Jones closely grapples, and it is well he should, for such a doctrine is the despair both of thought and action. To be condemned to unreality is to be exposed, in knowledge to utter scepticism, in action to the merest hedonism. If in knowledge I never touch fact, of what worth is knowing? If in action I never share the victory of good, and am never sure whether there is a good or whether it will ultimately be victorious, of what worth is living?

¹ Pp. 209, 210, 211.

Into the details of Professor Jones' reply we cannot enter. He denies the distinction which this philosophy draws between thought and reality. What, he asks in effect, is that reality which is not relative to thought? What is a thing *unknowable*, yet *known* to be unknowable? His central position is gathered into such sentences as these: "Thought apart from things is quite empty, just as things apart from thought are blind. Such thought and such reality are mere abstractions, hypostatized by false *métaphysics*; they are elements of truth rent asunder, and destroyed in the rending." . . . "There is no *mauvais pas* from thought to things." . . . "The distinction between thought and reality is a distinction within a deeper unity. And that unity must not be regarded as something additional to both, or as a third something. It is their unity. It is both reality and thought: it is existing thought, or reality knowing itself and existing through its knowledge of self; it is self-consciousness."¹

Here Professor Jones has uttered the last word of his philosophy and of all the philosophy which seeks to interpret the teaching of Hegel. "Self-consciousness," he repeats, "is the key to all the problems of nature."² But this last word is itself a problem. What is this Self, thus conscious of itself, and forming in itself the unity of reality and thought? Where is it conscious of itself, in the individual, or in the race? Or is it a Self, other than the innumerable Selves of humanity? And if so, what relation subsists between it and them? Ought we not to have from the point of view of Hegelianism a thorough-going account of what a Self or of what Personality is? These are questions to which no doubt Professor Jones has a satisfactory answer. But he has not stated it in this book, and accordingly, I submit, the value of his vindication of idealism even as a doctrine of knowledge is distinctly diminished.

It is, however, in the ethical and religious applications of the idea that the difficulty is most keenly felt. Idealism undertakes to show that, as in the sphere of knowledge, there is no external reality impenetrable by the central principle of self-consciousness, so in the sphere of morality there is no evil which is not subdued and transmuted by this same victorious principle. Browning achieved this result by bidding defiance to thought, and making his ultimate appeal to feeling. But such an escape from the difficulty is not open to Professor Jones, holding as he does that "knowledge does not fail." His idealism must be complete even in face of the evil which darkens human life and perplexes the minds of men. The chapter in which he deals with this question, entitled "Optimism and Ethics," is the most important in the whole book. So close is the reasoning, so subtle is the thought, that it is difficult to state in short compass his doctrine without doing it injustice.

Man's emergence from a merely instinctive life is accompanied by the recognition and condemnation of evil and failure in himself, and the world in which he dwells, and to which he is inextricably tied. Often the denunciation

¹ Pp. 295, 296.² P. 211.

waxes fierce and despairing. Here, for instance, Carlyle stopped and confronted things as they are with a continual conception of what they ought to be, yet never are. But the question at once arises, Whence comes this "ought to be"? In name of what are self and the world so utterly condemned? Plainly, our ability to condemn is grounded on our possession of an ideal. By this moral ideal we condemn the stage at which we are, and from it rise to another which more nearly corresponds to the ideal, which, in turn, falls short, and forms the starting point for new advance. The ideal, accordingly, is the real and the eternal. The actual is the phenomenal and the transient. The ideal is for ever encroaching on the actual, taking it into itself, and transforming it into its own likeness. The ideal is, therefore, more than an idea which good men entertain. It is more even than a *true* idea. "It is an idea which has causative force in it. It supplies motives; it is an incentive to action; and, though in one sense a thing of the future, it is also the actual spring and source of present activity." . . . A man's "true life lies in the realization of his ideal, and his advance towards it is his coming to himself. Only in attaining to it does he attain reality, and the only realization possible for him in the present is just the consciousness of the potency of the ideal. To him to live is to realize his ideal. It is a power that irks till it finds expression in moral habits that accord with its nature, i.e., till the spirit has, out of its environment, created a body adequate to itself"¹ A doubt may, indeed, arise as to whether this ideal, which is thus striving for realization, will ever attain it. The answer is that the ideal carries with it its own guarantee. Wherever it is recognized, there it is, a present reality, a possession which is the earnest of unfailing attainment. Moral development, all human history, which also includes the life of nature, is the self-manifestation of the ideal. It is God "lifting man up to Himself,"² while, at the same time, it is man's own moral endeavour, so that we can no longer abstractly separate God and man. God and man meet in the unity of spiritual being. This conception "of the identity of the human and divine" Professor Jones declares to be "a perfectly familiar Christian idea";³ and contrasts "the sublime boldness of the Nazarene Teacher" in proclaiming it, with the unwise shrinking of both theology and philosophy, which "set up prudential differences between God and man—differences not of degree only, but of nature."⁴

In all this there is so much so beautiful, so true, and so inspiring, and it is all stated and illustrated with such power and persuasiveness, that we are reluctant to take exception to anything. None the less, difficulties do remain, and these we would state, less as objections to idealism than as points upon which we desire from Professor Jones further elucidation.

In the first place, we have an uneasy sense that the question of evil has not been thoroughly disposed of. Evil exists, it would seem, to be disposed of. The ideal manifests itself in the continual conquest and

¹ Pp. 134, 135.

² P. 150

³ P. 143.

⁴ P. 151.

transmutation of evil. Moral progress consists in a constant recoil from evil and rise above it. But progress can never end. Life lies in development. Are we driven to say, therefore, that evil is necessary as a condition of the self-manifestation of the ideal? But as soon as we say that evil is a necessity, however much we may qualify or explain the statement, the dream of optimism is at an end. It is, no doubt, true that a man may advance morally in spite of evil, nay, that in his battle with evil he may attain to very excellent virtue. But to maintain and prove this, though it be to do much to lighten up the gloom of human life, is not to vindicate an optimistic view of the world; while, to take a different line of argument, and to maintain that man grows, not merely in spite of, but because of, evil, and to hold that evil is necessary as a stage in growth, is to make optimism impossible. So long as evil is conceived as entering into the order and constitution of the universe, it is impossible to claim the victory for the Ideal. Growth that is for ever accompanied by the shadow of evil lies under the ban of unending weariness. In truth, under such conditions, reality would lie in the grim fact of evil; while progress would be a mere play of individual fancy. Grief and pain and bitter tears, the long agony of unnumbered centuries of human history, the inarticulate cry of nature groaning for deliverance, are not to be exorcised by a formula. So far from being comforted in view of universal misery by the thought that all this is necessary as a stage in the evolution of the Ideal, we shall have hope only when we can reach a reasoned conviction that it is *not* necessary, that it is due to a cause which is removable, and that therefore we may wait in confidence for a day when it shall cease to be.

In the second place, the difficulty which emerged even in the doctrine of knowledge recurs with double force. What is this Ideal, which Professor Jones also names the Infinite, and in impassioned phrase even designates as God? Is it personal? And this brings us to the question which, more than any other in the present position of ethical investigation, calls for discussion, What is personality?

The nearest approach to an explanation which we get in this book, or, indeed, so far as I am aware, in any recent literature of this school, is the use of the term self-consciousness. All reality is relative to self-consciousness. Self-consciousness is the key to all moral and intellectual problems. Self-consciousness, no doubt, belongs to the notion of personality. But is it an equation for it, so that we can afford to neglect the question of whether the Ideal be personal or impersonal? It seems to me that we cannot. There is more in personality than Self-consciousness: there is purpose. If, then, we have to deal with purpose, the moral problem takes a different form from that in which Professor Jones expresses it, and Idealism requires to be re-stated.

But, in the meantime, waving this question of personal or impersonal, and confining ourselves to the idea of self-consciousness, there still remains a difficulty. This is the consciousness, if we are following the thought

aright, of a universal self. Where, then, is this self, which is the Ideal or God, conscious of itself? Man is conscious of the Ideal in responsible action. Are we then to identify this consciousness of the Ideal with the self-consciousness of the Ideal, so that we are to say that God is conscious of Himself in the individual's consciousness of the Ideal? Does God come to consciousness of Himself in man, and is this His only self-consciousness? Is this what is meant by the phrase, which Professor Jones so delights in, the Ideal or the Infinite returning to itself, and God returning to Himself?¹ Then, I submit, we have not yet emerged from the charmed circle of individualism. It is the individual who is conscious of the Ideal, and by the Ideal is spurred to moral achievement. The Ideal is mighty to the salvation of the individual, and of the individual only. Within the individual consciousness we find no assurance of a universal omnipotence of the Ideal. It is mighty to secure his advance. It may be mighty to secure the advance of other individuals. But of the world outside, nothing can be said. Where the individual is conscious of the Ideal, there is light. Beyond is impenetrable darkness. This is not optimism. It may be unphilosophical, yet it seems inevitable to go further, and ask if it be after all certain that the consciousness of the Ideal does absolutely secure moral achievement? It was no ignoble character which exclaimed in utter despair of self, "The good that I would I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do. . . . O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" And what shall be said of the ignoble, the base, the depraved, the heirs of generations of crime? How shall we deal with them? Shall we say to them, "Awake to your Ideal! Realize it!"? It needs a Christ to say to those who are already putrescent in moral corruption, "Come forth." If there be nothing in the moral tragedy of human life, but the individual's consciousness of the Ideal, the highest result conceivable is a few unique souls living nobly, but after all unsuccessfully, while the vast majority lie in the unbroken bondage of evil.

But we may have mistaken the Idealism which Professor Jones expounds. It may mean, as it seems to me, its own line of proof would bring it to demonstrate, that the Self, to which all reality is relative, which is the unity of thought and existence, is self-conscious, not in individuals or in the evolution of human life, but in itself, self-conscious and self-determining in and through and above all the manifold detail which makes up the world of human experience. We would then have to conceive that which makes experience possible, the truth of all knowledge, the goodness of all action, the ground of all reality, as God, Whom we must describe as Personal, even

¹ Cf. pp. 75, 138, 142, 143, 149, 211, 219, 304. I trust I am not captious in asking such questions. I find so keen a critic as Professor Iverach making the same demand, and adding, "We have sought with all diligence to find out Professor Green's meaning; but neither from him, nor from any who agree with him, can we find any answer to this question. Is God anything in Himself? Is there a divine centre of thought, activity, blessedness; and is there an existence of God for Himself?"—*Expository Times*, January, 1893.

though we cannot translate the fulness of that idea, but at least as more than thought, or a thought process, and more even than universal self-consciousness.

Whether this be the case or not, and even if philosophical idealism never demonstrates such a conception, it is fundamentally the Christian position. I conclude, therefore, at the risk of error through extreme abbreviation, by noting certain points which are involved in this conception of the personality of God, and which Christian experience must ever oppose to any philosophy which denies it.

1. The Moral Problem. This lies in the relation between the individual and that Personal God of whose existence and of whose claim upon him he becomes aware as he passes from the life of mere instinct to that of responsible action. Experience combines these two positions: (1) That man ought to be at one with God, his will surrendered to the Divine will, acting in harmony with it, at its bidding, and in its strength. (2) That, in point of fact, this is not the case, that there is antagonism where there should be union, revolt where there ought to be the gladness of perfect harmony. Evil is constituted by this antagonism. As it appears, not merely in direct violation of law on the part of individuals, but in the incalculable sufferings of mankind in general, and even in the pain of nature, it is everywhere rooted in this fact of sin. Evil is not a necessity of progress. It is the crime of man which has involved the world in its disaster. Herein lies at once the gloom and the glory of Christianity. It teaches man to look at the grief of the world, not with philosophic calm as a necessary stage in a movement to perfection, but with reproach and shame as the consequence and illustration of his own transgression. But it teaches him also to look at it with wonder and hope, for it proclaims to him the removableness of his transgression, and therewith also the curableness of the world's hurt.

2. The Solution. What is wanted, therefore, in one word, is reconciliation. Christianity is summed up in the declaration that this *has taken place*. It is well to note carefully the contents of Christian experience in this connection. Professor Jones gives an eloquent description of contrition. "To become morally awakened is to become conscious of the vanity and nothingness of the past life, as confronted with the new ideal implied in it. The past life is something to be cast aside as false show, just because the self that experienced it was not realized in it. It is for this reason that the moral agent sets himself against it, and desires to annihilate all its claims upon him by undergoing its punishment, and drinking to the dregs its cup of bitterness."¹ Confronted not with an abstract ideal, but with the Personal God manifest in Christ, the soul knows more than this. Entering into the depths of its demerit, the soul finds an overwhelming conviction of guilt, but in the same moment finds the burden lifted away, borne by One who, in the bearing of it, was the Man of Sorrows, but who, for the joy of bearing it, and destroying it, endured the Cross, and despised the shame. Sin, there-

¹ P. 135.

fore, not as the breach of some specific law involving specific consequences for the individual, but sin as antagonism to God, the sin of humanity in which the world has been involved, has been atoned, and the reconciliation has been effected through the eternal purpose of God fulfilled by His Son. We cannot insist too strongly on the application of this Gospel of reconciliation to the individual sinner. But we ought never to lose sight of the cosmical significance of Christ's person, and the cosmical reference of His work. Christianity has hope of the world, and confronts its misery without blanching at the fearful sight, because evil has been defeated once for all in His Cross.

3. The Individual Life. The command and the promise addressed by Christianity to the individual, therefore, is that he abandon that position of antagonism toward God which is sin and death, and make surrender of himself to God in Christ. His will is his by the constitution of his nature, but he finds freedom and life only when he has made it Christ's. So doing, he lives in personal union with Christ. To him to live is Christ. Professor Jones remarks that "the identity" of the human and Divine is "a perfectly familiar Christian idea." Again, he defines religion as the "conscious identification of the self with One who is known to fulfil its needs and satisfy its aspirations";¹ and he speaks of love as the "conscious identification of the self" with its object. I would be far from taking needless exception to a mere phrase. Yet I cannot think that "identity" and "identification" fairly express the Christian idea of the highest and nearest relation between man and God. The New Testament abounds in the most confident assertions, and even the most startling statements, of the intimate relationship which faith produces between the believer and Christ; but such descriptions, even at their utmost height of passion, always hold fast by the personality both of the individual and of Christ. "Yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." Paul is himself, even in the moment of his deepest surrender, even when Christ most fully occupies him. The result is the union of two persons, not the suppression or absorption of one of them; not a third thing, call it an identity or a universal self, in which both are lost. Union to a personal God, so far from discrediting or weakening human personality, does rather for the first time justify and ennoble it. A man is himself, his true, best self, strong for the discharge of every function of worthy living, when he has yielded himself to God. The self, of which he had hitherto been proud, and which had been the ruling principle of his life, was false, unreal. Now, at last, he has reached the truth and completeness of personal being.

The man thus one with Christ has taken the side of triumphant goodness. This means two things, which are the double aspect of one experience. 1. The individual is justified by this goodness. His moral worth is to be estimated, not by his present attainment, but in terms of that righteousness

¹ P. 324.

which has rescued him from despair. No doctrine is more difficult to define than this of justification by faith, and none has suffered more severely at the hands of misnamed orthodox theologians. Yet none is more vital to Christian faith, and to the energy and progressiveness of Christian life. 2. The individual becomes the servant of this goodness. Professor Jones speaks much of realizing the ideal, and of growth through conflict with evil. From quite different quarters we hear much of holiness and of the deepening of spiritual life. We can never hear too much of one or other. But we ought never to forget that perfection of character is never attainable save through fulness of service. The Christian enters through faith on a redemptive vocation. Before him is a world whose conspicuous feature is suffering, physical and spiritual, whose hidden wound, cause of all other hurt, is sin. It is laid on him, by the fact of his own deliverance, to labour for the rescue of others. In that life-long task he welcomes all who will lend a helping hand. Their faith may not be clear, and may even be warped into denial, but in so far as they reduce the weight of human misery, even in the lowest most physical degree, they are doing Christ's work in the world, and are on the way, the only certain way, to find Him. For himself, the Christian does not claim to see the victory of the Good achieved in every detail. The mass of unconquered evil in the world is overwhelming. If measured in terms of the mere understanding, and compared with any resources now in operation to defeat it, it would seem indeed invincible. Optimism on such plane of argument is impossible. Optimism as a philosophical doctrine, the Christian hope as the spring of all redemptive labour, rests for justification and power upon the fact that Christ has won the victory. Apart from a Person and an Event in whom and by which the problem of reconciliation has been wrought out and solved, Idealism must hang in the air, a dream and a speculation, unsatisfactory as a philosophy of the universe, and powerless as a spring of action.

CURRENT AMERICAN THOUGHT.

HOMILETIC ASPECTS OF THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD. By CHARLES A. SALMOND, Edinburgh (*The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*).—It will be found, on examination of the Scriptures, that we may properly distinguish, 1. God's Fatherhood of *Christ as God*; 2. His Fatherhood of *man as man*; 3. His Fatherhood of *Christ as man*; and 4. His Fatherhood of *man as Christ's*.

1. There is a Fatherhood of God apart from the existence of men altogether, or of any of the creatures God has made. We refer to the intimate and endearing relation in which the First Person of the Godhead has stood to the Second throughout all eternity—God's Fatherhood of Christ as God. It is known as the eternal sonship of Christ. The knowledge is indeed too great for us; all that can be said is,

that there is a sense in which God is the Father of Christ, which can apply to none other than to Him who is spoken of in Scripture as the only-begotten Son. It is more possible for us to understand, 2. God's Fatherhood of *man as man*—in virtue of which all men may, in a true sense, be spoken of as sons of God. This truth is specially liable to perversion, and one popular perversion has assumed a quasi-philosophic guise, as in the case of the Maurice School, which presses into the service of its theory the Incarnation of the Son of God, to this effect, that "Christ being one with every man, all mankind are in Him redeemed, regenerated, justified, and adopted"—"the function of faith being to discern Christ as already one with us, and to recognize His benefits as already fully pertaining to us." Another popular perversion is the sinking of the judicial altogether in the paternal aspect of God. (But the author is hardly fair to thoughtful teachers of this school in saying that they "sink the judicial altogether.") There is unquestionable Scripture ground for affirming that men *as men* may in a true sense be spoken of and addressed as children of God. The grand truth enforced by Jesus in the parable of the Prodigal Son, manifestly is the great love that is in God's heart for sinful men, and the yearning with which He still follows them, even in their course of guilty abandonment and misery. For—and this is our present point—the prodigal is still a son—unworthy, indeed, but yet a son. The parable gives us authority for entreating men as poor, wandering, misguided, sinful children of God, to come back to the Father who loves them and longs for their return. God is a loving Father—loving men with a love which Christ's atonement did not procure but rather expressed, on a scale of infinitude whose height, length, depth, and breadth we can never hope to comprehend. It is not, however, on the slender basis of a parable that the doctrine of the general Fatherhood of God is founded. The Bible abounds with supports of it. As deriving his existence from God, as made in His image, as capable of fellowship with Him, as the peculiar object of His delight, it is apparent that man stood to the Creator in a relationship so different from that of the other creatures of His hand that we may most fittingly express it as the relation of a child to a father, on whose bounty he depended, as well as to whose authority he was bound in all things to defer. In the genealogy in Luke iii., Adam is set in the same relation to God as Seth bore to Adam, and Enoch to Seth. From the utterances of heathen writers—including the poet Aratus, whom St. Paul quoted with approbation on Mars' Hill—it might be abundantly shown that the conception of men's relation as the offspring of God has a place even in the systems of natural religion. We have to proclaim this truth, but to take care that false expectations are not founded upon it. We are entitled to insist that so far from the Fatherhood lowering God's authority in any wise, or lessening His claim on our obedience, it brings with it an additional and powerful sanction, to which the filial heart should readily respond.

8. God's Fatherhood of *Christ as man*. Distinguish the eternal sonship of Christ from the human sonship, which rests on the ground of His true and proper manhood. Men are sons; Christ is a man; therefore Christ as man is Son, and, being a perfect man, is a perfect human Son of God. We must, however, avoid any separation of Christ's natures into two distinct persons. We may say that "the Only-Begotten, in respect of His assumed humanity, entered into the relation of man to God."

It is in this Sonship that Christ has come so near to us, humbling Himself to be the human Son of God, without ceasing to be Divine; lifting our nature into an association with His ever-blessed Person which through all eternity it will never lose; stooping to be born of a woman, to be made under the law, that in life and death He

might magnify the law, and redeem us from the prodigalism of fallen nature to the adoption of grace.

4. God's Fatherhood of *man as Christ's*. There is a sonship which belongs to men as men. But there is a far nobler sonship which belongs to men as Christians, when, justified by faith, they are admitted into the family of God, and have a right, not by nature but of grace, to all the privileges of the "household of faith." Men, as begotten, are sons of God; but men, as begotten again, are sons of God in a far loftier sense—sons, not in name and origin only, but in lineaments of character and conduct. Every man who enjoys the blessings of this relationship of grace is directly indebted to the Lord Jesus Christ. It was the grand object of His mission to earth, to bring many sons with Him to glory. "As many as received him, to them gave he the right to *become* sons of God, even to them that believe on his name." It is an important part of the preacher's work to give a clear account of the *origin*, the *marks*, and the *dignity* of this heavenly sonship. Its origin in spiritual regeneration; its marks in Christ-likeness of character; its dignity in the heritage it involves. Whether we view the sonship of believers on the side of its duties, or on the side of its privileges and prospects, there is for the homilist an endless variety of themes, for exhortation, rebuke, incitement, comfort, suggested by the Fatherhood of God.

THE DISHONESTY OF HERESY. By Professor JACOB COOPER, D.C.L., Rutgers College (*The Reformed Quarterly Review*).—If it were with external foes alone that the Church had to fight, the battle would be short and the victory decisive. But since so many depart from the faith they once professed, the world doubts whether any doctrine be sound which can be so caricatured by its pretended followers. It is not the doctrines of the Bible as they unfold themselves to fair-minded readers, or as the Church embodies them in her confessions, which presents so many vulnerable points, but the interpretations put upon these doctrines by their pledged defenders when seeking to justify their own unfaithfulness. Each age of the Church has its special trials from false brethren. Heresy, like the plague, makes its appearance whenever the air is impure, and spreads among those who have not the strength to resist its attack. The present disease is in the form of Higher Criticism, which aims to prove that the Holy Scriptures are not inerrant; and therefore the Church has no infallible guide, and her creeds no divine warrant for their existence.

The existence of a body of believers involves the idea of a common belief expressed in an intelligible formula of doctrine. For if there be a common faith, there must also be a common understanding of its substance; and this must be expressed in precise unambiguous words inwrought into a harmonious system. Hence the existence of a creed is a prime necessity, without which there can be no visible Church. Faith implies something upon which the soul rests for support; and this involves knowledge by which it apprehends the fundamental truths which constitute that support, and this knowledge requires intelligible communication by words or their equivalents. A man may undoubtedly be a Christian though he have but an obscure idea of the truths of revelation; but this does not prove the desirableness of being an ignorant believer. Without a creed, or its equivalent, there could be no Church, no united body of believers, no concerted action, and hence no progress in evangelizing the world. Assuming that a creed is a necessity to a Church, what are the obligations of those who have accepted it? No man can be forced to believe that which his conscience and judgment disapprove, and if he could there would be no virtue in the act. The catechumen owes it to himself to master

clearly every part of the doctrinal basis on which his faith is to rest, and cannot, therefore, unless false to his conscience, promise obedience to that which his reason does not grasp. It is not meant that he fathom all the mysteries of faith, but that he apprehend the import of the words in their common acceptation. If this obligation rests on the ordinary private believer, how much more does it rest on him who would be the teacher of others?

There are three considerations which must be weighed most carefully by that man who has promised allegiance to a creed, and finds himself afterwards undergoing a change of belief. 1. Until his mind is fully satisfied that his previous position was wrong, he is bound, in duty to his brethren as well as to himself, not to teach anything contrary to the accepted faith. 2. After he is convinced that his former views were erroneous, he cannot assail them from the vantage ground of official position in that Church he has now virtually abandoned and condemned. 3. When he feels compelled to quit that communion which he voluntarily sought, and whose peace and prosperity he promised before God to study, he is under the most solemn obligations to go out in such a way as to do the least possible harm to that body he forsakes. Doubt is often highly commended as the expression of honest independence; but this proceeds from an erroneous view of the nature of Revelation. It does not proceed from genuine perplexity so much as from unwillingness to endure the care necessary to arrive at clear conceptions, or refusal to submit to the truth when it crosses our inclinations. The reason is convinced, but the heart is hostile. It is no mark of superior wisdom or sanctity that a man should be always uncertain about his belief. All Christians may have doubts, but the honest ones are nearly always subjective. Heretical doubts arise from the desire to escape from the teachings of revelation, rather than uncertainty about what they really are. Hence, when the unstable man cuts loose from the safe moorings of a fixed faith, he measures the articles of the creed by his own desires, and rejects all that will not conform to the standard.

Notwithstanding the frequent and flagrant dishonesty of those who reject a creed they once professed, let us admit the case where honest doubts do arise in the mind of a man who has promised to teach the doctrines of the Church. What is his duty as a high-toned Christian under these circumstances? Certainly he should be very careful not to start doubts in the minds of others; and honour forbids his remaining in official association with the Church whose creed he cannot teach. A conscious change of views should be followed by a voluntary withdrawal from the Church which holds them. And he should go out with as little stir as possible, and with no effort to carry a following with him.

The essential nature of heresy can be, in every case, illustrated by its effects. For a time the martyr who has been excommunicated is the idol of a few, who cling to him because of personal friendship; of those who are attracted by his learning and eloquence; or, more than all, follow him because they hate what they term uncharitable orthodoxy. But the end comes soon. Relieved from all the salutary restraints thrown around him by associating with such as hold the truth, embittered by fancied wrongs, or puffed up by the idea of becoming a great reformer, the wandering star recedes farther and farther from the sun, until at last he is lost in the night of hopeless unbelief.

[Readers of this article will probably feel how much has to be said on the other side, and how much might wisely have been said otherwise.—Ed.]

THE BENEFITS OF TRUE SCEPTICISM. By C. A. LITTLE, ESQ., Hagerstown, M.D. (*The Reformed Quarterly Review*).—Whether we accept the Biblical account

of the origin of man, and the first peopling of the earth, literally or not, does not matter. We are certain that the original man was not a being of the very highest order as compared with the man of to-day. He soon, however, began to develop, and evolve, and ere long, started out in pursuit of knowledge, putting in motion the onward march of human intellect, that has continued unceasingly from that day to this, and that will continue until the end of time.

Man's first fight was with the material world surrounding him. His life was one hard battle against nature and her severities, and his own existence depended upon the question whether he should subdue her, or be overcome by her. This sort of life tended to develop only one side of man's intellect, viz., that sort of intelligence which enabled him to perform the physical labours that constantly confronted him, and to invent and put into use the best methods for accomplishing these ends. A better way of doing a certain thing than the method in use prior to that time, reasoned out or discovered by accident and then adopted, marked one step of advance and progress in his condition, and helped to lay the foundation for the enormous strides he was destined to make in future generations. But man could not stop here; soon his mental faculties, impelled by the innate desire for knowledge, began to take wings, as it were, and soar away from the material things around him, and to inquire into causes that produced certain results. The inquiry once started could not be stopped until it had solved the problem. Only after centuries of struggle and strife, came the full dawn of the intellectual day, dispelling the mists of the long dark night of ignorance, and making the world appear as new-born under the effulgent light of established truth. Since then the progress has been rapid.

In the religious side of man, too, there has been from the beginning a constant growth and advancement, but this was different in character from the growth and advancement on the material or physical side of his life. For he was created a religious being, and he could never, no matter how hard he tried, get away from the religious principles put into him, any more than he could get away from his own identity. In this long history of the world's development, in this long story of the world's fight for knowledge and truth in all departments, the benefits of scepticism have been felt. Something had to be known before it could be doubted, there had to be something on which the sceptic could work.

What is meant by True Scepticism? Certainly not such doubt as was taught by the ancients, who doubted all things, believed that truth was unattainable, and therefore gave up the pursuit of it. One ancient sceptic started the three following propositions: 1. Nothing exists; 2. If anything existed it would be unknowable; 3. If anything existed and were knowable, the knowledge of it could not be communicated. A sceptic is properly one who *doubts, hesitates*, and considers. One who is so careful in his observations, as indicated by the word itself, that he puts his hands over his eyes to shade them in order that he may direct his sight upon the object he is viewing without danger of any interference from the outside. He is one who does not take anything for granted, but investigates for himself, and will get to the bottom of things. To those who have doubted only when they for some reason feared that they had not attained the truth, we are indebted for the world's progress and improvement. It has been their mission to overthrow that which was old, and that which they demonstrated was false, and to establish in its stead that which was new and true, or that which they, at the time, believed to be true. Often what seemed to be an established truth, having stood the test of centuries according to the lights of the period, has been ruthlessly upturned by some one who had at first

doubted the supposed truth, whose doubts led to long and careful investigation, and whose investigations led to conviction of the falsity of the theory.

Men think in schools, and individuals rarely get free from the bondage of the school to which they belong. Men's minds are dominated by master minds. To the independent, master minds the world is indebted for its high state of civilization to-day. As we are able to appreciate the tendency of men to follow each other in thought, in act, and in deed, so can we appreciate the courage of those men who have from time to time broken away from generally-accepted theories and started out on new lines. Doubt, or true scepticism, has been the strong incentive to many a genius. Many of these sceptics saw far into the future. They attacked what they saw wrong in the past, and endeavoured to correct it. This may be illustrated by the introduction of the Arabic system of notation, by the Copernican Theory, and by the discovery of America by Columbus. Over and over again scientists have been persecuted and condemned because of the supposed falsity of their teachings. Fortunately the day has come, to some religionists at least, when the revelations of science are hailed with delight, when scientific truth instead of controverting the truths of the Bible, is looked upon as one of the most conclusive witnesses on its behalf. The more we know of nature and her laws, the higher is our conception of Him who is its author, and who governs it and controls it.

Where do we of to-day stand with reference to the many new theories that are being advanced, and the many new ideas that are being promulgated? We need not question the truth of the fundamental principles of Christianity. But around these and based upon them has grown up the Science of Theology—the work of man—or rather the theories of man respecting these principles and their application. No one will attempt to set up the theory that all theology is right and true, or that any one system of theology is *all* right and true. Why should not the teachings of the Church change with reference to those things that are not essential? Why should not the Science of Theology change as those sciences pertaining to man's secular life? True Scepticism has done untold good; and even scepticism that has not been honest has been used for good in an indirect way. A false teacher never permanently harms the Church. He brings forth defenders.

THE BRUTE-SOUL. By Right Rev. FRANCIS SILAS CHATARD, D.D. (*The Catholic World*).—Matter does not *move* unless a force moves it. Chemical action produces movement in particles and new combinations. In these changes heat, and electricity, and light sometimes also, are evolved. Endosmosis and exosmosis, absorption and exhalation, are constantly going on, and in a regular manner, with fixed law. The same can be said of expansion and contraction. And all these movements "may be reduced to a push or a pull in a straight line": and, should there be an apparent contradiction from objects moving in a curve, this is from a contrast of forces, the resultant being the diagonal.

When we come to organic matter, we begin to find what passes our apprehension: we recognize the existence and the application of the laws of matter, but there is something more than that. There is something which moves matter, and is a principle of movement; it exists in the vegetable, in the animal, in man; it is self-moving. What is this something? It is a simple essence, which, not being matter, is bound down to matter, and has its sphere limited to matter, taking it up, appropriating and developing it, according to the tendency given by its Author. Is this simple essence in any sense material? It is sometimes said, "The brute-soul is material." St. Thomas Aquinas says, "Everything whose being is in matter must be material." Hence, as the soul of the brute has its being in matter, he styles

it material; moreover, as its actions show what it is, and those actions are material, it is material too. But St. Thomas does not mean to teach that the soul of the brute is composed of matter; indeed, he says distinctly it is *not*. He holds, however, to the idea of material in the sense (1) of the soul of the brute being educed from the potentiality or possibility of matter; (2) of its action being bound down to matter and inseparable from it; (3) of its ceasing to be when the body it animated is destroyed.

But what is to be understood by the phrase "it is educed from the potentiality of matter"? We must recall the definition of creation given by the scholastics. It is an act by which something comes into being from nothing of itself, something is made out of nothing, nor did the subject, in which it is, previously exist—*ex nihilo sui et subjecti*. This, of course, requires direct actual exercise of Divine power, and is called properly creation. But where the subject, in which the soul is to be, previously exists, *i.e.*, matter, determining the action of the soul which comes into being only for it, the act by which this brute-soul is, has not the name of creation.

But matter cannot give what it has not—simplicity, self-movement, life; it is inert. If anything exists having simplicity, movement, life, or power to produce a living organism, it must come from the act of the Creator, willing its existence. In our judgment it is possible to conceive a mode of coming into existence which to some extent justifies a Christian in holding to the theory of evolution in a modified sense; the manner in which it is understood by Darwin, and by the materialistic and pantheistic schools of to-day being excluded. St. Augustine gives a theory of the potentiality of matter. In the beginning God created the spiritual and the material. That act gave to matter a power to develop the germs of everything that is material. That we can admit. But the theory does not explain how this potentiality of matter becomes actual. Is it by an inherent efficacy of matter, or is it by the placing in relation with matter a principle which causes matter to take on peculiar development? Augustine would surely have said, had he lived in our day, matter cannot produce or cause spirit to exist; for it cannot give what it has not. But he would go on to say, matter by general laws having by successive stages reached certain conditions adapted to animal life—the anima, the spirit, or the soul, by the antecedent act of the Creator, calling spirit into being from the beginning, sprang into existence from nothing, to act in matter, to take it up, to develop it, to be its form, the substantial form by which it is what it is—an insect, a reptile, a fish, a bird, or a man—each requiring its own substantial form, distinct and differing from the rest.

This form is not of matter. There is possibility of its existence in matter. In this sense the theory of evolution can be tolerated. God, having brought matter to such perfection as to render animal life possible, directly calls into being the soul which can take up and develop this perfected matter, so that the existence of such form or soul seems to depend on and follow from the condition of matter, while in reality, antecedently, it was directly willed by God, and called into being by Him from nothing, *ex nihilo sui*. This theory or explanation, it will be seen, denies the passage of one species into another. And this has never been proved. It will be time enough to deal with the difficulty created by such a fact when it is proved to be a fact.

HOW WERE THE FOUR GOSPELS COMPOSED? By W. G. T. SHEDD, New York (*The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*).—Two answers are given to this question. The first and oldest, that they were composed by the four authors whose names they bear, who derived their information, two of them immediately, and two of them mediately, from personal intercourse with Jesus Christ during His ministry on earth.

The second and latest, that the four Gospels had an *ecclesiastical* origin. They sprang from oral traditions concerning Christ that were current among the first Christian brotherhood, and were gradually collected and combined by persons who are unknown. What objections can be urged against this later view. (1). It was not the view adopted by the Ancient Church, which was nearest in time to the composition of the Gospels. That Ancient Church, with an unanimity even greater, perhaps, than upon any of the purely dogmatic questions that arose among them, believed that the Gospels had an *apostolical* origin, not an ecclesiastical. Eusebius first collected the evidence of this fact, and it has been variously collected and re-stated since then. The Apostolic Fathers knew nothing of a canonical and commonly accepted life of Christ composed of materials gathered from oral legends current in the Early Church. The apocryphal gospels, which were constructed in this way, they carefully distinguished from the canonical, and rejected as not authoritative for the Church. Neither do the sceptical and heretical writers of the first four centuries take any different view of the origin of the Gospels. They ascribe them to the four Evangelists. The efforts made to invalidate this united opinion of the Ancient Church have ended in utter failure.

(2). The Gospels do not wear the appearance of having been composed of legendary materials, put together by a number of collectors and editors. They read like the production of individual authors. Each Gospel has its own marked and striking characteristics, indicative of an individual mind.

(8). The Gospels are represented by their authors as *remembered* by themselves, not as collected and received from others. See John ii. 22; xiv. 26; comp. John xii. 16; xv. 20; xvi. 4; Luke xxiv. 6; Acts xi. 16; 2 Peter i. 16; Gal. i. 11, 12. The recollection by the Twelve Apostles did not include all things said and done by our Lord, but it did include (a) the events that were cardinal points in the Redeemer's life and career; (b) those miracles that were connected with these events, and (c) the most important of His discourses. In selecting, digesting, and arranging the materials, the four Evangelists who acted for "the Twelve" were under the inspiration of the same Holy Spirit who had been promised to the Apostles collectively by their Divine Lord, John xiv. 26. This Spirit does not make *facsimiles*.

(4). The origin of the Gospels is not to be explained by the Church, but the origin of the Church by the Gospels. The preaching of the apostles made the first Christian brotherhood; they could not, therefore, have obtained the matter of their preaching from the brotherhood. It is in the highest degree improbable that those twelve divinely inspired and authorized apostles, upon whose accurate account of Jesus of Nazareth the founding, progress, and perpetuity of the Christian religion, and the eternal salvation of vast multitudes of human beings, absolutely depended, would have left that account to be prepared at haphazard by their converts, who not only had no inspiration or authority for the work, but who had not "companied" with Christ in the days of His flesh, and could not therefore draw from their recollections, and who as imperfectly sanctified Christians were full of ignorance, and liable to misconception, both of Christ and Christianity.

(5). The narrative of the life of Christ required *inspiration* in order to its preparation, and inspiration was confined to the apostolic college. Both the memory and the judgment of the biographers required supernatural influence and direction. But Dr. Shedd is on disputable ground when he claims inspiration for the evangelists, seeing that neither Mark nor Luke have place among the Twelve.

(6). The composition of the Gospels would naturally have been prior to that of the Epistles, because they were more needed in founding and extending the Christian

Church among the nations. The first Christian brotherhood would have needed the Synoptist's account of the life of Christ more than it would St. Paul's abstruse and analytical enunciation of the Christian system in his Epistle to the Romans. But the date of the Epistle is generally fixed as A.D. 58. It was plainly important that the Gospels should be composed before the death of the apostles should make it impossible. The apostles would naturally provide for the necessities of the Church after their departure. Dr. Shedd thinks it is certain that the apostolic college, by the instrumentality of a part of their number, prepared that three-fold synoptical account of our Lord which for nearly twenty centuries has been ascribed to Matthew, Mark-Peter, and Luke-Paul. Eusebius dates Matthew's Gospel, A.D. 41.

The unproven assumptions and almost innumerable hypotheses which have characterized German schools of Biblical criticism since the time of Semler, are due to the substitution of the ecclesiastical origin of the Gospels for the apostolic. There is indeed a difference in spirit and intention between the rationalistic and the evangelical critics who adopt this theory; but the fatal error of deriving the life of Christ from unauthorized, uninspired, and largely unknown sources, cleaves to both alike, so that the actual influence of the "evangelical" critic of this class is unsettling upon the belief of the Church, though less so than that of the rationalist. There will be no improvement in this class of exegetes, until there is a return to the apostolical origin of the Gospels.

EVOLUTION AND CHRISTIAN ETHICS. By Rev. T. G. APPLE, D.D., LL.D. (*The Reformed Quarterly Review*).—The sub-title of this article is "Modern Pessimism and Optimism." "The majority of us profess neither pessimism nor optimism. Most men are agreed that the proportion of good and evil in life may be very sensibly affected by human action. The propounders of what are called the 'ethics of evolution,' when the 'evolution of ethics' would usually better express the object of their speculations, adduce a number of more or less interesting facts, and more or less sound arguments, in favour of the origin of the moral sentiments, in the same way as other natural phenomena, by a process of evolution. There is little doubt that they are on the right track, but as the immoral sentiments have no less been evolved, there is, so far, as much natural sanction for the one as the other. Cosmic evolution may teach us how the good and the evil tendencies of man may have come about; but in itself, it is incompetent to furnish any better reason why what we call good is preferable to what we call evil than we had before. It is also a fallacy to assume that because, on the whole, animals and plants have advanced in perfection of organization by means of the struggle for existence, and the consequent survival of the 'fittest,' therefore men in society, men as ethical beings, must look to the same process to help them toward perfection. 'Fittest' must not be confounded with 'best.' The cosmic process has no sort of relation to moral ends, and the imitation of it by man is inconsistent with the first principles of ethics. The ethical progress of society depends on combating the cosmic process. In every family, in every polity that has been established, the cosmic process in man has been restrained and otherwise modified by law and custom: in surrounding nature it has been similarly influenced by the art of the shepherd, the agriculturist, the artisan. And the interference has increased as civilization has advanced. Ethical nature may count upon having to reckon with a tenacious and powerful enemy as long as the world lasts. But if we may permit ourselves a larger hope of abatement of the essential evil of the world than was possible to those who, in the infancy of exact knowledge, faced the problems of existence more than a score of centuries ago, I deem it an essential

condition of the realization of that hope that we should cast aside the notion that the escape from pain and sorrow is the proper object of life."

The above considerations are taken from Professor Huxley's Lectures on "Ethics and Evolution," as a text on which Dr. Apple appends his remarks. He admits that man's ethical nature is subject to evolution as well as his physical nature. The natural basis for this evolution is to be found in the two forces at work in the unfolding of his moral nature, the idea of Right, which leads to the assertion of the individual, and the idea of Social Integration, which asserts the social principle, or the force of the general in society. The idea of *Right* is intuitive in man, and in its operation it unfolds the doctrine of *Rights* in their concrete form. The assertion of his rights grows out of the independence of the individual, and sets him over against the operation of the social principle, which would otherwise swallow up the individual in the general. The principle of Social Integration on the other hand attracts the individual to society, the general, in the family, the state, &c. Man's moral nature, both in the individual and in society, is subject to evolution from ground forces lodged in his nature. But evolution, by itself, is not able to solve the difficulty of the presence of sin and misery in the world. We see nature developing according to fixed immutable laws, and working out its cosmic problem with unerring certainty, but when we come to man's ethical nature, we meet with a new and different condition. We meet pain and suffering, and not only this, but we see that all suffering is a consequence originally of a violation of law. Man is the author of his own suffering. He has a will to choose the good or the evil. Is sin a necessary condition for the evolution of man's ethical nature? It is said "pain is only a necessary condition for securing health, error is necessary for the discovery and progress of truth, and sin is a necessity for a world where free will or moral freedom exists." But this solution makes God responsible for sin. Evolution staggers when it comes to the problem of moral evil, or the possibility of man's free agency. The only solution of this difficulty from the standpoint of evolution, as usually interpreted, is to deny human freedom, and introduce the principle of Fate. The difficulty would not be so great if it were found that, even with the presence and operation of evil, mankind is surely working out a higher state in which all evil will be overcome, that is, if the natural workings of history were constantly tending only to a higher and better state. In that case sin and suffering would appear as merely conditions for a normal development, and the whole process would be tending constantly to a proper end. But even Professor Huxley is not able to adopt such a theory of optimism.

Can Christianity explain the difficulty, without overthrowing the theory of Evolution? It affirms that sin is a foreign principle, that came in through the free will of intelligent beings: that this disturbing factor is not from God, nor from nature, but, so far as our world is concerned, from man himself. And it teaches that man, in his own strength, has not been able to eliminate this disturbing factor in human life, and that the only power that can do it is the power of a Divine Human Redeemer. In Christ, the God-man, is found the final solution of the mystery of the universe.

Christ taught neither Optimism nor Pessimism, in their extreme sense, and yet He taught both conditionally. He taught the progress and the triumph of the good, but He foretold also the spread of evil. Compare Huxley's sentence, "Cosmic evolution may teach us how the good and evil tendencies of man may have come about; but, in itself, it is incompetent to furnish any better reason why what we call good is preferable to what we call evil than we had before."

It is our judgment that the best work in trying to reconcile Evolution and

Christianity is to be performed along this line of man's ethical nature. In the sphere of natural science the theory of Evolution is generally accepted, with a few slight modifications, but the difficulty is greater in the sphere of Ethics. A sound Philosophical Ethics is still a desideratum. What we have to do is to accept the truth of Evolution. There is a natural basis for the evolution of man's moral nature. Forces or laws are operative there as well as in man's physical nature. What is needed is to let the light of Christianity shine in upon the problem, not to contradict the law of Evolution, but to enable it to reach its right solution. It is a hopeful sign of the times that Christian theologians and scientists are working more and more harmoniously together.

Huxley takes a doubtful, if not pessimistic view of the future. He says, "The theory of Evolution encourages no millennial anticipations. If, for millions of years, our globe has taken the upward road, yet, sometime, the summit will be reached, and the downward route will be commenced." But while Christianity teaches that both the good and the evil continue to develop alongside of each other, and thus sets aside a humanitarian optimism which contradicts all experience and observation, yet it speaks out in undoubted certainty as to the final result. The good will finally triumph, and a new stadium of existence be ushered in from which all sin and suffering shall be eliminated. Let the Evolution theory accept this, and it then may stand. Christianity makes room for it, if we allow that its fundamental scheme enters already into the idea of creation.

Our conclusion is, that Christianity offers the best solution of the ethical problem of man's nature, even as Professor Huxley treats the subject, and if Christianity can make room for the theory of Evolution when rightly explained, and the Evolution theory can make room for Christianity when rightly explained, a large step of progress has been made in the harmonizing of Science and Theology.

GENERATION AND REGENERATION. By Rev. HENRY A. NELSON, D.D. (*The Presbyterian Quarterly*).—The life which we live in the flesh by faith in the Son of God is chiefly revealed to us in Holy Scripture by analogy with the natural life which animates these perishable bodies. The grammatical terms that declare and express the one are employed to reveal the other. A study of some of these terms in their primary, psychical, and in their higher spiritual application and import, is what is here proposed. The terms chiefly dealt with are γεννᾶν and τίκτω, with their derivatives and cognates. Both of these terms relate to the production of human beings, not by creation, but by procreation, the evolution of a race, of which every individual after the first pair is produced, by Divine power, indeed, but with and by means of the co-operation of a pair of human beings. This duality of the manhood, as God made it, is strikingly analogous to the trinity of the Godhead, of which it is the image; and the communication of natural life by the joint potencies of man, male and female, is most fit to be taken, as God in His Word has taken it, to illustrate His own communication of spiritual life. In the New Testament γεννᾶν is ordinarily applied to the masculine human agency in procreation, and is best translated *beget*. The word is, however, sometimes applied to the feminine agency, as in Luke i. 57. τίκτω is distinctively applied to the feminine agency, and, apparently, never to the masculine. But a derivative of this word (τεκνόν) is used to express the relation of the child to either parent.

It is a mistake to reverse the Scripture order, and apply to the agency of God in communicating spiritual life the terms which are proper for the feminine agency in the communication of natural life. Not only so, but of those terms which express the feminine agency, or have taken, for this high use, not a word (*generate*) which

may properly be applied to the whole protracted agency of the mother through the months of gestation, nor a word (conception) which marks the beginning of that agency, but a word (birth) which denotes the completion of that agency, and of the whole process of generating, in the emergence of the offspring from the body of the mother to begin its separate life. The phrases "born again," "born of God," participles of *γεννᾶω*, would be more accurately rendered "begotten" than "born." In 1 Peter i. 3 it is properly translated. The English word "generate" is even better than "beget," and to the use of it the most fastidious cannot object. To *generate* is not only to cause something to begin to be, but to determine of what *kind* (genus) it shall be. And the word *regenerate*, in its application to spirit, is as expressive and as accurate as a word can well be.

The true import of the word *regeneration* has been not a little obscured by the substitution for it of the words *new birth*, and the phrase *born again*. It would be more accurate to say, *begotten* again, *begotten* of God. This more accurate expression would react to produce more accurate thinking. When we speak of *birth*, we advert to an event of deep, tender, solemn interest in our domestic experience, but it is an event of which we are competent witnesses, which presents itself palpably, obtrudes itself irresistibly upon human observation. In our meditative moments, no doubt, we look deeper and higher; we solemnly recognize the invisible spirit that inhabits and energizes them. Then the mystery awes us. Meditating on the mystery of the infant's being in its relation to our own, helps us to accept the attested mysteries of the Godhead without expecting to solve or to fathom them.

"When the theopneustic terms, written by men who 'spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost,' do so evidently refer to that invisible, impalpable, inscrutable work of God wrought in sacred secrecy in the very holy of holies of the Divine Spirit's fleshly temple, how is it that in our discoursing of God's impartation of spiritual life, we have neglected these theopneustic terms, and substituted for them terms properly applicable only to the completed product of that divine fashioning of our imperfect substance, and the bringing it forth to human observation?"

What are the practical uses of the more exact thinking and speaking that have been suggested? (1) It would reclaim for serious and reverent thought that important, mysterious, and marvellous part of our earthly life which our modern excess of refinement practically consigns to irreverent and indelicate thought. (2) It would make our application of these terms of natural generation to spiritual generation more just, instructive, and regulative of our thinking. We should cease to expect the beginning of our spiritual life to be a phenomenon so patent to observation as the sudden emergence of a human babe from the darkness in which it has been so slowly and patiently generated, and we should learn to think of it as analogous rather to the *beginning* of a process which no eye can discern but His who wrote all our members in His book, when as yet there was none of them. (3) It would tend to restore our faith in the reliable efficacy, for spiritual regeneration, of the patient, persistent brooding of wise and faithful pastoral love—a faith which, we fear, is greatly weakened by over-confidence in less quiet, less persistent, more startling, and over-much lauded appliances, the type of which is not the patiently brooding hen, but the patent incubator, from which huge flocks of unmothered chickens are sent forth screaming together. (4) It would tend to a better recognition and more faithful use of the Divine provision for spiritual regeneration of infants. We do not refer to infants dying in infancy. "We speak of the regeneration of infants as God's sweet gift to the parental faith in which they are begotten and born; wholly irrespective of His decree as to the length of their earthly lives—whether a fraction of an hour or the whole of a century. We speak

of that regeneration in infancy, so early that the whole conscious and responsible life is a regenerate life—a life in which there has been no year, no month, no hour of impenitence. We seriously maintain that a better study and use of the terms chiefly considered in this paper, and a better regulation of our thinking by means of them in such more accurate use, would greatly help believing parents to generate, to nurture, and to rear their offspring in a faith which assures their salvation, not as a rescue by conversion from a career of impenitent sin, of long or of short duration, but as a settling of life right toward God and in God from its very beginning. This, we believe, is the true, scriptural, race redemption."

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRIESTHOOD IN ISRAEL AND EGYPT. A COMPARISON. By JAMES HENRY BREASTED (*Biblical World*).—Egyptian history divides into three epochs—the Old, the Middle, and the New Empire. Prof. Erman has shown that this division is illustrated in the language; that of the Old and Middle Empire being sharply distinguished from that of the New. Erman has also helped to establish, in its main features, the ecclesiastical and priestly tendency in these periods. In the Old Empire the priesthood was naturally an office whose duties were exercised by nearly every person of any prominence. Very few memorials of the Old Empire mention any person who had not officiated as priest; and this was in no sense his peculiar calling, for he regularly occupied some office of his town or province as his proper avocation, while the duties of the priesthood were only casual and subordinate. There was, however, a small class distinctively priestly, and at Memphis and Heliopolis there was even a chief priest with his peculiar title. But the priests of this epoch, even these chief priests, wore no costume or insignia of any sort which would indicate their office.

When the Middle Empire has begun, a definite progress is discernible. It seems to keep pace with the tendency toward solar monotheism, which, beginning already in the Middle Empire, made rapid advances in the opening dynasties of the New Empire. No layman, public officer, or prominent citizen ever seems to have held the casual or supplementary office of priest. Laymen might, however, participate in the monthly festal procession of the god. This at least was the case with the jackal-gods *Anubis* and *Wepw'ut* at Siut, and of Osiris at Abydos, and probably elsewhere. The priestly office has become exclusive; to this there is one exception, viz., the prince of a *nomos* still inserts in his long title the antique designation which his fathers wore in the Old Empire, which had then become meaningless. At this time the priests wore a distinguishing costume, consisting simply of the short apron or kilt, which had been the ordinary costume of the Old Empire. The office became hereditary, and thus its exclusiveness was maintained. Rank within the cult, however, was not inherited, and was always within the gift of the king. Siut possessed ten, and Abydos five, regularly installed priests. Their income of dues was insignificant, and barely sufficient for their maintenance. It is not until the New Empire that the tremendous influence, exerted by the popular faith, comes to be the chief element in the culture of this antique people.

Passing into this New Empire, which so suddenly and wondrously developed after the expulsion of the so-called Shepherd Kings, the student of the monuments finds himself ushered into a new world. The old simplicity, of which there were still traces in the Middle Empire, had passed away for ever, and given place to a developed and complex civilization, preserved to us in innumerable remains, bewildering us in their vastness, variety, and extent. Noticeable is the prominent position now occupied by religion and religious rites. The identification of all local gods with the sun, and the resulting tendency to monotheism, was now universal.

The literature of ritual and mythology rapidly grew, especially the ritual of the dead, which already existed as a germ in the Middle Empire (Book of the Dead, ch. xvii.). The priestly class became an exclusive and growing community. Every priest was required to shave his head and keep it uncovered. And now, for the first time, appears a complex gradation of rank within the *personnel* of the sanctuary. Its members were divided into five classes, at the head of which stood the high priest. The laity had no participation in the service, nor even in the festal procession of the god. To meet the demands of the elaborate ritual music was necessary, and this was supplied by bands of women playing the sistrum. All women of rank exercised this function. Among the innumerable temples that dotted the land that of Ammon at Thebes was, for some reason unknown to us, by far the most popular. Especially by the kings was particular favour shown to this sanctuary and its god. By a seemingly very dangerous line of policy, the kings began gradually bringing other priestly communities under the control of the high priest of Ammon, until even the ancient sanctuaries of Heliopolis and Memphis surrendered their titles and authority to him. The natural results of this policy of centralization, and the consequent fostering of so great a rival power in the state, will readily suggest themselves. The power of the Ramessides, the kings of the twentieth dynasty, gradually and surely declined, until the high priest of Ammon, Hrihor, unseated Rameses XII. from the throne, assumed the royal station himself, and became the founder of the priestly twenty-first dynasty. His line lasted for a hundred years, and, as far as domestic policy is concerned, might have continued its supremacy without difficulty. But the attack of the Libyan *Sheshonk*, who formed the next, or twenty-second dynasty, brought the reign of the Priest Kings to a close.

A brief sketch of the line of development of priesthood among the Hebrews will suffice to give a basis for comparison. The narratives of the patriarchal period which the J document in Genesis furnishes, show that among the primitive people there was no priesthood. Every father of a family, by virtue of his position as such, exercised priestly functions, and conducted the simple ceremonies which accompanied the sacrifice in this archaic age. The *history* after the settlement in Canaan shows a course of gradual development toward a distinct exclusiveness. This appears in the Book of Judges. In the body of the book there is no trace of any priestly cult. The instances of sacrifice narrated (Gideon and Manoah) demonstrate quite the contrary. Later, we find at Shiloh an established and hereditary priesthood—the family of Eli. Yet the story of Samuel shows how far this was from being an exclusive community. Possibly Micah furnishes us with the original method of procedure in installing a priest. In the period of the kings, the king appoints his household priest or priests, just as Micah did. Solomon himself seems to have exercised priestly functions. When the kingdom was divided, the northern tribes lived entirely on the old lines. Jeroboam selected priests who were not Levites, but in this he simply exercised his right as head of the tribes and according to custom, just as David had done less than eighty years before him. Priestly privileges and the priestly community, however, were well defined before Samaria fell.

In Judah the priesthood flourished, but always under the headship of the king, even down to the Captivity. In the Book of Deuteronomy the priesthood stands forth a clearly-defined inviolable cultus, every member of which is a Levite, and of which every Levite is a member. Three advances were made from an unlimited exercise of the priestly function to (1) a priesthood of the sanctuaries, and especially of the royal house and temple, but not exclusive; (2) the exclusive legalization of the Levitical priesthood (Deut.); (3) a distinction within the ranks of the priesthood,

between true priests and the degraded Levites. Outside of the Levitical legislation the distinction between true priests and Levites is found only in Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. In course of time all the subordinates came to be called Levites.

Another and most important peculiarity of the post-Exilic cult, of which we have not yet spoken, is the high priest. In the time of the kings there was a leading priest in Jerusalem. In the time of Jeremiah a system of divisions within the priestly community may be distinguished. But Ezekiel does not allude to the high priest. Joshua, who with Zerubbabel, headed the return of the exiles, was acknowledged high priest. Gradually the spiritually exalted head of the people attained the exclusive rule. He was practically king.

Respecting dues, it may suffice to say that their number and magnitude keep pace with the development above traced, until in the post-Exilic cultus they were enormous.

The development of the priesthood in these two nations presents many points of similarity. From that beginning in the family, through centuries to the attainment of the most highly organized priesthood, the development among both Israelites and Egyptians moved along the same lines. What we find in the Old Empire is, roughly speaking, parallel with the earlier period of the kings in Israel. The Middle Empire, with its strictly exclusive cult, is Egypt's Deuteronomic period. The New Empire, with a priesthood of five grades, enormously wealthy, conducting an elaborate and magnificent service, and subject to a high priest, who is ultimately crowned, presents us with the same main features which characterize the legislation of P and the post-Exilic history.

It should be understood that this comparison does not put the two priesthoods upon the same level. What is here compared is only *external form*; the *content* in the case of Israel is infinitely higher, and the Divine ideas which its priesthood embodies are incomparably more spiritual than anything that Egypt at her best was able to attain. But it is the purpose of this comparison to show that in all the non-essentials of *outward form*, the priesthood in Israel followed only the laws of development common to other nations.

CURRENT CANADIAN THOUGHT.

AGNOSTICISM: ITS ETHICAL AND RELIGIOUS TENDENCIES. By Rev. W. QUANCE, Dorchester Sta., Ont. (*The Canadian Methodist Quarterly*).—A valid defence of Christianity must be a defence of knowledge as knowledge. At bottom of all belief or disbelief there lies a *theory of knowledge*. The physicist is as much interested in retaining and conserving the *a priori* elements of knowledge as is the theologian. Sensational philosophy tells us that our beliefs in intelligent cause, substance, and moral obligation are only generalized experiences, which have been reached by heredity, in the long process of evolution. This philosophy destroys our primary beliefs, intuitions, and all *a priori* elements of knowledge. And the very foundation of knowledge, which is the free, finite, perdurable, personal self, and this self, as capable of knowing realities—is either destroyed or explained away. Agnosticism discredits the trustworthiness of the human intellect as being incompetent to attain

knowledge; therefore, knowledge (implying a subject knowing, and a reality known, objective or subjective) is impossible to man.

Is it possible for man to know anything? Is there any intellectual certainty with which he can begin? It is doubtful if there is anything gained to clear thought by saying that we know our existence by consciousness or by self-evidence. The certainty of our being, which we must have to start with, is not helped by the use of either of these terms. It is better to say, I know my own existence in the act of knowing. The power of knowing, and of knowing myself as knowing, is a primitive, original power of the mind, of which no account can be given except that it is. Belief in the reality of self is a belief which no hypothesis enables us to escape. "In every act of knowledge, man's knowledge of himself as knowing is an essential element, and without this there can be no knowledge. Thus his whole conscious activity in experience is a continuous revelation of the man to himself. It is the same with the object known. In every moment of consciousness man finds himself knowing something that is not himself. The existence of an outward object is a datum in all his consciousness; and his whole conscious experience is a continuous revelation to him of the outward reality; and if this is not real, all knowledge vanishes." Therefore, I not only know myself as existing, but as existing in relation to an external world. Agnosticism, while postulating a first cause, an ultimate reality, as a necessity of thought, says, there remains one absolute certainty, namely, that we are ever in the "presence of an infinite and eternal energy, from which all things proceed"; yet that this infinite and eternal energy is the "unknowable." The agnostic, while being continually prompted to imagine some solution of this great enigma, knows at the same time that it cannot be solved.

If, however, the ultimate reality is the unknowable, how comes it that agnostics can write so much about its unknowableness? This surely is an inscrutable mystery. But is a thing unknowable by simply calling it so? And can anything be affirmed to be unknowable without first having at least the knowledge of its existence? The very fact that the absolute manifests itself in the universe implies that it is not unknowable in itself. It is a rule in logic, that we cannot affirm, without also in effect denying something. In a complex universe the predicate you assert is certain to exclude some other quality, and this you may be fairly taken to deny. Nothing in the world can ever be denied except on the strength of positive knowledge. If then the "unknowable" were really the unknown, and unknowable, we should know nothing about it, and should be totally unable to affirm or deny anything respecting it. The fact that we can deny it, proves that we are at least conscious of it, or have some acquaintance with, or knowledge of it.

The absolute has been defined as that which exists out of all relations. And closely allied to this is the conception of the absolute, as the thing in itself, out of all relation to our rational faculties. In attempting to deduce from this idea what the absolute is, it is found to be in itself unintelligible and unthinkable, a mere symbol of the cessation of thought, and any revelation of it to a rational mind is therefore impossible. If we demur to this definition, and with Ulrici say that "the absolute is not conditioned by anything else, and so far is the unconditioned, but yet only because it is itself the positive condition of everything else," then the contradictions vanish into thin air. The absolute implies relation, and is itself the ground of relation, without which the conception of relation were inconceivable.

Is not the distinction made by the agnostic school of thinkers, between knowledge of things in their relations, and knowledge of things "in themselves" a distinction without meaning? Press the demand that we must know the thing in

itself before we can predicate knowableness of it, and the term *know* with all its derivatives and equivalents, must be blotted out of the language of the whole human race. It is also said that the ultimate reality is unknowable because we can only know its appearances or manifestations. But admitting this, in what way does our knowledge of it differ from our knowledge of anything else? It is our contention that it is *the things* themselves which manifest themselves unto us that we know. Attributes express the ways of the activity of the thing. A thing and its properties are one. The unity of properties makes the thing.

The following propositions may be affirmed. "1. The causative principle of all reality must itself be *real*; that is, it must be a self-manifesting and self-conscious power, for there can be no reality without consciousness. Being which is not known to itself, and cannot manifest itself, is as though it were not. 2. The causative principle of all efficiency must itself be *power*, pluri-efficiency, it must be self-determined and self-moved, and perfectly adequate to the production of being, motion, change, life, and intelligence objective to itself; in a word, it must be adequate to the realization of all the ideals which reason supplies. 3. The causative principle of all personality must itself be *personal*, that is, it must be self-conceived, self-determined purpose; must freely choose and wisely adapt the means to realize that purpose; above all it must have a worthy motive, a best and highest reason for both purpose and act, and must make all conform to and result in a moral order in harmony with the blessedness and worthy the approbation of the All-perfect One. Intuition and choice, affection and conscience—these are the great momenta of personality. 4. The necessary demand of reason is that the first and originaive cause of all finite personality shall be himself a person." (Quoted from B. F. Cocker, D.D.) We find, then, that the absolute Being reveals Himself in the universe as its first cause, the original source of all its powers or phenomena. The powers acting in the universe reveal Him, and help us to form some idea of that power which is for ever immeasurable.

What are the ethical and religious tendencies of a system of philosophy which, while asserting its belief in the existence of a first cause as a necessity of thought, yet tells us that from the limitation, if not the untrustworthiness, of the human intellect, this First Cause, or God, must remain forever unknown to man? 1. Agnosticism is destructive of the reality of duty and moral obligation. 2. It denies the freedom of the will. 3. It takes no account of sin, and therefore no account of the fact of redemption. Let this transfigured religion of omniscient agnosticism be tried by a simple test. Is it capable of realization; of practical embodiment? It has been well designated a doctrine of despair, as it is without God and without hope in the world.

PSYCHOLOGY. By Rev. H. H. MOORE, D.D., Chautauqua, N.Y. (*The Canadian Methodist Quarterly*).—The liberal transfer of Greek terms to the vocabulary of mental science has retarded rather than aided in the solution of its problems. The use of Saxon, or fully Anglicized terms, each one of which has a specific and limited meaning, to be used invariably in one and the same sense, is necessary to a correct presentation of the facts of psychology. "Psyche," the Greek word for soul, may signify both too much and too little. If we include in it the whole mind, it means too much, for the Greeks use the word "pneuma" to designate man's higher intellectual and moral powers. If we confine the meaning of the term to feeling or emotion, then it does not signify soul as substance, and falls short of the Greek idea. St. Paul uses the term "pneuma" to designate spiritual life, and even the Holy Spirit; consequently he puts into the word an exalted meaning never thought of by

the Greek philosophers. Our word "soul" is, as used in common discourse, convenient and harmless, but in science, where absolute precision is necessary to clearness, it should be wholly discarded. Fortunately in the term "mind," a pure Saxon word, we have exactly what science demands. Its ample signification embraces all that the Greeks implied by the terms *nous*, *pneuma*, *phucia*, and *psyche*, and its meaning is so definite and fixed that it cannot be misunderstood. St. Augustine had a proper conception of mind. "The mind knows itself only by knowing that it lives, remembers, wills, thinks, and judges." That is, it is conscious that it acts, and that its acts are its own. We regard it as improper in science to say man has a mind, or soul, or spirit, for all that is embraced in the terms man, soul, spirit, is included in the word mind. The man is a mind—a spirit in essence—and nothing more. We may properly say mind has a body, but mind *per se* is no part of anything it possesses.

It is a question whether the various powers of the mind do not indicate the existence of distinct faculties in which they are rooted. A recognition of different mental powers is, however, all that need now be affirmed. The student of psychology should keep before him as a headlight a proper conception of man as an individual intelligence of the spirit order. If man *per se* is anything but a transient appearance, he must be a unitary substance, an entity of personal identity. Such substance cannot be the body, for every part of the body is in a state of constant change. The mind is the man, whether in or out of the body. Bishop Butler conceives of man as an uncompounded, indivisible, indiscerptible self, conscious of itself, and this consciousness is one as the self is one. That this conception of mind may be complete and of practical value, we must regard it as a self-centred, self-active, and self-directive being.

• We call special attention to the importance of forming, at start, in the study of psychology, a proper conception of man, for all we may think or say will be characterized by this general idea. A psychology written from the standpoint of materialism has nothing but dirt to deal with from first to last, and it can properly avail itself of nothing but the properties and forces of some twelve kinds of matter. A psychology written from the standpoint of idealism has in hand a suppositious "infinite," whatever it or that may be, and its "activities." Between its outcome, and a psychology written from the standpoint of pantheism, there can be but unimportant shades of difference. The first battle that is fought on the field of psychology that is productive of positive results, will be in answer to the question, What is man? Mind and body, as two distinct substances, are mysteriously, but intimately, associated together, and, as a consequence, they act and react upon each other. The two sciences, physiology and psychology, are so radically different, *per se*, that though intimately associated locally, they can render each other no assistance whatever—each must be examined in the light of its own facts and phenomena. During the past quarter of a century the most persistent efforts have been made to produce a physiological psychology, but the results have been simply a perversion of both sciences. Not a new fact has been added to our knowledge of either. Psychology is really a science of facts known to consciousness, and we trust the time is not far off when these will be taken beyond the lines of speculation, and arranged in their logical order.

CURRENT GERMAN THOUGHT.

THE PERSONAL SUBJECT IN THE EARLY ISRAELITE RELIGION. By Lic. DR. SELLIN, Parchim, Mecklenb. (*Neue Kirchl. Zeitschr.*, 1898. No. 6).—Since Vatke and Duhm it has become an accepted doctrine of the higher criticism that the subject of religion in Israel in pre-exilic days was the nation or community of Israel, not the individual, that Jeremiah and Ezekiel were the authors of the idea of a relation subsisting between God and the individual. Stade, Wellhausen, Smend, H. Schultz follow in this line. Stade says: "The religious person was not the individual Israelite, but the whole nation of Israel—the national calamities first raised the question, of which the prophets had not even thought, how the fate of the individual is related to his action on the one hand and to the fate of the nation on the other." Wellhausen: "The wheel of history drove over the individual—individualism had its universal historical root first in the decay of the nation." König calls this view "totalism." According to it, before the Babylonian exile, Israel was a nation only; after the exile a church, a body of pious individuals. Every Scripture writing in which individualism exists is judged post-exilic.

There is of course much truth in this position. Israel did form a unity in God's sight. God speaks to it, deals with it as such. Further, in early Israel, if God deals with the individual it is as an Israelite, not as a man. Still even then it must be admitted that not only was the nation a unity before God, but also families, societies, clans. God chooses particular families for certain work, rewarding and punishing them according to their conduct; children are punished for the fathers' sins. And another fact to be remembered is that this idea of a common responsibility was universal in the ancient world; it was by no means confined to Israel. A land or city had a special deity, who took special care of it. The community suffers for the sin of the individual, and conversely. This is a familiar fact in Greek history. Yet this does not preclude the thought of individual responsibility. "Every one acquainted with Greek history knows how a living religious individualism rules it. Without being conscious of any logical contradiction with 'totalism,' the Greek lives in the faith of individual providence and retribution; in other words, three ideas run parallel through Greek history: now the entire man, now the family, now the individual is regarded as the subject of religion." Analogies from Semitic history are abundant. "There is a Baal of Tyre, Sidon, Tarsus, plainly describing the relation in which the god stands to the community; but in the same cities names like Abdbaal, Abibaal, describe individuals as servants or sons of the god." The only way of ascertaining the truth in regard to ancient Israel is to examine the Old Testament writings in the order of time in which they are generally admitted to have arisen.

1. The Law. It must be conceded at once that the person addressed is in general the nation, Exod. xx. 2; Deut. v., &c. The curse or blessing falls on the nation, Exod. xxiii. 22; Deut. 15, &c. Here the individual is not separated from the nation and put in direct relation to God. Still, is individual duty and responsibility excluded? Most of the commands were such as could only be obeyed by individuals, Exod. xx. 12, 24, &c. And while the object was to remove impurity from the nation, the punishment fell on individuals, Exod. xxi. 14 ff., 20, 29, &c. It is accordingly an inevitable inference that the Israelitish individual learned from the law the

penalty due to his acts. There are a few passages where individual retribution is plainly taught, Deut. vii. 10, xviii. 19, 20, cf. Exod. xxiii. 7. Two considerations confirm this. First, alongside the doctrine that the nation is punished for the individual's sin, is found the other, that for the act of the individual his family receives punishment or reward to later generations, Exod. xx. 5, xxiv. 7; Deut. v. 9, 10. Thus the one idea does not exclude the other. And again, "the collection of laws, which was only codified after the Babylonian exile, proves that by it no change was made in this respect; that on the contrary, in the law as God's will for the whole nation, His relation to the individual, and conversely, could not find full expression." The real object even of the post-exilic law is, as before, the nation as a whole, Lev. iv. 18 ff., xix. 2, 86, &c.; blessing and curse are on the nation as a body, Lev. xxvi., &c. The punishment falling on individuals is always described as "cutting off from his people," Lev. xx. 8, 9 ff., &c. "A religious individualism can only be found in the post-exilic law only in so far as that law refers to the offences of individuals, requires sacrifices, &c., or culminates in enactments for individuals, Num. v. 6, 27, vi. 2, &c.; and in so far as *de facto* punishment for transgressions, although decreed in reference to the nation, yet falls on individuals."

"We thus see that the exile in no sense introduced any change in the attitude of the divine law to the individual Israelite. The nature of the law implies, that its object is not the individual as such, but the Israelitish community. While the individual Israelite must have felt himself responsible even in presence of the pre-exilic law, in the law itself he is merely regarded as a member of the community. But while post-exilic Judaism stood far more under the sign of the law than pre-exilic Israel, it appears, although really no inference can be drawn from the law generally as to the subject of religion, that the supposition, that in the transition from the former to the latter an advance took place from totalism to individualism, is *prima facie* entirely misleading."

2. The Prophets. What of the prophets before Jeremiah? Did they exclude individuals from all relation to God? They were sent to the nation, not to individuals. All their words are addressed primarily to the nation, Amos ii. 9, 10; Isa. i. 24, xxix. 1; Micah i. 5; Zeph. i. 4, &c. But does this affirm anything as to the subject of the Israelite religion? No, just the fundamental error of Duhm and his followers is in confounding the object of the prophetic discourses and the subject of religion. Let it be observed first of all, that the prophets regarded particular families as objects of wrath and punishment, showing that God's relation to the nation does not exclude other relations, Amos vii. 17; Isa. vii. 18, 17.

An important element in the case is the fact that the oldest prophets make God's relation to the nation depend on moral conditions. God's promises to the nation are all conditional. The actual Israel is given over to destruction; out of it a new Israel is to grow up, consisting of the good and obedient. Individuals are here in view, not the nation. To this it is replied, that these are inferences, the premisses of which no doubt exist; still, the oldest prophets do not draw the inferences, to say nothing of the people. Duhm argues that Hosea and Amos treat of the entire nation simply, but no doubt on moral conditions; then Micah and Isaiah infer that the judgment strikes only the godless nation of the present, while a godly remnant will be saved; and lastly, Jeremiah and Ezekiel draw the final inference that the curse and blessing only affect the bad and good respectively, thus giving expression to the full idea of moral personality, an idea unknown to former prophets.

As matter of fact, it is incorrect to say that Isaiah and Micah did not take that step, and merged the individual in the nation. When they speak of a remnant to be

saved (Micah iv. 6; Isa. vi. 18, x. 21), this is plainly not a leap from the actual to an ideal Israel, but simply the moral and religious members of the nation, the pious individuals, who will be saved. They declare in so many words the responsibility of the individual and the divine retribution falling on him, Micah iii. 1 ff., ii. 1-4, vi. 8; Isa. iii. 8 ff., v. 8 ff., &c. The most significant passage, iii. 11, is passed over by Duhm in silence. If in other parts Isaiah and Micah, and even Amos and Hosea, deal simply with the nation, this may be explained from the nature of their mission. If the premisses of individualism are present implicitly, why deny that the consequences were seen by them? Both in Amos and Hosea we find references to the punishment of individuals (Amos ii. 14 ff., &c.; Hosea xiv. 10), and some to blessing on individuals (Amos v. 15).

That Hosea and Amos, Micah and Isaiah, recognised the relation of the individual to God is seen in other ways. It cannot be denied that they regarded themselves in this light; God speaks to them, they call God their God. If it be said that they were exceptions, we may reply that there was no inner connection between their prophetic calling and their personal relation to God. A special message is addressed to the king, Isa. vii. 8 ff., ii. 17 (cf. Hosea x. 15); see the case of the priest Amaziah, Amos vii. 18-17; Shebna, Isa. xxii. 15 ff.; Hezekiah, Isa. xxxviii. 8-5 ff. These examples prove that the prophets knew of such personal relations between God and individuals. In the prophets after Jeremiah the presence of individualism is admitted, although, be it noted, it is not found in Deutero-Isaiah. But alongside this idea we find also the nation regarded in the old way. Deutero-Isaiah has nothing else. Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi take only the nation as a whole into account. In the book of Jonah the crew are in danger for Jonah's sake. See also Dan. ix. 16, xii. 1.

"We thus see that from the discourses of the prophets we cannot offhand infer the subject of the Israelite religion, since they are addressed to the nation; and therefore *eo ipso* the idea, that all God's purposes are directed to the nation as a whole and religion is a relation of the nation to Him, chiefly finds expression. But we see also, on a closer examination, the thought of a direct relation of individuals to God running alongside the other, and no change after the Exile in the relation of these thoughts to each other."

8. Historical Works. It is in these books that we may naturally expect most light to be cast on this question, and we are not disappointed. Strangely enough, the critics have neglected them. The collective view is present throughout of course; God deals everywhere with the nation. Blessing or curse comes on the individual for the nation's sake, and conversely. Again, certain families are dealt with apart from the nation; family offerings are required (1 Sam. xx. 6). The sins of the fathers are visited on the children (1 Kings xxi. 29; 2 Kings xx. 18, 19). One important element of proof of individualism is found in the proper names, into which the Divine name enters, as Abijah, Ahijah, Abimelech, Elijah, Elisha, &c. Such names show that the thought of an individual relation to God was cherished.

Further, it may be broadly affirmed that the historical books are pervaded by the idea that the life of the individual is in God's hand, that He guides and governs it. If the histories of Cain, Noah, Abraham, Sarah, Moses, do not teach this, they teach nothing. Those books, and parts of books, which are at present regarded as the oldest are full of this thought. The stories of the judges, Saul, David, Solomon, illustrate it. In every part of these books the conviction meets us that God directs and interposes in individual lives. If it is alleged that this is only inference afterwards, and does not represent the thoughts of the Israelites themselves, the reply is

found in the fact that we constantly find individuals coming to God with personal petitions: so Gideon, Elkanah, Manoah, and, still earlier, Abraham, Eliezer, &c.; indeed, the cases are numberless. God also hears the prayers of individuals—Hagar, Isaac, Joshua, Samuel, Elijah, &c. It would also be easy to prove by numerous facts that this relation of the individual to God is conceived as an ethical relation.

In the historical books written after the Exile individualism is, of course, present. But Dr. Sellin questions whether it is more prominent than in the earlier books. He says, "We have honestly tried to discover evidence of progress, but must confess we have failed." But on the other hand, in these books, just as in the earlier, the nation is regarded primarily as the subject of religion; the evidence from Ezra and Chronicles is ample. Here, also, we have the thought of the whole nation being blessed or punished for the individual's sake, while the individual is only regarded as a member of his family; children are punished for the fathers' sins. The position in the historical books is thus similar to that in the other groups.

4. Religious Poetry. Modern criticism holds that, beside Gen. xlix., Judges v., Exod. xv., Deut. xxxii., xxxiii., we have no poetry of early Israel in the Old Testament; all the Psalms are post-exilic. Another theory, especially maintained by Smend, is that the Psalms are not the expressions of individual faith, but are church-hymns. "In another place (*Disputatio de origine carminum*, &c.) we have tried to show that, at all events, the songs of the first psalm-book owe their origin to the pre-exilic period. Even the newest effort of Cheyne, much as we acknowledge its thoroughness and depth, has not convinced us to the contrary; we only concede the possibility that here and there revisions or remodellings may have taken place in popular use, before the songs were fixed in their present form; but the basis and kernel of the first psalm-book is pre-exilic (even Kautzsch does not doubt this, although he goes far to meet Cheyne). As to Smend's second view, Cheyne has limited it in this sense, that in many psalms the individual first speaks, of course only as a member of the church or nation. And this also, in rather wider form, is our view. Where an I appears in the Psalms, an individual speaks. But the ground on which the individualism in them is built up is the consciousness of belonging to a people on which the divine favour rests. If it is not expressed in each one of the brief psalms, it is the ground-tone sounding through all collections of psalms."

If it has been proved that individualism is present in the historical books, is it at all probable that it found no expression in poetry among a people like the Jews, and that no example has come down to us? If it be said that there is a great difference between such evidences of individual faith as we have adduced and the personal tone of the first Psalm-book, the reply is that poetry is the proper home of personal feeling, which might be expected here to take intenser form. Even Jeremiah's eminence on this subject may be due in part to his lyrical gift. It is in his prayers that he gives expression to the thought of a direct relation of the individual to God. Cf. also 1 Sam. ii. 1 ff., 8, 2 Sam. xxii. 26, 27, Is. xxxviii. 14, 16, 17. "Thus after thorough examination of the historical relations, religious views and language of the first Psalm-book, it is quite certain that its songs in their substance belong to the pre-exilic age, and that at that time a deep, inward religious individualism was combined with the relation of God to the whole nation."

5. Special Argument from Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Jer. xxxi. 29, and Ezekiel xviii. 2 ff., are said to mark the first appearance of individualism in the Jewish religion. On the other hand Dr. Sellin roundly asserts: "With the whole question which concerns us here, namely, whether the nation or the individual Israelite, or both, was

the subject of religion before Jeremiah's days, the proverb and the reply to it have nothing at all to do. Not the nation or the individual, but the family, conceived as a unity for centuries, or the individual, is the antithesis here considered. And if this is so, the inference follows, that the attempt to establish a connection of thought between the breaking up of the old state, the exile, and the importance of the individual in God's sight, is an illusion; there is no question here of the nation, which was once the whole object of the divine purpose, being rejected for its sin, and the pious individual taking its place. Here we might end the discussion, for we have never denied God's dealings with families as with the nation and the individual." But, as so much is made of these passages, further remarks may be useful.

The truth of the matter is that individualism appears in Jeremiah in a higher degree. We see it in his references to himself, 1, 5, 18, 19, and often, in the references to Jehoiakim and Zedekiah xxii. 12, 24, xxxiv. 2, 4, xxxvi. 30, to the shepherds of the people xxiii. 2, the wicked generally xi. 8, &c. At the same time the collective, national idea is just as prominent as ever, ii. 2, 9, 19, 22, 30, and often. The new element in Jeremiah is merely the inward nature of religion, ch. xxxi. "But all this, in which his individualism finds strongest expression,—his feeling that he is directly bound to God, his prayers to God, &c.—appear in him as self-evident, he gives no hint that he is saying anything new; so that we are compelled to explain its prominence by other causes, namely, his personal temperament and the circumstances of the time. 'Jeremiah is a man of feeling,' Duhm says quite rightly."

The most probable explanation is that the proverb quoted was being used as an explanation of the calamities that had overtaken the nation. These calamities, it was said, were the penalties of their fathers' sins. There was danger of their own sins and responsibility being overlooked and denied. Hence the prophet is led strongly to assert these neglected facts. He does this by placing in strong light the counter truth of personal responsibility, of which he himself had such full experience. Thus, it is not a new line of teaching that is introduced by Jeremiah, but one old line of teaching is opposed to another old doctrine, which is being exaggerated. "The same applies to Ezekiel. Calamities have increased; that God visits the sins of the fathers on the children, is being said among the people still more emphatically, the personal responsibility of the individual before God seems to be vanishing. Simple protest against the exaggeration is no longer sufficient; then Ezekiel altogether sets aside the doctrine of visiting the fathers' sins on the children. Only the individual, and he according to his own acts, receives recompense at God's hand. Just so he abrogates the doctrine of the saving of many for the sake of a few, Gen. xviii: 28 ff., because of the evil consequences, which might be inferred, as the doctrine was abused. Thus the saying of Vatke, which Stade and Smend adopt, that one sees in the whole theory of Ezekiel how new reflection on the subject then was, may be conceded in a sense. The new element, however, is not the thought of retribution falling on individuals, but the hostile clashing of these two lines of thought, which had hitherto run side by side, without consciousness of contradiction: God requites the individual, and God requites the family (as also the nation); new only is the theoretical solution of the conflict by abrogating the second thought." Another motive making Ezekiel a representative of individualism is his care for souls as a *pastor*. "The prophet Ezekiel, despite all his individualism, shares with all his predecessors the view of totalism; he views the Israel of all ages as one person before God, calls the nation collectively 'the righteous,' he makes righteous perish with unrighteous, xxi. 8, to him the nation as such is the subject of religion. To it both curse and blessing apply, iv. 4-17, xi. 15-20, &c."

"That this is the only right explanation, that in Ezekiel no new line of teaching opens as to the subject of religion, that the individualism prominent in him is to be explained by his peculiar days, by antagonism to the abused proverb, as well as by his peculiar position as pastor as well as prophet, is confirmed by our whole investigation. For we found individualism everywhere before him; after his days it is not more conspicuous; totalism is found alongside. Thus Ezekiel, like Jeremiah, is a sporadic phenomenon, no founder of a new epoch."

After a brief reference to the strong individualism of the Chokmah literature, the author sums up the entire essay, and concludes as follows:—"A twofold outlook opens into the past and the future of the Israelite religion. First into the past. If, as we have seen, Yahveh of old is really contemplated, on the ground of His relation to the Israelitish nation, as having a living relation to the individual Israelite, the popular theory to-day of the gradual growth of the prophetic idea of God out of a gross doctrine of a, so to speak, physical union of God with His people, is an illusion; on the contrary, where this doctrine appears in ancient Israel, as it did among the masses, it is a caricature of the (without doubt Mosaic) thought, that the God of heaven and earth freely and by His own gracious act became Israel's God. Only thus is His relation to the individual Israelite—with whom He sometimes deals quite differently from what He does with the nation—intelligible. Again, into the future. God's relation to the nation of Israel and to the individual Israelite remained an inner contradiction. Pious poets and thinkers strove to solve it again and again. Did not then the Chokmah, with its apparently complete independence of the individual before God, find the right solution? No; for in putting the idea of God's people, and so of divine grace, into the background, it could never satisfy the masses, however it might satisfy hundreds. Doubtless faith in a resurrection of the individual and future recompense, such as we find in Daniel, was an important advance toward the right solution; still the opposing thought remains, that God has here on earth purposes for His whole people. We thus see how the Old Testament points beyond itself. The solution is first brought by Him who taught man, not merely the Israelite, to call on God as Father. This was no such solution as the Chokmah gave, no *do ut des* relation; it was the closest conceivable relation of the individual to God and yet no exclusively individualistic one. On the contrary, when all call on the same God as Father, we have again a community, a people of God; and so this Old Testament thought of God's people returns in the Apostles Paul and Peter, but spiritualized, in the idea of the Church. To it this spiritual communion, this true Israel, belongs the individual, the child of God. Thus totalism and individualism are truly and finally reconciled in the New Testament."

CHRISTIANITY AND BUSINESS-ORDER. Substance of Address at the Fourth Evangelical Social Congress. By Prof. KAPTAN, Berlin (*Die christl. Welt*, 1898. No. 26).—By business-order is simply meant the order regulating the production and distribution of goods in business-life, whether that order is fixed by the State or free action. What are the relations between this order and Christianity? We have nothing to do here with the thousand points at which the individual Christian or Christian doctrine touches business life. Our subject is the fundamental attitude of a Christian to the social sphere.

Christianity is compatible with every form of business life. Were the social democracy to conquer to-morrow and to make the highest lowest, in its inmost core Christianity would be untouched by the change. Christians are people who have to do with God, and have found in Him eternal life; this has not come to them from relations of time and earth, and cannot be wrested from them by any change in

these. Primitive Christianity was distinguished by essential indifference to social regulations; it even accommodated itself to the outward continuance of slavery. Our business conditions have always grown up under the stress of natural compulsion; their course, therefore, cannot be influenced by arbitrary interference, even of a will acting under Christian impulses. Thus Christianity has from the first respected the peculiar laws on which the business-system of any age rests, and has served the men living under their sway by enabling them at the same time to live in another world, in eternity.

And yet we all feel the solution is not given when we say: Christianity has to do with eternal life in God (here already beginning), business labour with earthly life, and the satisfaction of its needs. There must be a bridge leading from the one to the other. This cannot be merely that of personal union, so far as it is one and the same man, who lives in virtue of Christianity to his God and by his nature for his earthly needs. This would be a union after the analogy of the suspicious formula: a Christian in heart, a heathen in head; a serving two masters of the most intolerable kind. No, there must be an inner union of the two spheres of life, both for the sake of the individual, who has a place in them, and for the entire course of development on both sides. Instead of dwelling on secondary relations, let us find one fixed, immovable relation, which, under all circumstances, shows Christianity to be a factor also in business life, and the business system a matter of importance for Christian life. We will not take, as many do, the simple way of starting from Christian faith in the Creator of heaven and earth: God's will called the whole world into existence, therefore earthly business has been ordained by Him. We cannot reach the goal so quickly. For natural ordinances, certainly as they rest on God's creative will, are still not Christian in themselves, *e.g.*, marriage, government. But they are forms which the Christian must first fill with the right contents, and which the bad man fills with wrong contents. Nay, more: as Christians we know that all natural ordinances as matter of fact have been perverted and marred by sin. We might thus, from this view-point, draw the (false) conclusion that Christianity should reject all these ordinances, the business-order also.

No, we must see another way. And it lies open before every Christian. We have the eternal life in God, which is ours already on earth, only in so far as in this world we undergo moral development, become moral personalities. For this we need nature, the earth, the world. We need something on which to try and exercise ourselves, something to rule over. Natural rule over the world (culture) is not moral in and of itself. But it attains perfection when it is exercised by moral personalities.

At this point Christianity and the business order demand each other. Christianity demands, needs a joint life, joint action of men for a common end. If God is love, and we would come to Him, how can we do this, unless in that common life we learn what love is? And if we are to subject our sensuous nature to the spirit, how can we practise such discipline otherwise than in our relations to the sensuous world, in mastering the tasks which that world sets us? How can human society become the moral organism, which is the goal of its destiny, except in the different forms of fellowship of the world of culture? These are the "raw material for the moral shaping of society." Because the aim of Christianity is eternal life, while the Christian cannot attain this life except by moral development, he needs the business-order also as an occasion for it and a natural basis. And it is a Christian's duty to give such shape to the business-order of the present, that it may really be a fit basis for the culture of the moral ideals of Christianity.

Conversely, business life needs the moral forces of Christianity, not for its origin,

but for its continuance. The system of business rests on certain virtues—diligence, perseverance, fidelity, trust, even in the production of goods, and still more in their distribution; if these are not brought to it it collapses. Now it may be said: These moral forces need not be supplied by Christianity; there is another morality beside the Christian. But be it observed first that all we possess of moral ideas and forces is connected directly or indirectly with Christianity. And secondly, our business system to-day is so universal in range that the only counterpoise to it is a morality as simple and all-comprehensive as the Christian. Just where the connection of labour and enjoyment is more or less abolished for large circles by the present mode of production, a generally satisfactory substitute is needed, accessible to every one, such as Christianity alone supplies, namely, that all labour be done to the service and praise of God, and therewith the reward be received from another world lying beyond this imperfect world.

If we look more narrowly at the present system of business, we must as Christians defend essential elements in it, because they answer to our moral claims. So private property. One may, indeed, have nothing and be a Christian (Phil. iv. 12 f.); but, as a rule, healthy Christianity is unthinkable without the basis of property of some kind. What follows from this? Not a permanent privilege of possessors, but the sacred duty of securing to all men property in some degree. As Christians we must advocate this with all energy and consistency. Further, division into ranks. Christianity tolerates no levelling of moral life; forward effort and self-improvement must be possible. But, again, this sanctions no privilege of the upper ten thousand; but it is a Christian's duty to render moral goods accessible to as large circles as possible, to satisfy the people's intellectual hunger, to raise its power of enjoyment. No fear of faith suffering by this; faith is compatible with all truth; it suffers only from half measures and limitations.

The business-order was made for man, not man for it. "The deeper I go into my subject, the more I see that the attitude of Christianity to the present business-system is that of a critic." We hear so much of necessary misfits and abuses in our public life. But as Christians we say: It is not necessary that we exist, but it is necessary that our existence comport with our dignity as men. And further, we do not believe that the natural necessity of things excludes the Christian demand. Creative order and Christian order must be able finally to combine. This is the faith that makes it possible for us Christians to engage in business life and do our duty. This is the faith on which the entire work of the Evangelical Social Congress rests.

THE NATURE OF CHRISTIANITY. By Dr. OTTO PFLEIDERER (*Zeitschr. f. wissenschaftl. Theologie*, 1898, Vol. ii., No. 1).—Pfleiderer's rationalism is of an extreme type. The ordinary doctrine of Christ's person, and much else, to him are mere myth. Jesus Himself is no more than an extraordinary religious genius, not free in every respect from the errors of His age. Paul is not above criticism. We cannot always distinguish between what is genuine in the Gospels and what is not. And yet Pfleiderer tries to preserve the moral and religious teaching of the New Testament. His essay on the nature of Christianity is remarkable for insight and grasp. Only the first three Gospels are used along with the Epistles. The writer's plan is first to define the essential spirit or principle of Christianity, and then to show how the Christian doctrines of God, man, and the world harmonize therewith.

Despite all the alleged difficulty in discovering the genuine Jesus in the Gospels, it is from the consciousness of Jesus that we must learn the distinctive spirit of Christianity. And the characteristic feature in Him was His consciousness of Divine

Sonship, a sonship in which we all may and ought to partake; no other kind of sonship in Christ is acknowledged. This consciousness is the "characteristic essence of the Christian religion, its distinguishing feature in regard to all pre-Christian and extra-Christian religions, and the kernel of all specifically Christian statements about God, man, and the world." Paul confirms this (Rom. viii. 15). Fear was the dominant feature of heathen religions, and in a very modified form even of Old Testament faith. "But in the Christian this servile spirit is replaced by the filial spirit of trustful love, which casts out fear." Not that the feeling of dependence is abolished. It continues even in enhanced form. The Christian law requires far more than the Jewish. But Christian obedience is true freedom. "In complete self-surrender to God's perfect will man finds his own real will fulfilled, his better self satisfied, his innermost nature and life redeemed, his soul saved." The appropriate feeling in such a state is filial love. "This feeling of grateful humility runs through all the Apostle Paul's letters, and forms the ground-tone of his doctrine of redemption." The gratitude is not for outward gifts merely, but chiefly for the highest spiritual blessings, which we owe to God's free grace. "This follows naturally when love is once acknowledged as the essential religious relation. For is love a capricious act, that can be performed at command, springing from motives of self-will, fear of punishment, or hope of recompense? Is it not a spontaneous feeling, whose origin reaches beyond the limits of the ego and goes down to mysterious depths, and is the connecting link of spirits? If this is true of all love among men, how much more of the love which binds man and God into a unity of life and will! How could man from himself alone, from the narrowness of his isolated being, his selfish, contracted will, be capable of it, unless this limit were abolished by the same high spiritual power, to which he surrenders himself in love? It is the work of God, who is over all and in all, that the limit of self is broken in us, and our heart capacitated and impelled to surrender to Him. What on the one side is man's own free act of obedience—the sacrifice of his will to God, on the other side is God's work in man—the gift of His grace, the drawing and impulse of His Holy Spirit. . . Thus man, the child of earth, becomes a citizen of the heavenly kingdom, from a slavish servant a free child of God; the drawing of the Father brings home to the Father's heart the son lost in worldly lust; by God he who was God-born, but God-estranged is reconciled to God, a man of God, a spiritual man, an heir of eternal life. Here we stand before the innermost mystery of Christian piety, the real, unique miracle, which the understanding with its analytic ideas is no longer able to penetrate and judge, and yet which is as true, as much a reality of experience, as any condition of life in which we are directly conscious of the blending of separate powers and the governing whole, of freedom and dependence, of existence apart and in others."

This view of the essence of Christianity implies corresponding conceptions of the nature of God; He is holy love. The gods of heathenism were nature-powers or idealised men, more or less refined. The God of Israel was the Holy One, *i.e.*, raised absolutely above all natural existence, free, the almighty Ruler, whose will was man's unconditional law. That will was outside and above man, who had only to obey. No doubt, just as in heathenism there were efforts, as in Greece, after worthier conceptions, so in Israel there were hints and glimpses of the Divine mercy and love, but these did not affect the type. "Pharisaism, with its merit, its outward legality, its proud self-righteousness, its unloving arrogance, alien as all this was to the nobler spirit of the prophets, was yet the natural consequence of the legal religion, to which God was only the holy Lord, not the Father, not holy love." The

God of Christianity is not a nature-power, or human nature refined, nor yet the transcendental will of Israel's faith, but love, whose nature it is to communicate itself, to condescend to weak, sinful men. He is indeed *holy* love. "It would be grievous error to fancy that in Christianity the holiness of God and therewith the inviolable laws of the moral order are no longer in force." Yet the idea is essentially different from the "holy One of Israel." The import of the Divine will is one with our own true will, with the will of eternal reason; only the irrational and abnormal is excluded from it. That will is not expressed in a number of outward precepts; but it is left to us in our renewed state to interpret and practise it (Rom. xii. 2). "Thus the Divine holiness means to us, not the denial, but the affirming and verifying of our moral autonomy." Its punishments also are disciplinary chastisements. And still more, "holy love not merely demands good, but gives it and itself works the fulfilling of what is demanded, as Augustine aptly says: 'Jube quod vis et da quod jubes.'" The will of holy love does not remain outside man, a condemning, killing power, but becomes a life-giving force in the heart of man. "This is the highest revelation of God as holy love, that in man himself He awakens the impulse of love, by which the power of sin, his own and other, is overcome, and a fellowship of goodness is established, in which every individual becomes a co-worker in realising the Divine purpose of the world. Just in this active overcoming of sin, such as God's Holy Spirit effects within man's heart and man again in the power of this Spirit exercises on his brethren, is included the forgiveness of sin, which is indeed a gift of Divine love, but of holy love, which not merely overlooks sin and remits the penalty of guilt, but which also effaces and repairs guilt itself by breaking and subduing the power of natural, sinful impulse by the higher power of holy spiritual impulse."

The nature of Christianity carries with it also a corresponding view of *man*. In heathenism there was a strange mixture of arrogant assumption and contempt. We see the former in the position of privileged classes, the latter in the treatment of slaves, foreigners, women. Among the Jews there was a not dissimilar division—Jew and Gentile, Pharisee and the people "without the law." Man's inherent, natural greatness was unknown till Christianity taught it. Dr. Pfeiderer, of course, quickly dismisses Paul's teaching of original sin (Rom. v. 12) as a theory of "Pharisaic theology." Still he holds a universal need of redemption in man because of sin, which is a power "rooted in man's innermost nature, and ruling the whole race; against which the individual alone is unable to maintain the unequal conflict, unless the redeeming and educating power of the Divine Spirit come to his help in the fellowship of God's kingdom." He holds also the universal capacity of redemption, "resting on the indestructible germ of the Divine image implanted in every child of man, and never quite dead under the thorns of sin and lust." "This germ asserts itself in conscience, in the sense of moral weakness and poverty, in sorrow for the impurity of our heart, which severs us from the holy God, for the bondage in which sin holds us, for our wanderings in the paths of worldly desire and care." "Thus a new estimate of man comes to light: no longer what he is outwardly, does, is to society, decides his worth; but his innermost feeling, the bias of his soul to Divine goodness, even if at first it is merely the sense of its absence and desire for its possession." Jesus meets and satisfies this desire wherever it is awakened. During His life He drew to Himself men of all classes in this way. "What He gave the bodily and morally sick, the weary and heavy laden, was just the fulfilment of their longing for healing; it was the awakening and reviving of the better self hitherto bound in them, and of new life." "Those in whom the moral capacities of humanity were

enhanced so far beyond their surroundings that they raised the ideal of man to a higher stage, we call heroes and prophets, pioneers and leaders of humanity, in its striving after the ideal end, after moral freedom. . . . Among all these moral and religious geniuses and heroes of history, *Jesus takes the central place*. For at the time when the old world had lost its former ideals, and was, so to speak, on the brink of moral bankruptcy, He gave the new and loftiest ideal of man as God's child, represented it typically and visibly in his life, and, last of all, staked His life on its realization in a community of God's children. Therefore Jesus is rightly called the Redeemer and Saviour of men, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, and His life-work the redemptive work, or saving redemption, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*." The growth of the Church and kingdom of God is then pictured as a necessary consequence, the law of that kingdom being brotherly love. This law supplies the correction of the ascetic spirit, which has at times been so powerful in the Church, and which is often represented as the essential character of New Testament moral teaching. Such asceticism may be right and necessary in exceptional cases, but can never be the law, because it would be inimical to the progress and welfare of human society. "It is often overlooked that the New Testament itself would have the body regarded as a temple of the Holy Spirit, its members as weapons and instruments of righteousness for God; that it therefore sees in the senses means for carrying out the ends of the spirit, and accordingly does not condemn the sensuous as such, but only so far as it sets up as lord over the spirit, instead of becoming its servant for morally good ends."

There is also a corresponding Christian view of the *world*. According to Jewish ideas the world was created for the glory of the Jewish nation to be the scene of its triumph and glory. When this hope was disappointed, the Jews found comfort in apocalyptic visions of the future. To heathenism the world was the product of matter and chance, without moral meaning; nature was the only power at work. Christianity subordinates nature, the world with all its arrangements, to moral ends. Pfeiderer finds this to be the meaning of the statement that the world was made by the Logos and for Him; the rest is merely a "mythical veil." The essential idea is that the world is "a work of the Divine reason, which orders the chaos of forces from eternity to eternity, and guides the course of the world's progress in accordance with the thought of a kingdom of godlike, morally perfect spirits. That the divine idea of man as 'the son of His love' and of humanity as the kingdom of this son (Col. i. 13) is the immanent, controlling cause of all existence and growth even in the natural world, has been the fundamental thought of Christian gnosis since apostolic days, and no philosophy has been able to overturn or to surpass it. The entire idealistic philosophy of modern days simply carries out and verifies this conviction, that nature is controlled by spirit and for spirit as a means for its eternal moral ends, that therefore it is not, as heathen naturalism thought, the one and all, the last and highest, but has the spirit and its moral ends as lord and master above it."

The practical importance of this view of the world is seen in the judgment formed of the events of joy and sorrow in life and history. Heathenism could not explain these; it simply accepted the decrees of fate. Judaism struggled with the contradictions of experience, as we see in Job and the Psalms. Christianity gives the solution: "All things work together for good to them that love God." Christian feeling is equally removed from the Jewish want of faith, which accused the Divine justice when the righteous suffered and the wicked triumphed, and from the Stoic apathy which bowed to fate. "It is the feeling of God's child, which possesses in the certainty of God's love an inner happiness independent of the course of the world, of God's soldier, who in covenant with God courageously takes up the conflict with

the world, and is sure of victory over all opposers, of God's servant, who in every position in which circumstances place him, recognizes a task by the fulfilment of which he can co-operate in furthering the general purpose of goodness, for which the whole world-order is the means." Such a feeling is an inexhaustible spring of sympathy with the weak and suffering as well as of hope. Faith, hope, love are wonderfully blended in the Christian ideal. "The ends of our race, like its origins, lie for our knowledge in obscurity, but for our faith they lie in the hand of the eternal love of God, our Father."

CURRENT SWISS THOUGHT.

RESULTS OF THE MOST RECENT OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES. By H. VUILLEUMIER (*Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*).—In our days, more than in any previous time, the Old Testament has been explored in every sense of the word, and, if one might so say, its very inmost recesses searched out. The land and people of Israel, their language and literature, their political and religious history, their moral, social, and economic conditions, their relations with neighbouring nations, the connection between their religion and those of antiquity on the one hand, and with Christianity on the other—have all been the objects of minute and penetrating research. And what has been the result of all this labour? If a complete inventory were to be given of what has been achieved, we should have to record the discoveries made in the course of the exploration of the Holy Land, which have enriched the domain of Biblical geography, the light thrown by Assyrian researches upon sacred chronology, the progress made in Hebrew philology; and the general adoption of more scientific modes of interpreting the Scriptures.

We merely enumerate these points of progress, and pass to the criticism of the text. To the results long since attained with regard to the writing, orthography, and punctuation of Old Testament Hebrew—results accepted by even the most conservative theologians of the first half of this century—have to be added others which will not be long in becoming, in their turn, common property. It is now fully established that the punctuation of our Massoretic text, although the vowel-points and accents are scarcely earlier than the seventh century, gives us a faithful representation of how the language was spoken or pronounced at the beginning of the Christian era. It is recognized that the text itself corresponds but imperfectly to the primitive text. If it is comparatively in a good condition in the Pentateuch, and in some of the prophetic books, in other parts, as in the historical and poetical books, it has undergone, here and there, changes of a more or less serious kind. These changes are far from being merely accidental or unintentional. It is also recognized that we cannot depend on manuscripts for the correction of this faulty text. Not only are the existing manuscripts all later than the tenth century of our era, but all that we possess are derived from one and the same source. All produce, with trifling variations, the text of the same archetype. It is admitted by the most competent judges that this archetype, fixed without much critical labour, was taken as the official synagogue-text about the beginning of the second century, and therefore only a short time after the Palestinian Canon was decided upon at the Synod of Jamnia c. A.D. 90). Even if we admit that this text was of a somewhat earlier

date than the time when it was taken as the standard, it is not so ancient as that on which the Alexandrian version is founded. We have not, therefore, in our possession an absolutely exact transcription of the primitive text. The ancient Scribes, as we learn from a comparison of our Massoretic text with that which underlies the LXX., were not bound by the mechanical and servile rules followed by copyists in later times. There is, therefore, an obligation resting upon Biblical science to endeavour to recover the primitive text—to amend and purify the Massoretic Bible by a recurrence to ancient versions which have emanated directly from the original Hebrew, and by critical conjecture. All this has been long admitted in theory: but now theory is being carried into practice with good prospects of success. No doubt a long time must elapse before we can congratulate ourselves upon having a text of the Old Testament which can be compared with that of critical editions of the New. Preliminary labours of considerable difficulty are necessary for the construction of the most authentic text possible of the ancient versions themselves, especially of the LXX. Then, when these versions are re-translated into Hebrew, critics will have something like original manuscripts, which, if expertly used, will serve to correct the Massoretic text. A generation may pass before this is accomplished; but the way at least is marked out. Already even preliminary attempts have made their appearance, which give good hope of final success in this great undertaking.

We pass now to the domain of *literary and historical criticism* of the Old Testament. When we speak of the results of the most recent studies in this department, our reference is to the new phase of matters brought about by the latest criticism of the Pentateuch. For the question of the origin of the Pentateuch dominates all others, and the solution it finds has a direct bearing on the others. Every one is acquainted with the labours inaugurated twenty-five years ago by Graf in his treatise on the historical books of the Old Testament, and carried on by Kuenen, Kayser, Wellhausen, Reuss, and many others. The composite character of the Pentateuch (to which the book of Joshua has to be added), and the existence in it of four primitive documents, P, J, E, D—the Priestly Code, the work of the Jehovist, that of the Elohist, and Deuteronomy respectively—are facts the discovery of which is due to their research. Two of these documents, J and E, are almost exclusively narrative, while the other two are essentially legislative. The more recent critics accept these results, but differ from their predecessors in the respective ages which they assign to the documents. They give the first place to J and E, which are collections of the different versions of the national traditions that were current among the tribes of Judah and Ephraim. Then comes Deuteronomy; while the Priestly Code, instead of being the earliest, is the latest of the four. It is now thought that this last does not date from the time of one of the early kings of Israel, but that it was drawn up in Babylon about the year B.C. 500, and that it contains passages added after its promulgation by Ezra and Nehemiah in B.C. 444. As for the combination of these different documents, critics now speak of three distinct stages through which the Pentateuch passed: the first (c. B.C. 650) when the works of J and E, belonging respectively to the ninth and eighth centuries, were united; the second, a century later when Deuteronomy, which had first appeared in B.C. 621, in the reign of Josiah, was combined with them; while the third was in the time of the restoration after the exile. The third and last editor made the Priestly Code the basis and framework of the whole, combined with it the earlier historical and legislative matter, and, while paying careful respect to the work of his predecessors, imparted to it his own spirit and diction. Such, in general terms, is the most recent

theory with regard to the composition of the Pentateuch. The earlier critics made the mistake of attending too exclusively to the literary side of the problem: they were disposed to overlook the fact that in a matter of this kind philological and literary analyses of texts should go side by side with historical criticism, and that it belongs to the latter to fix the respective dates of the primitive documents, and to reconstruct the history of their combination one with another. The time is doubtless not far distant when every one who is not determined beforehand to repudiate criticism altogether, will learn to familiarize himself with the idea that the Priestly Code was drawn up in Babylon, and that the final editing of the Pentateuch does not date earlier than the time of Ezra.

It was in Babylon, too, at the same epoch, when, under the decisive influence of the *tôrâh* of Ezekiel the Priestly Code was elaborated, that the final touches were given to the historical books which follow the Hexateuch: viz., Judges, the books of Samuel and of Kings. It is from the point of view of this *tôrâh* that the authors of these books estimate the conduct of the people and of their rulers. They dispense praise or blame according as the rules laid down by it, especially in matters of worship, are observed or transgressed. The purpose of these histories is rather to edify than to instruct: the history is intended all through to illustrate a religious teaching of which the people in exile stood greatly in need. The books of Chronicles, which form, with those of Ezra and Nehemiah, what Reuss has happily called "the ecclesiastical history of Jerusalem," are written from a somewhat different standpoint. They show us events as they appear to a mind brought up on the *levitical* traditions of the second temple and formed in the school of the Priestly Code. The point of view is that of a somewhat rigid piety, which is more clerical and ritualistic than religious in tone.

Our review of labours in the field of the *poetical and didactic* literature of the Old Testament must be still more brief. The results of the most recent studies have not yielded much that is new. That Ecclesiastes is not Solomon's, but belongs to the earliest to the Persian period; that Canticles is not his either, and that it is not to be interpreted mystically; that the book of Proverbs can only have been edited in its present form several centuries after the time of the sage under whose patronage it is placed; that Job is much less ancient than our fathers supposed, and that it is not all of one piece; that it was not Jeremiah who composed the Lamentations bearing his name, and that the Psalter contains very much fewer pieces belonging to David than the traditional titles indicate, and at least four which are not earlier than the time of the Maccabees—are points which were already established, or almost so, before the present phase of historical and critical studies. The general tendency of contemporaneous criticism with regard to these books is to assign to them all a comparatively recent origin, and to regard none of them in their existing forms as earlier than the time of the restoration after the exile.

It remains for us to glance at the *prophetical literature*. A short time ago there was some agitation concerning what was called—to use a specially coined word—the "modernity" of the prophets. Most of our readers will have heard of the theory promulgated by M. Havet, that the whole of the prophetic literature was apocryphal, and only came into existence at the close of the second century, after the conflict maintained by the Jews with the Seleucidæ, and followed by their enjoyment of liberty under the Asmonæan princes. From somewhat different premises M. Vernes came to a similar conclusion, though the date he assigned to this literature was from B.C. 350 to B.C. 200. These are paradoxes of a kind common enough at a certain stage in the historical criticism of ancient literatures; and though some may regard

them as cases of *reductio ad absurdum*, the true critic will be able to profit by them in gathering up the grains of truth they may contain. It is true, indeed, that a certain number of prophetic writings are less ancient than the date which Jewish tradition would assign to them. In the case of some, a definite conclusion may be said to have been reached, as, e.g., Isa. xl.-lxvi., and portions in the earlier part of the book (xiii. 1—xiv. 28; xxi. 1-10; xxiv.-xxvii.; xxxiv.-xxxv.). Before long it will be more generally held than even it is now that these belong to the period after the return from exile. So, too, with regard to the books of Jonah, and of Joel, the latter of whom used to be regarded as the oldest of the prophetic writers, and the chaps. ix.-xiv. of the book of Zechariah. We need only say in passing of the book of Daniel that it does not belong, properly speaking, to prophetic literature at all. The composition of this apocalypse in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes is a fact which impresses itself more and more irresistibly upon even those who are most unwilling to admit it. It is true that even in the case of the books the authenticity of which is above all serious discussion the text has undergone a re-handling from time to time of a more or less serious character. The best known example of this is the book of Jeremiah. It is difficult to ignore the fact that the edition represented by the Greek version gives the text of this prophet in an order more conformable to the primitive and original work than does that amplified and disarranged edition which has found its way into our Hebrew Bible. It is true, in short, that the final editing of prophetic literature and the arrangement of it in the four volumes of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets, are scarcely earlier than the third century before our era.

This series of books, which has no parallel in any literature in the world, remains for scientific criticism no less than for traditional theology, the faithful and authentic record of the most splendid manifestation of the religious spirit in Israel. Literary and historical criticism does not rob prophetic literature of its originality or of its religious and moral value. On the contrary, in consequence of this criticism the value of this literature is enhanced; it is, so to speak, enriched, and shown to be possessed of a totally new historical importance. We make bold to say that it is only in the present day that its whole significance is discerned, and that it has gained its true place in the literary and religious history of the Old Testament and in the history of religion and of morality at large.

CURRENT DUTCH THOUGHT.

WHAT DOES JUSTIN TEACH CONCERNING THE PERSONAL EXISTENCE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT? By Dr. J. A. CRAMER (*Theologische Studien*, 1898, afl. 1 and 2).—The writings of Justin, from which our answer to this question may be drawn, are the two Apologies and the Dialogue with Tryphon. The leading subject of these writings is the doctrine of the Logos. These have frequently been subjected to special investigation, and not long ago Dr. Ludwig Paul wrote three important articles upon them in the *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie*. The teaching concerning the Holy Spirit, however, is only dealt with by him incidentally when the question comes to be discussed in what relation this Spirit stands to the Logos. His conclusion is that Justin teaches nothing positive concerning the Holy Spirit, and that his references to the subject are somewhat wavering and undecided. Clemens, who

made a study of the significance of the Stoic-Christian Eudæmonism in the Apology of Justin, is of opinion that the Apologist ascribes absolutely no personal existence to the Holy Spirit, but that when he appears to express himself in a contrary sense he merely adheres to ecclesiastical tradition. Others, such as Semisch, Kahnis, Meier, and Stählin, are committed to the opinion that Justin very plainly teaches the personal existence of the Holy Spirit. It is, therefore, well worth the trouble once more to investigate the matter thoroughly.

Dr. Cramer accordingly proceeds to an exhaustive and careful study of all the passages relating to the Holy Spirit in the Greek text of the *Opera indubitata*, as edited by Otto. It is impossible to condense such a study into a continuous and intelligible narrative, but a few passages may be selected here and there by way of illustrating the author's method and of showing the conclusion he reaches.

As to the doctrine of the Logos, Dr. Cramer remarks that the contemporaries of Justin, Gentiles as well as Jews, took great offence at the Christians for rendering equal honour to God the creator of all things and to a crucified human being. Justin tries to take away this cause of offence by endeavouring to show that Christ was the incarnate Logos of God. Before He had appeared in the flesh He had already exercised His power in humanity. The whole human race had had a share in this Logos, so that men like Socrates, Heraclitus, Abraham, Daniel, and their friends might, in a metaphorical sense, be called Christians, because they had lived with the Logos. They had also experienced the enmity of those who lived without the Logos, just as the Christians had now to suffer from the enmity of the heathen. These eminent men, however, had only come to know the truth in part. The truth was revealed in full when the Logos appeared in the flesh under the name of Jesus Christ. For that this Jesus was the incarnate Logos appears from this—that all that had been foretold of Him by the prophets of Israel had been fulfilled in Him. Only those will come to know the truth in its fulness who adhere to Him as the Christ, and receive His word as the word of truth. That word is the means whereby He works powerfully in their hearts. The historical significance of the Logos-idea thus serves to bridge over the gulf between the Christian and the pre-Christian world; while as regards the Jews, Justin demonstrates the folly of the notion that when there is mention in the Old Testament of appearances of God to men it must have been God Himself who appeared. It was the Logos who revealed Himself under various forms and made known God's will. Justin endeavours by his Logos-doctrine to wipe out the distinction between the much purer idea of God of the Christians, and the duller conceptions regarding God to be found in the Old Testament. When he says that the prophets were inspired by the Logos, these words convey to the heathen the idea that the prophets of Israel had a share of the Divine Logos, just as Socrates, Heraclitus, and others had. We see here the attempt to resolve the difference between Judaism and heathenism into the unity of Christianity. God has made His will known among Jews as well as among Gentiles by the Logos. Now that this Logos has become flesh, He must be revered as well by Jews as by Gentiles as the Christ. If the heathen believed in the working of the λόγος σπερματικός, then they must also believe that Jesus is the Christ. The Logos is thus represented as a power that proceeds from God. In several places it is also called δύναμις. It is the first power after God. It has been pointed out that the Logos-idea of Justin wavers between the idea of power and of person. In Dialogue 113 the power of the Logos is even called πνεῦμα, while in Apology I. 33 πνεῦμα and δύναμις are synonymous. Thus far the only thing that can be said is that the idea of the "Holy" or "Prophetic" Spirit is, according to Justin, covered by that of the "Logos."

"To be inspired by the Prophetic Spirit," "to have part in the Logos," and "to possess one or more powers of the Holy Spirit," are synonymous expressions. From this it follows that "to possess *all* the powers of the Holy Spirit" is the same as "to be the Logos in proper person." The Logos, according to Justin, is the union of all the *δυνάμεις τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*. His Logos-doctrine in fact leads to the entire absorption of the Holy Spirit in the Logos. It becomes more and more plain that the question concerning the personal existence of the Holy Spirit is placed wholly outside the circle of Justin's ideas. From this it follows as a necessary consequence that with him there can be no mention of revering the Holy Spirit, and just as little of a doctrine of the Trinity. This would be indisputable if it were not that in the first Apology there are passages in which the direct contrary is taught. When these passages are read, the first impression is one of astonishment that Justin could have expressed himself in a manner so completely at variance with his belief that it is not the Holy Spirit, but Christ Himself, whence comes the power which carries on the work of purification in the hearts of His disciples.

There are various ways in which this difficulty may be sought to be explained, and numerous theories have been advanced to account for the discrepancy. But after all the difficulty remains, how Justin could have been so influenced by his Christian surroundings as to speak of a veneration of the Holy Spirit, and yet at the same time so free himself from that influence as to systematically employ all his powers to transform the idea of the Holy Spirit into that of the Logos. One can imagine circumstances in which a person is to some extent unconsciously influenced by his surroundings; but to say things which are diametrically opposite to each other can hardly be imagined in the case of a man like Justin, who repeatedly shows that he very well knows what he is saying. Fortunately there is another way of explaining the matter, and one which indeed forces itself upon our notice.

When Otto, in his *Index rerum*, has enumerated all the places in which mention is made of a threefold object of veneration, he closes his summation thus: *Spiritus non memoratur una cum patre et filio*. This observation involuntarily awakens doubt as to whether or not the doctrine of the Trinity is after all clearly taught by Justin, and this all the more as there are many places in which there is mention of the veneration of God the Father and of Christ His Son, while there is complete silence as to the Holy Spirit. In addition to that, it is strange that the passages which deal with the Trinity are to be found only in the first Apology, while in the Dialogue (which was written at a later date, and thus at a period of Justin's life in which he must have been more influenced by the traditions of the Church) on no single occasion is mention made of a veneration of the Holy Spirit, but always of God and of Christ. The Dialogue, in fact, plainly teaches that no one is to be held in reverence except God and Christ. The difference between the teaching of the first Apology and of the Dialogue is really very striking, but if we carefully examine the relative passages of the Apology we will discover that the expressions regarding the Holy or Prophetic Spirit are all interpolated. One result of this is that in the days of Justin, and in his circle, only the name of God the Father and Lord of the universe was called upon at baptism, and that what is said in one place of a person being baptized "in the name" of Christ and of the Holy Ghost is by a later hand. This result is reached not by assuming that Justin's thought must have been strictly logical, but because in the reading of his description of baptism difficulties are met with which only in this way can be wholly removed.

Another result is that with Justin the idea of the Holy Spirit passes over into that of the Logos. The *προφητικὸν πνεῦμα* is only another designation for the *λόγος*

σνευματικῆς with respect to the Old Testament prophets. In no part of Justin can there thus be mention of a personal existence of the Holy Ghost. The passages which at first sight would seem to give countenance to such an existence (Apology I, 6, 13, 60, 61, 65, and 67) appear, on closer examination, to be corrupt, not so much because what is there said of the Holy Ghost cannot be made to correspond with what Justin teaches on the subject elsewhere; but because the context clearly proves that these words must have been interpolated by a strange hand. If it be asked doubtfully whether Justin may not have so written, the answer is plain that he has not so written, but that transcribers have made him write so by carrying ideas, customs, and forms of speech peculiar to their own days back to the time of Justin in order to bring the renowned Apologist a little more into conformity with the Catholic spirit of a later age. In this way it is also explained why the interpolations on this subject are only to be found in the Apology and not in the Dialogue—the latter being less known it gave no occasion for such treatment.

In the days and in the circle of Justin men worshipped God, Lord and Father of all, Creator of the heavens and the earth, and Jesus Christ, the Logos of God, the first power after Him, His son. Foretold by the prophets, He had at length become man, through the medium of a virgin, in order fully to reveal the will of God. Through the instrumentality of wicked spirits He was forced to suffer and die under Pontius Pilate, but having risen from the dead on the third day He ascended into heaven to return again in glory, bringing with Him eternal life to those who had done good, but punishment with eternal fire to those who had done evil. When a person had signified acceptance of this teaching of the Christians, had repented of his sins, and promised to lead a holy life in time to come, he was admitted to the Christian Church by baptism. Over such a one, while in the water, the name of God was called—nothing more. Thereafter an opportunity was given him to partake of the holy supper and to praise God with his fellow Christians. From that moment onward he belonged to the Church, in which all were closely bound together by the tie of brotherly love, and in which Jesus Christ worked by means of His word.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that according to the Acts of the Martyrs, in answer to the question of Rusticus as to what he believed, Justin is made to answer: "I believe in God the Creator of the world and in His Son Jesus Christ." Not a word as to the Holy Ghost.

HISTORY OR SYMBOL? By F. W. MERENS (*Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede*, April, 1898).—The "modern" theologians of Holland move on at a pace which will soon carry them outside the domain of theology altogether. Not content with finding interpolations in every early Christian document, some of them now boldly set aside the clearly ascertained facts of history. According to Dr. Kuyper's weekly paper, *De Heraut*, at the last meeting of the Protestant Confederation, one of the speakers expressed himself as follows, without calling forth the slightest symptoms of dissent:—"Concerning Jesus nothing is historically certain. Not even His cross. Not even His name. Not even the fact of His appearing. In this absolute want of knowledge regarding Him lie the occasion and justification of the symbolical method, and at the same time the imperious demand to accept the symbol absolutely as symbol." This strange teaching appears to coincide to some extent with that of Professor Erich Haupt, of Halle, whose brochure on the importance of the Holy Scripture for the evangelical church has been translated into Dutch by Dr. Boon, of Enkhuizen. It is to some of the statements in this booklet—which has been described in Germany as by far the most important monograph on the Bible that has

appeared in recent times—that Mr. Merens calls attention in the organ of official orthodoxy.

Its purpose, he says, is to show that God does not come to us by the round-about way of the perception of the truth of historical facts, but exercises immediate influence upon us, not by revelations which were given aforetime, but by such as are given now to every one personally. A glorious prospect is thereby opened for the Church. No one need any longer trouble himself with any historical question whatever. By the reading of Scripture there comes from God a sanctifying and saving influence independent of all historical convictions, or of ideas regarding controverted points in the domain of religion. Everything depends upon what is revealed to us to-day, not upon what was revealed in some previous age.

There is in this a double use of the word revelation. When the Scripture is described as the record of Divine revelations, what is meant is the unfolding of truth previously unknown, or of facts connected therewith. On the other hand, the revelations with which the Church in the future is alone to be concerned have nothing to do with new and hitherto unknown truth, but with the working of the Spirit of God, by which the work and truth of the Gospel, long known to previous generations, are revealed before the mind's eye of the individual man. Centuries ago God sent His only begotten Son into the world to save sinners, Who revealed this great and significant fact at the time to His Apostles and the Christian Church. According to Haupt, all that has little bearing on the Church of our day, which has only to do with what is now revealed through the reading of the Scripture to every one whose mind's eye is opened to behold it. With regard to this idea one may be permitted to remark that the distinction between revelation then and now does not hold, for the Scripture is thus both the record of the objective revelations of God in the events of earlier times, and the ground of the subjective revelations presented by His Spirit to our spirit. So we must object to the idea that the Gospel is for us the Word of God, not because it tells of what He once revealed and did in Jesus, but because it concerns a work that God performs in us now. The one cannot be separated from the other. The work that God performs in us now is to bring us to the belief in Him of whom the Gospel testifies as come to save sinners. The Gospel must testify to us of what God once did and revealed before it can accomplish its mission for and in us.

God makes known His ways to us by His Word and Spirit. This is also applicable to Christ, the personal, speaking word of God. And all that the Spirit of God testifies to the heart concerning the way of salvation could not be done with success if Christ had not appeared beforehand in the flesh as our counterpart, as the type of true righteousness, and as the pattern of what we may become through His power and in His fellowship. Verily, if there are no facts, how are we to know that there are symbols through which God truly speaks to us? Is our supposed self-consciousness with regard to this infallible? The anxious inquirer will indeed receive but little satisfaction from the advice not to ask for historical certainty or truth, as having nothing to do with the matter, because everything hinges upon direct religious impressions which point out to the individual the revelations of God.

It is the opinion of Haupt and others that faith is the organ, that is, the instrument or power by which we obtain certainty as to the things of the spiritual world. According to Biblical phraseology, faith signifies conviction or confidence of the heart. And our every-day manner of speech might well be taken into account here and so prevent faith from being confused with supposition or problematical regard. But whether faith be looked upon as firm conviction or as supposition, there is always implied a disposition of the soul with respect to spiritual things. How, then,

can Haupt and his associates call faith the instrument or means whereby certainty is reached? The organ or faculty by which certainty is attained is that part of our being through which we stand in relation to the spiritual world, that is, the reason and religious instinct implanted in us by God.

According to Haupt's doctrine, there is no commandment in the Scripture, represented as given by God, that possesses any lawful authority over us sinful and fallible creatures unless it is an unavoidable necessity for us to recognize it as a command of God. We must in our own minds feel constrained to give heed to what is commanded. Even in his sinful state it would appear that man stands in such close touch with God that when a command is really from Him, or when a truth is revealed to any one by Him, He makes this to be felt unmistakably and with constraining power. If we do not feel this, then the commandment is not from God, and so for us has no authority! Are we to give heed to such an idea? Nay, the authority of God's laws and revelations exists independent of man's more or less ruined condition: and that authority is binding upon us all the same even although we do not feel disposed to own it.

If complete certainty must be attained, not only regarding the great outstanding facts of the revelation of salvation, but also regarding all the historical details mentioned in Scripture, the accomplishment of this would assuredly be a never-ending labour. But with respect to the historical aspect of that which comes into direct relation with the saving of the sinner, we really do not need to be so full of doubt as Haupt tries to make out. That it was possible for even the oldest witnesses to err, that the Gospels are perhaps spurious, that the Church Fathers may have been as easily misled as those who came after them—all this is laid down by him in such a way as if it really must be admitted, and as if it followed therefrom that we were not in a position to obtain any historical certainty touching the great facts of the revelation of salvation. That men may attempt to explain the appearances of the risen Christ as in every case subjective representations of the imagination, is no evidence that the history of the establishment of the Christian Church can in that way be satisfactorily explained.

We doubt not that the revived difficulties concerning the New Testament will be found to be purely arbitrary, and that the man will never be found who, apart from the reality of the fact, will explain to us the belief of the disciples in the resurrection of Christ and the existence of an argument such as 1 Cor. xv. The Apostles, the earliest Christians, and the Church Fathers may have been in error regarding some subordinate points; but how can one imagine that it could have been possible for Peter, Paul, John, Polycarp, Irenæus, and Justin to give themselves over to colossal conjecture or mystification, and with such incredible rashness and incomprehensible reiteration? Were, then, all the Christians of the first centuries fanatical madmen?

Nay, we must not, like Haupt, say to the Church: The history of Christ, and who He was, is very uncertain; but this really does not matter. Your religious instinct can tell you that the effect produced by the narratives about His kind-hearted intercourse with sinners is proof to you of the forgiving love of God. On the contrary, after earnest examination of the image of Christ sketched for us in the Scripture, taken in connection with the unimpeachable testimony of history—without which it remains an inexplicable riddle—we must address the Church, and say: It is the doing of the Lord; believe in Him whom the Father hath sent, and permit yourselves to be renewed by His Spirit, if you would be kept by Him. The fear of Haupt that we should wish to satisfy men with a historical faith is quite superfluous. The question is rather whether we ought not to fear that Haupt's notion of the kernel of the

Gospel will lead many a one to be satisfied with a superficial impression of an image of Christ, partly historical, partly imaginary, without bringing him to the personal fellowship of faith and life with the truly living Christ, who must be esteemed by us as our Lord and Saviour, to the glory of the Father.

CURRENT SCANDINAVIAN THOUGHT.

SOME THOUGHTS ON PREACHING. By Pastors J. V. HOFF and M. J. FÆRDEN.—The Church question in its various aspects has been keenly debated in Scandinavia in recent years. The Lutheran State Churches have not only failed to meet the wants of the increasing population in certain centres, but their somewhat rigid constitution has loosened their hold on many who are seeking a freer and less dogmatic form of Christianity than is there presented. Separatism has accordingly gained ground on the one hand, and a diminished Church attendance has resulted on the other. To meet material needs new parishes are being erected and new churches built; and with a view to regain lost ground in another direction, the clergy are discussing improved methods of preaching. Two of the latest contributions to this subject are here summarized, the first from the Danish *Kirketidende* (1898, Nos. 21 and 22), by Pastor Hoff; and the second from the Norwegian *Luthersk Ugeskrift* (1898, No. 1), by Pastor Færden, the editor.

I. When we read the discourses of the Apostles, as recorded in the New Testament, we are struck with their wonderful simplicity and plainness. When we compare them with the discourses of famous preachers of later times and of our own day they seem to be in many respects inferior to these. We seem to meet with much more art, thought, imagination, and eloquence in the latter than in the former. And yet the influence of the Apostles' discourses was very much greater, the reason being that they were in a much higher degree saturated with God's Word. This does not mean that they were full of repetitions of what the Lord said, or of quotations from the Holy Scripture, but that the Apostles' discourses were the living and true expression of the good news they had to bring from God. They had so completely given themselves up to faith in God's Word that it had permeated their whole being. God's Word so lived in their hearts and moulded their personality that the proclamation of their word and of His Word was one and the same thing. All art and eloquence counted for nothing in comparison with the fact that this blessed message of peace and salvation was there. What are all the voices of men when God Himself speaks? This feeling of being overwhelmed by the Gospel of God's grace, of being its humble but happy servant, was their whole testimony. Hence its simplicity and plainness, and hence also its authority. This feeling of the Gospel's own inherent glory should be the first and most important element in all Christian preaching.

It has been in all ages and countries one of the greatest of temptations for preachers to allow human art and eloquence to overshadow the Word of the Lord. This temptation was already known in the Apostolic age. Paul is never weary of giving warning against it; his Epistles to the Corinthians are full of it. The temptation to place merely human power, cleverness, or any other gift in the

place of God's spirit is a very dangerous one, and one which results in nothing less than the distortion of the whole essence of Christianity. In our own day this temptation comes to the front at all times and at every turn. There is no form of Christian preaching in which it does not show itself. There is no ecclesiastical camp into which it does not force its way. And it has the power of presenting itself under many different forms. How common is the temptation merely to give an address instead of to bear Christian testimony. And yet in spite of all the gifts of oratory, how far does such preaching fall short of the proclamation of the blessed message of salvation. How impersonal, how abstract can such preaching be. How wanting in directness, in application to the human heart. Many eloquent ministers have succumbed to the temptation to be orators instead of preachers, to be masters of the art of rhetoric in place of being servants of God's Word.

There is another form of preaching in our days which I should like to say a word about—namely, the so-called Christian lecture. The religious lecture or address is widely popular and largely attended, and this in itself is satisfactory. Much good may be accomplished in this way, and sound spiritual instruction imparted. But it is not unattended with dangers and temptations. The question that naturally arises to almost every such lecturer is, "What shall I speak about?" An ordinary sermon, on a common text, such as may be heard from any ordinary minister, is not thought good enough for special occasions. Something new is needed, or, at any rate, something that sounds new. A fresh subject must be sought for, or at least a new form for an old subject, so that the attention of the hearers may be secured. And so there comes a hunting after novelty, which is seldom beneficial, and a study of the public taste, which is dangerous. The result is a desire to dazzle, to entertain, to be interesting. The proclamation of Christian truth is involuntarily placed on a level with all sorts of other topics from the domains of history, of nature, and of thought. But all such discourses, which merely answer questions that are of no living interest to men, or which appeal to nothing but the imagination, or which have no other effect than entertainment, are absolutely injurious. If such preaching as prevails in lecture halls were to be permanently transferred to our pulpits, the result to the community would immediately show itself in a general decline of spiritual life. There is one thing that must never be wanting in a Christian sermon, and that is the testimony—that something which burns in the preacher's soul, and which he must say, because it is from God. And there must further be the assurance that Christianity is not a truth among all the other truths, but that it is the truth itself, the truth unto salvation; and that, therefore, the preacher's mission is not so much to awaken his hearers' thoughts, imagination, or interest, but, first and last, to reach their conscience.

There is in this connection another danger—namely, that of allowing the human testimony to cast the Divine into the shade. It is a danger which ministers encounter who, in their zeal and ardour to stir up men's hearts, are not content to rest satisfied with what the Lord and His Apostles say and teach, but who endeavour to add something of their own, so as to strengthen the Word of God. There is a fear that otherwise it is not powerful enough, nor effectual enough. Such men have existed all through the Church's history. They have been known as severely orthodox preachers in the post-Reformation days, whose passion for dogma was such as to lead them to hold the spiritual life of the Christian as it were in a vice with dogmatic formulas. And they have been known in the earlier and later days of pietism, when the little message of man came to bulk so largely as to overshadow the great life-giving message of God's grace. The farther the proclamation of the Gospel travels from its central

point, the less it is filled with God's Word, the more violent it usually becomes. One easily learns to lay the greatest stress on the most indifferent things; one readily becomes narrow-minded and censorious.

Then there is something which has come to be called present-day preaching. It has been said that all our preaching should be such, that our sermons ought to have a special bearing upon the age and its new types of thought. There is something in that. The preacher, it is true, ought not to be outside the age in which he lives, nor strange and foreign to the busy human life which touches him on every side. Preaching cannot be exactly the same as it was at the beginning of the century, and it is not the same. One must needs be awake, live with the times, and see with the light that now shines. But for all that it is still the old Gospel that must be preached. What distinguishes God's Word from all words of man is that while theirs perish with the flowers of the field, His endures for ever. The clergy must make themselves acquainted with the questions of the day in order that they may understand them and be capable of forming a judgment upon them. But it is no part of their duty to take up burning questions with a view to pointing the way to their solution. In dealing with such problems Christ did not Himself give decisions, but He showed His hearers the spirit in which they ought to be solved. Beyond this it is not the function of the preacher to go. Our preaching must not be strange to nor unacquainted with the life that surrounds us, and it must be constantly renewed. But the renewal must be the outcome of the careful reading of two books: the Bible and the human heart. There must be drawn from the deep waters of Holy Scripture new points of view, new enlightenment, new power, and new trust. And the human heart is indeed no stranger to the pulse-beat of the new age. There is no need for fearing that preaching will become old-fashioned if we would only read diligently and well in these two books. In a Christian sense such reading will keep us well abreast of the times.

Having pointed to these few out of many dangers, let me expressly say that I have singled out these particular forms only in so far as they may injure the substance of preaching. It appears to me to be certain that if the Christlikeness of the matter can be preserved uninjured, a preacher may use any form he pleases which is not otherwise unsuited to his office. As to this no rule can be laid down, no special form can be authorized: only it must be God's testimony that is proclaimed, the one thing needful that is preached; and that not merely for the information of an audience, but as the testimony of the Spirit in the Church of God, as a powerful and gracious message of salvation from God to the human heart and conscience. Let us have less of dogma and more of the Bible. We ought not to forget that God's Word must never be our servant, but that we must be the servants of God's Word.

It was a wise saying of Luther that when you are about to preach, and look round the Church and see it full of learned doctors, but among them a single, simple soldier, it is your duty to preach to the soldier. The truth that underlies this saying is that it is simplicity that really carries the power, and peace and joy of God's kingdom to mankind whether they be learned or unlearned. Simplicity is the royal garment of truth. It is the same both for doctors and soldiers. This is often forgotten in the world's vain race, but for all that a preacher must have the courage to be plain.

II. Every age, just as every nation, has its idiosyncrasies, its character, its virtues, and its vices. The only thing in which there is no difference is that all ages, just as all nations, stand in need of the healing power of Christ's Gospel. But this healing power has to be administered in different ways at different times in accor-

dance with the varying forms in which the need for it shows itself. What the Lord demands of his servants is that they shall discern the signs of the times. A servant of the Lord must, as has been said, lay his ear upon the working, striving, suffering breast of humanity, feel its heart-beat, its warm breath, the throbbing blood in its veins, and then, like a skilful physician, form his diagnosis.

Every one who has in any degree followed the inner history of this age knows that there has risen a science, especially a natural science, that cannot reconcile itself with the Christian conception of the world. There has been found in nature a conformity to law which is believed to have left no room for the interference of a Divine providence. Evolution or development is held to explain everything, both in the life of man and in that of nature. Religion, morality, history, as well as nature, have been looked at from the point of view of evolution only, and everything that does not conform to this law has been rejected as incompatible with actual truth. And these thoughts are not confined to cultured circles. Ours is not an age of intellectual any more than of political aristocracy. What is one day whispered in the chambers of the learned, is the next day proclaimed upon the house-tops. And so the revolutionary socialism of our time is nothing more than the translation of materialistic science into the popular dialect.

It is easily seen that an intellectual tendency like this has little sympathy with the Gospel of Christianity, and that it is the preacher's duty, with all his power, to witness against it, and to combat it. But he must also know how to reach the needs that lie at the bottom of it, and to recognize and employ in the interests of the faith the sparks of truth that even here gleam through the error. It should be borne in mind that the Christian life is simply the outcome of the Christian faith, that deeds of Christian charity are just the unfolding of the morality that Christianity proclaims. It is, therefore, necessary that Christian ethics should obtain their proper place in preaching. There was a time when the moral sermon lay under suspicion. This was a quite natural reaction from the rationalistic preaching which made use of morality as a makeshift in place of the faith which it had lost. But this sort of ethical preaching will, we hope, never again find a place in the pulpit. We call God's Word a spiritual food. But a spiritual food that merely called forth fleeting emotions, sensations, and impulses, would not be the healthy, nourishing food that we need. It is therefore fortunate that emotional Christianity has become discredited. In so far as it preached morality, it was the morality that shuns the world and its duties, not that which overcomes the world while at the same time discharging its duties.

The evangelical character of preaching is not thereby wiped out, but rather deepened and intensified by laying true Christian emphasis upon morality, in which the gift and the duty, the doctrine and the life, present themselves in indissoluble unity, as the two inseparable sides of the Gospel—as at one and the same time perfect Gospel and perfect law: not the old deadening law of external commands and orders, but the new law of the spirit, the perfect law of freedom. The more preaching gains in inward moral power, the less need will it have for external aids foreign to morality in its deepest sense, whether of threatening or of alluring, such as the fear of hell or the hope of heaven. Such preaching will have a visible and testing effect upon the preacher himself. There is the danger in merely doctrinal preaching that the preacher can place himself outside of it. But the more the preacher has regard to life, the greater becomes the demand that a living witness should stand behind the preaching, a witness who speaks from life's own experience, and whose words therefore possess all the more convincing power.

The more practical and ethical preaching becomes the less need is there for

encroaching on the domains of science. There is no necessity for suppressing or concealing a single dogma. Every true doctrine, every real truth of faith has also its practical significance and is capable of an ethical application. There is nothing that is the subject of God's revelation but what has actual value and significance for us. It is not human curiosity that God has had in view in His revelation. Dreamings for example about the millennium, and calculations as to the year and day of coming events are morally unfruitful and therefore find no countenance in the Holy Scripture.

This demand for practical application, for ethical results from preaching, is not to be understood as meaning that it is needful at all times and everywhere to point the moral. In many cases the moral will be very evident. But in every case one must endeavour to avoid a stereotyped mannerism, for every mannerism has a dulling effect. It is not everything that is suitable for all. Just as in a general way it holds good that all gifts may be taken into the service of Christianity, so also does it hold good of preaching. The pulpit must not be turned into a bed of Procrustes: but what must be insisted upon is that the moral outlook upon life must always be there.

Wherever attention is paid to the moral life, there also notice is taken of the conscience. As the eye is the organ for the world of light, so the conscience is the organ for the world of morality. This is the point of contact both for religious and moral influence. And this meeting-place is found in every man, heathen as well as Christian. It is only when the conscience is awakened that the sinner is awakened, and comes to himself. If progress is to be made in the work of moral cleansing and purifying within the Church, regard must be had to the consciences of the people, and an effort made to reach them. But the understanding, as well as the conscience and the will, must be appealed to; and that is why preachers cannot afford to neglect the intellectual side of Christianity. They must, without either judging or accusing, seek to bear such testimony as will clear away misunderstandings and prevent prejudices. It is the right and the duty of the Church to address to all who are working at the problems of culture, science, art, and society, the same call: What ye seek is to be found here! Here there is room for all truth, all beauty, all love, if they will place themselves in God's service. Here ye may learn to control not only the world outside of you, but also the world of desires and longings, and of the powers of the intellect and the feelings of the heart within you. Here is the unknown God, to whom ye also have raised an altar, and whom ye have worshipped in your noblest endeavours. Behold Him in His revelation of grace, and the unknown God will become known and dear to you!

THE BOOK CRITIC.

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE NEW CRITICISM. By ALFRED BLOMFIELD, D.D., Bishop Suffragan of Colchester. London: Elliot Stock, 1898.

THIS book is a breezy and readable contribution to the great controversy now in progress on the origin of Old Testament Scripture. It is a sign of the revolt of common sense against the extreme conclusions of the modern school of rationalistic criticism. This revolt is daily becoming more wide-spread and persistent. Earlier in the century critics were occupied chiefly with New Testament problems. Thirty

years ago *Essays and Reviews* and Colenso's *Pentateuch, &c.*, critically examined called forth vigorous protest, and learned refutation which was deemed sufficient at the time. Although only a few agreed with Ewald in his conclusions, many admired his vast learning and industry, and appreciated his reverent feeling for the religion and literature of Israel. Especially was this the case in Britain and America, where Ewald's opinions, modified somewhat, were made known in graceful, poetical style by one so much admired and beloved as the late Dean Stanley. But the later Old Testament criticism of the Kuenen-Wellhausen school, with its dry statements of Old Testament Scripture history "revised" to suit the Grafian hypothesis; its rejection of the earlier history as mythical, whilst yet founding on isolated facts for proofs of the theory; its arbitrary alteration or rejection of portions of the text as later additions; and its studious ignoring of all that has been advanced in disproof of its positions, is repugnant to reasonable, thinking men; and in this book Dr. Blomfield breaks a lance sturdily with Dr. Driver and Wellhausen as representatives of the modern school of criticism.

Dr. Blomfield frankly admits that he does not possess special Hebrew scholarship. His position, however, is made clear on p. 42.

"In the volume we are now about to consider (Canon Driver's *Introduction*), the rationalists, in the person of their champion, Dr. Driver, have descended from the *edita doctrina sapientum templa serena*, in which 'analytical criticism' reigns supreme, and from which 'non-experts' are rigorously excluded; they have come down into the world of ordinary intelligence in which acquaintance with the niceties of Hebrew scholarship and ingenuity in literary dissection are not the only qualities recognized, but reason and common sense, and the power of judging fairly from evidence clearly put before us, can claim to be taken into account as factors which cannot be ignored in the ultimate verdict to be pronounced."

And, as he also points out, special scholarship does not guarantee to any one logical acuteness or correctness in drawing inferences from facts (p. 4). A philologist may not always be a good logician or historian. And may not a too exclusive pursuit of one science, or a special region of one science, tend to narrow the outlook, and prevent clear views of adjacent fields of knowledge?

Bishop Blomfield thoroughly appreciates the good points in Dr. Driver's *Introduction*, and acknowledges his eminence in the field of Hebrew scholarship. He also recognizes the fact that the Oxford professor does not accept the extreme position of the Graf-Wellhausen school, but is what is called a "moderate" critic; although he pertinently asks "what 'moderation' has to do with a criticism which professes to be entirely scientific." And he gladly acknowledges that the meaning of this ambiguous term as applied to Dr. Driver is that "he, though advocating rationalistic views, yet writes as a believer and a Christian" (p. 44). But though all this is gladly conceded, the author holds that the *Introduction* is through and through vitiated by the fallacies of the school to which it belongs.

Dr. Blomfield has apparently studied carefully not only Dr. Driver's *Introduction* and Wellhausen's *Prolegomena*, but other works on both sides of the question, and he brings a cultured intellect, with an essentially broad outlook, to bear on the subject. He has a keen eye for historical parallels, and a genial though restrained sense of humour. The book is, of course, a "popular" one, and appeared first in a serial publication, which may account for the occasional repetition of arguments. But it will be useful to many who have no time to examine these questions for themselves, and who may be led, without due care, to accept as final the *dicta* of men like Dr. Driver. It will help to show that there is much at least in those

modern critical opinions that is unfounded, and that many of the arguments advanced to uphold them may be readily overturned.

On the main question, and following Professor Robertson, of Glasgow,¹ the author says:

"His statement (Dr. Driver's) that it 'cannot be doubted that the same conclusions, upon any neutral field of investigation, would have been accepted without hesitation by all conversant with the subject,' will rest only on his own *ipse dixit* until he has been able to adduce a single instance in which conclusions reached by the methods he has employed have been substantiated by the general verdict of educated men. Meantime, we may adhere to our view that the principles on which Dr. Driver has treated the *Literature of the Old Testament* (so far as the disputed books are concerned), if applied to any other literature, and to history as connected with or evidenced by literature, would make both an unintelligible chaos" (pp. 6, 7).

And he seems to make good this point in several of his historical parallels. One or two of the points in the *Introduction* which he specially objects to are these: that Dr. Driver, in a great many instances, *states his conclusions without stating his reasons for them*. "It is not enough for us to be told that he has considered all that has to be said on the other side, and has found it insufficient. We want to be told *why* he considers it insufficient" (p. 47); and that he advances *as completely established what is purely conjectural*. Attention is rightly called to the fact that, whilst dogmatically stating the main conclusions of modern Old Testament criticism "in the innumerable particulars which are required to establish these conclusions . . . he speaks with hesitation and uncertainty." "We are introduced to four different degrees of possibility . . . all that Dr. Driver seeks to establish for many of his speculations is a high degree of possibility" (p. 48). It is also well that general readers should be reminded that the *consensus* of eminent critics, so often appealed to, though general, is not complete; and that this same *consensus* has been claimed for hypotheses in the past, whose failure has simply shown it to be a *consensus* in what was erroneous. So, too, it was necessary to point out that the new Higher Criticism "imparts the habits and usages of modern 'literature' into the works of the Biblical writers, whose style is more loose and less artificial than our modern style of historical narration,—not so logical or clear in method." Whilst it is shown that examples of the same faults may even be found in modern literature (p. 75).

The passages chosen for examination in their treatment by Dr. Driver are typical, and are examined fairly. The Narrative of the Spies, The Craft of the Gibeonites, &c., &c. (pp. 76-98). He readily shows that Dr. Driver finds discrepancies where none exist. Those so-called discrepancies have been minutely and carefully examined, and explained long ago and by many writers, by none more thoroughly than by Hävernich and Hengstenberg. The historical parallel between the position of the priests and Levites and the different orders of the clergy of the Church of England is particularly well done; so too is Dr. Blomfield's examination of the treatment of the Exodus in the *Introduction*.

He also calls attention to the ignoring of the *poetical* character of the Psalter by the critic, and the treatment of it in a prosaic, matter-of-fact fashion which quite misses the mark. Readers will find especially striking the contrast between Dr. Driver's treatment of the "prince of psalmists" and that of Carlyle. The method of "the Anglican professor—the cold unsympathetic estimate, the hard unimaginative

¹To whose *Early Religion of Israel*—now in its fourth edition—no answer has been forthcoming from the opposite side.

literalism, the minute and captious criticism" is set out against the "warm generous spirit in which the non-Christian author of *Heroes and Hero-Worship* has recorded his appreciation of the character of David, as revealed in those psalms which no 'higher-criticism' had taught Carlyle to assign to unknown and imaginary authors" (p. 106).

Into Dr. Blomfield's investigation of points and passages in Wellhausen's *Prolegomena* we cannot follow him at present. With the same success he points out how great Wellhausen's assumptions often are, and how slender are the foundations upon which they rest. Especially happy is his parallel between the history of the Jewish high priesthood and the Archbishopric of Canterbury. The weakness of the *argumentum e silentio*, so often appealed to by the critics, is forcibly stated, and supported also by historical parallels. The majority of thinking men, indeed, will agree with the author in the opinion, that however notable may be the scholarship of men like Wellhausen, Driver, &c., they show themselves lacking in a true sense of history; and that Old Testament history as modelled and represented—or misrepresented—by them is utterly unreal. And even then it does not give full support to the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis without the aid, in the prophetic books as well, of various changes in the text, interpolations, conjectural emendations, &c., &c., which make the books an impossible patchwork, to which no literature in the world can furnish a parallel.

Whilst thus protesting strongly against, and disproving many positions of the modern criticism, Bishop Blomfield himself by no means stands in the extreme traditional position. Perhaps some will think he goes too far in the other direction; but after all he only admits what would not impair the authenticity of any ancient work of history or the *bona fides* of its writer. This, as before said, is a "popular" book; but it will be useful, especially to the laity, and may help to prevent the rash acceptance of the extreme opinions of this modern Higher Criticism, and serve to call attention to the fact that scholarship on the one side has been met by scholarship on the other.

Dr. Blomfield calls attention to the grave questions which might soon be raised if many of the clergy and teachers in the Church were to accept the opinions of the Wellhausen school; and it must be stated that he does not include Dr. Driver among those who do. As he points out, the point of view of Kuenen and Wellhausen is a "naturalistic" one. Miracle, prophecy, a special Divine revelation, they do not hold by. And it would be certainly a strange revolution in the Christian Church, if at the end of this century men holding such opinions were permitted freely to preach from her pulpits and teach from her Chairs. However much we may disagree with Wellhausen's opinions on the Old Testament, and resent his manner of treatment of writings that are yet considered sacred and inspired by the vast majority of Christians, yet we must admit not only his great erudition in a special direction, but his fearless honesty in holding these critical views, and his conscientiousness in following his convictions. It is known that after adopting his present views he resigned his *theological* professorship in Greifswald, and turned to the more unfettered sphere of a professorship in *philology*, in which he could more freely and *conscientiously* advocate the opinions he had formed. It would certainly tend to clear the at present somewhat misty atmosphere of theological opinion, both in Germany and at home, and show us better where we stand, were those who accept the extreme opinions of Wellhausen also to follow his praiseworthy example.

WM. FRANK SCOTT.

FOUNDERS OF OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM. By T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture, Oxford, and Canon of Rochester. Methuen & Co. 1893.

THIS last work of Canon Cheyne's prolific pen cannot fail to interest and instruct a wide class of readers. For it has evidently been the aim of the author to give his book such a form as to attract not merely Old Testament specialists, but also all intelligent students of the Old Testament Scriptures, who do not happen to be conversant with the original languages in which they were written. Acting, therefore, upon the principle that if a treatise is to have many readers it must be readable, the author has given a life-like portraiture of the illustrious founders of the Higher Criticism of the Old Testament, and has not loaded his pages with technicalities that would repel, but has said enough on the weightier themes of Old Testament scholarship to tempt the reader to pursue his studies further, especially if he is conversant with German and possesses some knowledge of Hebrew. And yet to this merit there is one conspicuous exception, which we are disposed to deprecate, viz., the elaborate and highly technical criticism of Canon Driver's recent *Introduction to Old Testament Literature*, which originally appeared in the pages of the *Expositor* (Feb.—April, 1892). This profoundly interesting and friendly polemic is extremely valuable to Old Testament scholars and students of Hebrew; and those who do not possess the *Expositor*—and among specialists in Biblical study these are probably few—will welcome this *Separatabdruck* of a very weighty series of essays. But their presence in this volume destroys its homogeneity, even when regarded as an addendum. Moreover, leaving such a consideration out of sight, where, we venture to ask, consists the propriety of devoting nearly 125 pages out of a total of 872 to the author's Oxford colleague as one of the "founders of Old Testament criticism," while only some brief and interesting *nine* pages are allotted to Kuenen? The book, as a whole, suffers thereby from the lack of due proportion in its parts. But there is also an obvious and glaring omission—the name of perhaps the most conspicuous founder of our modern English Old Testament criticism is left entirely out of account. This was, of course, inevitable under the circumstances, but it unfortunately makes Canon Cheyne's work a torso. For how can the story of the British endeavour to construct a scientific historical theory of Old Testament literature, with its manifold and complex phenomena, be complete when the part played by the great Protagonist, Canon Cheyne himself, is scarcely indicated? His labours now extend over more than a quarter of a century (1867—1898), and it would be very difficult to point to a series of achievements in the same department more solid in their character and more potent in their results. Some seven years after their publication I read his *Notes, &c.*, on the text of Isaiah (1868), and his *Isaiah Chronologically Arranged* (1870). I can well remember how at that time to me, then a beginner in Hebrew studies, these works opened a new path of progress, and afforded fresh and powerful incentives to a pursuit where so much was to be learned, and where tempting fields of investigation opened on every side. In those days one heard less of Kuenen and more of Ewald. The powerful impress of the latter scholar's *Prophets of the Old Covenant* is clearly marked in Cheyne's earliest work. Previous to 1870 HeJerson's *Isaiah*, Perowne *On the Psalms*, and Pusey's *Daniel* (1869), were regarded as the acme of British scholarship in the department of Old Testament study. The school of Hengstenberg exercised its narrowing influence on the work of nearly all British scholars. All intellectual effort directed towards the discovery of truth was severely restricted by the prevalence of certain traditional and foregone conclusions respecting Scripture. Archæology was pursued and

utilized to the utmost, but it was treated too much as the armoury of the apologete.

The reader may refer for copious illustration of what I am saying to Smith's earlier *Dictionary of the Bible*. Let him read the article on Isaiah, and the strenuous efforts of the writer to defend the unity now almost universally surrendered. Let him note the cautious and tentative efforts of Perowne to suggest a composite Penta-teuch, and he will then be in a better position to estimate at its true worth the courage of the young Oxford scholar in those early days, when he fought almost single-handed. It was about this time he joined Dr. Appleton in his great endeavour to raise the intellectual ideals of English culture in every department, scientific and literary, by the foundation of *The Academy*, to which Canon Cheyne is still a contributor. His efforts soon met with their noblest reward—viz., the recognition of their merit from the best qualified and the highest endowed. In Germany, the Fatherland of true science, his work was immediately welcomed as the promise of a greater future. "Feinsinnige und gründlich gelehrte Bemerkungen lieferte Cheyne in zwei Schriften"—wrote Professor Diestel, of Jena, in 1872, in his preface to a new edition of Knobel's commentary on Isaiah; and this reference is the more remarkable, as it is the only favourable notice bestowed by the writer on the work of British scholars in this department, with one notable exception, that of Dr. Rowland Williams, whose treatise on the *Hebrew Prophets* is briefly mentioned. The work of Dr. Rowland Williams, writer on Bunsen's "Biblical Researches," among the *Essays and Reviews*, should not be forgotten. The Vice-Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter, shared with Dr. Samuel Davidson and Bishop Colenso the unique distinction of being one of the "brave men before Agamemnon," who suffered for their opinions in the preceding decade, 1860—1870. All may not have felt the stress with the same severity as Davidson and Colenso; but this should not detract from the merit of men who in those days had the courage, like Dean Stanley, to avow their indebtedness to Gesenius, Ewald, and Knobel, and to follow them towards conclusions then almost universally regarded with disfavour. Some of these conclusions may be obsolete, yet none of those who are in this last decade swimming with the full stream of approbation for the critical theories of Kuenen and Wellhausen will grudge the highest honour to the small band of Old Testament scholars who in 1860—1870 swam against the tide of ecclesiastical prejudice with dire risk and disadvantage to themselves. As a Congregationalist I am grateful to Canon Cheyne for the simple justice he deservedly renders to the name of Dr. Samuel Davidson. Recent articles in the *British Weekly* by an old alumnus of Lancashire Independent College clearly show that the change in Dr. Davidson's critical position was the cause, and not the effect, of his expulsion from his professorship. But we must not forget to mention other representations of British scholarship in 1870. For Professor A. B. Davidson, known in 1861 for his useful and learned treatise on Hebrew accents, was at that time preparing the way in Scotland for a more scientific treatment of the Old Testament. He and his illustrious pupil, Professor Robertson Smith, may be regarded as sharing with Cheyne the honour of being the real "Bahnbrecher" of our modern British Old Testament research by the work contributed by each during the eventful decade 1870—1880. And admirably did they supplement each other! Cheyne, chiefly as exegete and critic of Hebrew prophecy, was the first (1870) to apply with real intelligence the best ascertained results of cuneiform studies to the illustration of the oracles of Isaiah; Robertson Smith, by his training in Arabic, was able, like his German *alter ego*, Wellhausen, to devote its valuable illustrative material to the study of Old Testament ideas, social institutions, and ritual; while Professor A. B. Davidson, as a

teacher of a new race of theologians, distinguished already by his work on Job, was exercising an influence that was destined to be far-reaching in its effects. Of the two Scotchmen, teacher and disciple, we have an adequate and appreciative estimate in these pages. The name of Professor A. B. Davidson, however, should have been placed earlier than that of his distinguished pupil.

And here surely (p. 228) our interest in the foundation-laying of Old Testament criticism may be said to cease. Let us turn, therefore, to the earlier portions of the work, and contemplate the portraits of our intellectual ancestry that look down upon us. Specially grateful are we for the account of brave Dr. Geddes, "almost the only person whose opinion on his own works Eichhorn would listen to with respect." The boldness of Geddes' views is surprising when we remember that he was a Roman Catholic, and that he enunciated them just one century ago. Respecting Genesis he wrote (p. 10):—

"I will not pretend to say that [its history] is entirely unmingled with the leaven of the heroic ages. Let the father of Hebrew be tried by the same rules of criticism as Greek history. Why might not the Hebrews have their mythology as well as other nations, and why might not their mythologists contrive or improve a system of cosmogony as well as those of Chaldaea, or Egypt, or Greece, or Italy, or Persia, or Hindostan?"

Like Hobbes, Geddes denied that the Pentateuch in its present form was written by Moses.

"But although I am inclined to believe that the Pentateuch was reduced into its present form in the reign of Solomon, I am fully persuaded that it was compiled from ancient documents, some of which were coeval with Moses and some even anterior to Moses."

The influence of Geddes and Lowth on Vater, Eichhorn, and other German theologians at the beginning of the century, is an interesting fact, and it is by no means the only example of intellectual seed passing from England to the more congenial soil of Germany, and attaining a richer development in the land of its adoption than in the land of its birth. We shall meet with another instance later on. In England we search in vain for any growth of the critical movement inaugurated by Geddes.

From Geddes we pass to Eichhorn, of whom we possess in these pages a very interesting sketch. Eichhorn may properly be called the genial parent of Old Testament criticism. It was his distinguishing merit that he approached his Old Testament studies as an Orientalist, and in this respect his fruitful example was followed by his pupil Ewald, and by many another since. Passing over Ilgen (who, in those early years, was keensighted enough to discover a second as well as a first Elohist) we come to De Wette, by far the most interesting figure in the group of intellectual worthies that meet us at this time on the field of Biblical scholarship. De Wette had a chequered career. He stands at the threshold of the century in an age of political convulsions and intellectual conflict. Prof. Cheyne, in his brief sketch, tells us of his friendship for Fries, in whose philosophy his earnest religious nature found refuge from the cold rationalism of Paulus; and of his epoch-making *Beiträge*, when the foundations were for the first time laid of a true historical criticism of the Old Testament on the basis of a careful comparison of its contents. Upon these principles Deuteronomy is referred to the age of Josiah. But these are not the only solid results attained by this clear-sighted critic. Wellhausen (*Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, 2nd German edition, pp. 178, 231 foll.) bears emphatic testimony to the enduring value of De Wette's critical views respecting the Books of Chronicles. They form an interesting supplement to Canon Cheyne's pages:—

"I base my remarks throughout," says Wellhausen, "on De Wette's critical attempt to deal with the credibility of the Books of Chronicles (*Beiträge* I.; 1806). This work has not been improved upon by Graf (in his *Geschichtliche Bücher des Alt. Test.*, p. 114 foll.), for the difficulty here consists not in following up points of detail, but in furnishing a total impression and in mastering the too abundant material. This De Wette has been better able to do."

And in a later page (231 foll.) Wellhausen shows how Movers and Ewald endeavoured to undo the excellent work that De Wette had begun.

The next most interesting figure is that of Vatke, the philosophical critic. Nothing probably is more remarkable in the whole history of Old Testament science than the prophetic insight into the actual character of the Hexateuch problem which Vatke obtained from the high standpoint of the Hegelian philosophy of history. Probably no worthier tribute has ever been rendered to the validity of those principles than the verification of Vatke's hypothesis in its main outlines which the long course of literary and historical investigations worked out by experts, possessed by no special philosophical bias, was ultimately destined to realize (1862—1878). It is strange that Vatke's own later work shows that after he had descended from the mountain heights of his earlier speculation he lost the Ariadne thread.

We pass by Gesenius, the great philolog of whom Germans used wittily to say: "Er versteht Wörter aber nicht Worte." Nor can we dwell upon Ewald, remarkable alike for his colossal learning, his insight, and his egotism. Readers of dull German polemics will find relief from tedium in the perusal of some of his lively diatribes in well-nigh every preface to his works. Take his commentary on the Psalms as an entertaining illustration! Both of these scholars were pre-eminent in their great services in the formulation of Hebrew grammar. The syntactical portion of Ewald's *Ausführliches Lehrbuch* is a κῆρυξ ἐς δελ. The impulse of Ewald's great genius may be seen and felt in his disciples, Hitzig, Dillmann, Schrader, Nöldeke, Wellhausen, and Cheyne himself. We regret that Professor Cheyne has imposed stricter limitations on himself in dealing with living German critics than with British. Dillmann's relation to the critical movement certainly requires the delicate and sympathetic handling of which the author is specially capable. And surely some mention should at least be made of Nöldeke's *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des A.T.* (1869), which define the characteristics and limits of the *Grundschrift* with masterly precision. Justus Olshausen's work on the Psalms, to which reference is frequently made in the author's *Bampton Lectures*, and Stade's *History of Israel* and his well-known *Zeitschrift* (with its brilliant articles on the Deutero-Zechariah, 1831-2), and last, and not least, Duhm, Budde, König, Kittel, and Cornill deserve some space in what I trust will, in n distant coming days, be an expansion of the present work.

Let me say, in conclusion, that English readers will be thankful to Professor Cheyne for his interesting sketch of Bishop Colenso. By far the most important historical fact in this sketch is Colenso's influence on Kuenen. Here again a Briton's influence, sterile on British soil, became potent and productive on the continent. Just as David Hume roused Kant from his "dogmatic slumber," so Colenso's *Pentateuch* and *Book of Joshua*, Part I., gave Kuenen a new bent in his Old Testament studies, which he had more philological insight and critical acumen to work out than his English contemporary possessed. The story is well told by Kuenen himself in the *Theolog. Tijdschrift*, 1870 (4th series), pp. 396-425, and readers more familiar with German than with Dutch will find a translation of the main portions of the article by Wellhausen in the fourth edition of Bleek's *Einleitung*, pp. 154 foll. We heartily commend to a wide circle of readers in England and America this last instructive and stimulating product of Canon Cheyne's unwearied industry.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM FOR ENGLISH READERS. By ALFRED J. JOLLEY.
Macmillan, 1898.

THIS little book, which is not more than a moderate pamphlet in size, is well adapted for its purpose, viz., to acquaint those who know little or no Greek with an outline of what is meant by the Synoptic Problem. Whether people who know no Greek care enough about the Synoptic Problem to read even so brief and moderate a statement of it as is here presented, may be doubted: but that the book will instruct such persons, if they can be induced to read it with an open mind, need not be doubted. They will pick up a few truths, which are worth knowing and remembering, quite independently of the Synoptic Problem; of which problem some people, whom their friends would even call scholars, are inclined to think that we have heard rather much of late years. The question of the genesis of the first three Gospels is no doubt both interesting and important, especially so far as the date of the documents is dependent upon its solution; but it is possible for one generation to have more than its fair share of the discussion of an interesting and important question.

A huge number of hypotheses have been started during the last century and a half, and a great deal has been gained by showing that nearly all of them are untenable. What is often called the "two-document theory" still holds the field, modified in a variety of directions by those who adopt it. It is rather a relief to find that Mr. Jolley's view is one of these modifications. Seeing that (although much tentative work has been demolished) comparatively little has been firmly established, and almost nothing *proved*, it is always open to a fresh investigator to start on untried lines. But this the writer of this little volume does not attempt to do. His ambition is the more useful one of showing English persons, who care to raise the question "How did our Gospels come into existence?" what the meaning of the question is, and in what direction a satisfactory answer to it is likely to be found; and this he does in a clear and temperate manner.

The results which he regards as highly probable are that Mark is the oldest of the three first Gospels, and that both Matthew and Luke knew their predecessor's work, but did not know each other's work: and this last fact (if it be a fact) is held to point to the first and third Gospels having been written in different places but about the same time. The dates suggested are: for the second of the three, soon after the Destruction of Jerusalem; and for the first and third, shortly before A.D. 80. The Bampton Lecturer this year has given his adhesion to the view which places St. Luke's Gospel about A.D. 80. Mr. Jolley very reasonably makes use of the discrepancies between Matthew and Luke (*e.g.* respecting the narratives of the Birth and of the Resurrection) to show that neither can have studied, even if he had seen, the other's work: and he prefers the view that each was ignorant of what the other had written. He then goes on to point out similar discrepancies between Matthew and Mark, and between Luke and Mark. But here he prefers another solution; viz., that they were led "to modify or even contradict statements contained in a work which on the whole they valued and freely reproduced" (p. 80). English readers may not care to dispute these conclusions; but they will be glad of an explanation as to the reason why discrepancies between Matthew and Luke show that neither writer saw the other's Gospel, while discrepancies between Mark and Luke show that the latter did not hesitate to correct the former.

Following in the steps of Dr. B. Weiss, Mr. Jolley attempts to reproduce the primitive Gospel which all three Evangelists are supposed to have used, a document consisting largely of discourses. One wonders why, in constructing this, he has followed the A.V. rather than the R.V. Whatever may be thought of the merits of

each version as a translation, there can be no doubt that the R.V. is a translation from a far less corrupt Greek text than was used by any previous English translators: and purity of text is an important element in these investigations. The modification of the "two-document theory" which is adopted in this attempt at reconstruction is that our Mark, as it stands, is the second document, and not merely a pretty close representative of it. This primitive document is made to begin with the preaching of the Baptist, and to end with the anointing at Bethany in the house of Simon the leper.

Perhaps the most useful parts of the book are the incidental warnings against bibliolatry. The Evangelists were men, and the laws of human nature were not suspended when inspiration guided them in their work. They were not preserved by it from bad grammar; and we have no right to expect that they were preserved by it from inaccuracies in chronology and other matters of fact. "Of their veracity there is not the slightest room to doubt. That their statements are invariably accurate, no one who reads their work carefully can believe." That if the Bible is inspired every statement in it must be literally true, is just the kind of position to which the opponents of the faith wish to pin us; and unfortunately there are not a few Christians who are quite willing to commit themselves to this. Every one who warns believers off from this position does good service. It is unscriptural and demonstrably untrue.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

EXPLANATORY ANALYSIS OF ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

By H. P. LIDDON, D.D. Longmans. 1898.

THE late Dr. Liddon was so eminent as a preacher that it is sometimes forgotten that he was once a University Professor. His name should be associated not only with St. Paul's, but with Oxford. And the volume before us is the product (as it would appear) of many years' labour as Ireland Professor of Exegesis. It will, we believe, take its place at once in the very first rank of commentaries on the Pauline Epistles. That it is full of deep spiritual insight is what every one would expect in an expository work by Dr. Liddon. But it is more than a commentary for devotional purposes; it is an elaborate, learned, and candid treatise on one of the most difficult portions of the New Testament. An early draft of this *Explanatory Analysis* was printed privately in 1876 for the use of students who attended the author's lectures, but was not then published. In later years some of it was rewritten, as the editors tell us, and at the time of Dr. Liddon's death it was ready for the press. It is now issued as it left the author's hands, without Prolegomena, indexes, or appendices.

No Greek text is printed to accompany the notes; but, though the commentary is not mainly concerned with critical questions, various readings of importance receive a due measure of attention. As far as we have observed, a text is followed not dissimilar, on the whole, to that adopted by the New Testament Company of Revisers. In one or two cases the readings preferred by Dr. Liddon are, however, different from the R. V. and from the Westcott and Hort text. *E.g.*, he reads *ἐχωμεν* in chap. v. 1, though the MS. authority is generally regarded as favouring *ἐχουμεν*, a reading on which Alford truly remarks that here is "the crucial instance of overpowering diplomatic authority compelling us to adopt a reading against which our subjective feelings rebel." But the confusion of *ο* and *ω* is so frequent that few would venture to condemn a commentator who decided to follow internal evidence in this case. In chap. x. 17 he apparently reads *θεοῦ*, where the weight of diplomatic evidence favours *χριστοῦ*; and in xiv. 4, the alternative *κύριος* for *θεός* of the received text is not noticed. In xiv. 21 he notes simply "*ἡ σκανδαλιστρα ἡ ἀσθενεία* must be retained," although most

recent editors omit the clause as insufficiently attested. A more important critical problem arises in iv. 19, and Dr. Liddon's note declares in favour of the retention of *ὅ* before *κατεβήκεν*. This, indeed, is more obviously harmonious with the context; but it is a serious matter to reject the united testimony of N A B C (not to speak of lesser authorities), that *ὅ* is no genuine part of the Apostolic text.

In the notice prefixed to the early private issue of this commentary, Dr. Liddon wrote: "The writer has largely followed the suggestions of Meyer, wherever the theological or untheological crotchets of that great scholar have not impaired the value of his opinion." And those who seek for traces of Meyer's influence may find them, but we believe that the independence of the notes and analyses in this volume will strike every careful reader. There is always freshness in the presentation of the argument, and the collection of *relevant* patristic references is far fuller than in any other commentary on this Epistle with which we are familiar. The opinions of modern commentators are not, as a rule, discussed; and thus that strictly impersonal character is preserved in the exposition of passages of difficulty, which is so much to be desired when the book under examination is a portion of Holy Scripture. It is very unedifying to find personal controversy occupying so prominent a place as it does in many popular commentaries on the New Testament.

This is not the place to quote Dr. Liddon's elaborate notes on St. Paul's argument; readers must be referred to the book itself. We can only cite one or two passing remarks which are of interest as indicating his opinions on some debated topics. On chap. viii. 8 he observes (p. 128), "*περὶ ἀναπρίας* seems to negative the Scotist hypothesis that the Incarnation would have taken place if man had not fallen. Cf. Heb. ii. 14." Again on chap. x. 6-8 he writes: "The method of quotation, with interspersed commentary, is that of the Midrash, as in Rom. ix. 8; Gal. iii. 16, iv. 23, 24. Jewish methods of exegesis, like Rabbinical opinions, or quotations from Greek poets, are consecrated when they are adopted by an inspired Apostle; but this consecration of a selected extract does not by any means involve a sanction of the entire exegetical system, or class of opinions, or literature, of which the extract forms a part" (p. 182). This opens up large questions.

We have only to add that the volume is beautifully printed, and has evidently been edited with care. We note one trifling misprint: on p. 77, Ecclus. xxxiii. 2 is cited for the use of the verb *παύειν*, in illustration of St. Paul's *παύειν*. The reference should be Ecclus. xxiii. 2.

J. H. BERNARD, D.D.

THE RELIGION OF THE FUTURE, AND OTHER ESSAYS. By the Rev. A. W. MOMERIE. Messrs. Blackwood.

LIKE everything that Dr. Momerie writes, the essays in this little volume are smart and clever. The one on "King's College Council," which tells the story of his dismissal from the Professorship of Logic, is perhaps the cleverest piece of writing; but the essay which gives its title to the volume is certainly the most startling. We are told, for instance, that "the New Testament, more often than not perhaps, misrepresents Christ;" that "even the first three Gospels, as we have them, are quite untrustworthy;" that "it is now established, beyond the possibility of reasonable dispute, that the Gospel miracles—except possibly those of healing—were altogether imaginary." We are further told that "the orthodox Atonement is as vile as anything to be found in heathendom;" that "the god of orthodoxy is the very wickedest being which it is possible for the human mind to conceive." After these assertions it is difficult to understand why Dr. Momerie is so anxious (see note on p. 67) to be

considered a member of the Church of England. It is also difficult to understand (except for the purposes of his argument) why he has selected the coarsest and most ignorant opinions on the nature of the Atonement, and on the being of God, to dub as "orthodox."

We would not, however, be understood as condemning everything in these essays of Dr. Momerie. On the contrary, they contain much which the clergy of the Church of England, and all those who wish the Church well, should seriously take to heart. If such views of the Atonement and of the character of God as those which Dr. Momerie calls "orthodox" be the popular views—and we are afraid that at any rate they are very general—then it is high time for the clergy to disabuse the minds of the laity on these points of theology. Then the preaching of Righteousness, as the sum and substance of true religion, is not, we fear, so general as it should be. There is a great danger of confusing Ecclesiasticism with Christianity. Again we are afraid that Dr. Momerie is only stating the plain truth when he says that "the Church is ceasing to attract young men of conspicuous ability." And "all the while laymen are being *better* educated. . . . They are going up hill as fast as the clergy are going down."

In conclusion we desire to call attention to the marked ability with which Dr. Momerie deals with the arguments for the existence of God, and for the immortality of man. Here, at least, his words may be read with profit by all thinking men.

JOHN VAUGHAN.

THE GOSPEL OF WORK. By ANTHONY W. THOROLD, D.D., LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER. *Preachers of the Age.* Sampson Low & Co.

BISHOP THOROLD is a master of epigram; and the volume before us is a sufficient proof of the assertion. It is dedicated to the "dear memory of Phillips Brooks," from whose writings the Bishop acknowledges the debt of much assistance. The fourteen sermons which form the collection, some preached abroad, some in English cathedrals, and some in parish churches, are all marked by that sound common-sense and that deep spirituality which are the key-notes of the Bishop's utterances. They abound in epigrammatic sentences which cannot fail to have caught the attention of the most casual hearers. We have selected one or two out of the numbers scattered up and down the Bishop's pages. "It is a poor and tame soul that has no visions. It is a shallow and ill-balanced one that is for long unsteadied by them." "What roads are to the commerce of a country, organization is to the methods of a church." "Every miracle suggests a parable, and every Gospel incident conceals a philosophy." "A man does what he is, as well as is what he does." "We are immortal till our work is done. When it is done we can be spared for Paradise." "The loftiest saint and the foulest sinner will each be the workmanship of his own actions." On *Spiritualism* the Bishop is very severe. "One hardly knows," he says, "whether to smile with contempt on what, if it be only a folly, is a very horrible folly; or to denounce with indignation what, if it be a sin, is a very ghastly sin." We heartily recommend this volume to all readers of sermons; and preachers, says the Bishop, in his Preface, "if they are wise, and conscious of their limitations, will usually be found to be even greedy readers of sermons."

JOHN VAUGHAN.

THE TRANSFIGURED SACRACLOTH, AND OTHER SERMONS. By the Rev. W. L. WATKINSON. *Preachers of the Age.* Sampson Low & Co.

THE twelve discourses contained in this volume were delivered in the Central Hall, Manchester, as Noonday Addresses. We are told in the Preface that they were

listened to from week to week by considerable congregations; and we are not surprised to hear it. For though the subject of them is the difficult one of the problem of evil, yet it is treated by the writer in such a popular manner, and marked by such a wealth of language and felicity of quotation, that they could hardly have failed to attract attention. The title of the volume is unfortunate, as it gives no indication of the subject of it. That subject, as we have said, is the existence of evil in the world. According to Mr. John Morley, it is the result of bad education and bad institutions. But, says Mr. Watkinson, "sin is not ignorance; it is no mere blunder; it is no maggot in the brain . . . it is not lack of light, the hatred of light. . . . Sin is fancy, caprice, passion, desire, egotism, wilfulness, asserting themselves against knowledge, logic, experience, conviction, conscience." Again, "Fever and cholera germs, germs of consumption, hydrophobia, erysipelas, have been disclosed by the fierce light of modern research; but no one will suppose that the germs of intemperance, impurity, anger, covetousness, deceit, pride, murder, foolishness, will ever be thrown on the screen, and an antidote be found for them in the pharmacopœia."

The discourse on *The Transformation of Evil* is, perhaps, the best in the volume. "We shrink from the gorilla, the tiger, the wolf, the crocodile, the rattlesnake, the shark, the scorpion, the centipede, the hornet, the leech, the vulture—we are afraid of these creatures of loathsomeness and blood; and in a very similar way we shrink from the vices undisguised." And so it is the aim of Satan to transform himself into an angel of light. The writer takes a hopeful view of the future condition of the human race. "In the old days the bee-masters, to reach the honey, killed the bees; but now he contrives to spare the bees, who continue to live on and share their own sweetness." It will be so in the hives of human industry. The Spirit of Humanity, which is the Spirit of Christ, will extend more and more. The war-drums will at length throb no longer. The golden year will come. The days of our mourning shall be ended.

JOHN VAUGHAN.

THE WORLD OF THE UNSEEN: AN ESSAY ON THE RELATION OF HIGHER SPACE TO THINGS ETERNAL. By ARTHUR WILLINK. Macmillan & Co., London.

We have read Mr. Willink's book with that interest and respect which is due to the work of an earnest and a competent man. He has a desire to be helpful to his fellow men, and he seeks to remove difficulties from their path. We have read what he says about higher space, and about the application of the higher space towards the solution of perplexing problems concerning the state of the departed, and so on. His reasoning regarding the fourth direction is so far clear, and can be easily understood. We can follow him when he depicts his space of one, of two, and of three dimensions, and of the imaginary beings who may people these respectively. Granting also what he says about a fourth direction, is not the application of this "fourth direction" for the solution of those problems he enumerates somewhat premature? The reasoning which led to the supposition of a fourth kind of space would equally lead to the supposition of a fifth kind, a sixth kind—nay, to a space of n dimensions. And each of these kinds of space would need a new application and a new solution. With all respect to Mr. Willink, we are afraid that we must continue to limit ourselves to three dimensions. The help which a fourth dimension gives us is of a somewhat perilous sort, and cannot be used in theology.

JAMES IVERACH.

THE IDEAL IN JUDAISM, AND OTHER SERMONS. By the Rev. MORRIS JOSEPH. Preached during 1890-91-92. David Nutt, London.

THESE sermons we have read with interest and with edification. So far as regards

their positive teaching and their attitude towards the Old Testament, we have found nothing with which we disagree. They reveal how richly the Old Testament can still feed and nourish a religious life. But it seems to us that the religious life depicted here is mainly one of hope and of promise, not one of fulfilment or of realized performance. Every sermon needs a further step to make it complete, and that step is never taken. At the same time we are grateful to Mr. Joseph for these admirable sermons. He has shown us anew how much we owe to the Jews, and how greatly we are indebted to the Hebrew Scriptures. He has enabled us to enter more deeply into their meaning, has cast fresh light on them, and has made us understand how a Jew looks on the rites and ceremonies, the religious seasons, the history and the prophecies of the Old Testament. We are not troubled with controversy, nor are differences set forth in any prominent fashion. We feel that we are at one with him as far as he goes, and we wish that he would enter on what we regard as the larger inheritance.

JAMES IVERACH.

THE CLASSICAL TRANSLATION LIBRARY. *Iliad* xxii., *Odyssey* ix., *Æneid* i., *Livy* xxvii., *Odes of Horace*, Books i. and ii., *Alcestis of Euripides*. Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton.

It has been well remarked that "every gentleman ought, at least, to have forgotten Greek." Alas! how many of us are gentlemen as far as that! And yet it is with a sneaking respect for ourselves that we refer to "the original," and let a Greek word escape us by chance, when no one in the congregation would be the wiser had it been Chinese. But with the aid of these friendly little volumes, regardless of the forty years since he has left school, the wearied country parson can put on his slippers, and draw his chair up to the fire, to delight himself with Homer's inimitable telling of the Cyclops Story, to feel once more, but as he never felt before, the pathos of the *Alcestis*, the fresh breezy air of the *Odyssey*, the soul-stirring epic of the *Iliad*. How it lifts the soul above the petty sordid cares of modern life, our luxuries and our so-called necessities. It is a pleasant thought to see in imagination some hard-worked parish priest, worn with the tread of the pavement, jaded with the fetid air of rookeries, sick at heart with sorrow and the cares of others, to see him take the little volume of Horace's *Odes* and scan its pleasant lines, sure that if the sense fail him the friendly right-hand page will lend a helping hand. "Beatus ille qui procul negotiis."

No class of men will value these books more than our Clergy, who leave their classics on their shelves to gather dust for fear they should have to confess that their old skill was gone. Now, thanks to them, we can be carried back to an age when men were heroes, when women were simple, when modern hurry and bustle were not yet. How certainly ought plainness of speech and clearness of view to be gained by visiting those breezy heights.

Why is it that one rises from a Latin or Greek author with such elasticity of mind, such braced vigour of soul? Perhaps it is that in reading we are young again. The words bring back the sense that we are only enduring the passage as a rest between a rattling game of fives and a turn with the professional. There is not much fear of these volumes proving a substitute for youthful preparation of lessons; our translators would soon betray the youthful idler who took one of these books into class to read his translation from the right and his text from the left; they are by no means too literal in their rendering, and the young scamp would be caught.

J. C. P. ALDOVA.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

CHRISTIAN ETHICS. By NEWMAN SMYTH.
(International Theological Library.)
New York: Charles Scribner's Sons,
1892, 8vo, pp. x., 498, \$2.50.

Christian ethics has been for a long time an important department of theology in Germany, yet this is the first attempt to give the subject independent and original treatment in English. Many of the matters presented under this head have been touched upon incidentally in lectures and books upon dogmatic theology. A systematic treatment of the subject by itself is a welcome and valuable addition to our theological literature.

Dr. Smyth has availed himself of all that has been done by German writers on the subject, yet he has made a new and original book of his own. There are no loads of unassimilated material dumped into its pages, as is too often the case where an American book has drawn freely upon foreign sources. Everything is fused in the clear light and fervent heat of the author's own mind and heart.

The book might almost equally well be called ethical Christianity, so frequently does the discussion pass over into the sphere of Christian doctrine, and so thoroughly saturated is it with the great doctrines of Christian faith. At the same time the author has acquainted himself with the best that has been done in philosophical and scientific ethics. The influence of Green, Martineau, Leslie, Stephen, and Herbert Spencer is as clearly discernible as that of Rothe, Schleiermacher, and Dörner.

Christian ethics is defined as the science of living well with one another according to Christ. The introduction shows the dependence of ethics upon religion for inspiration and completion, and upon economics for materials to work with. Matter exists for spirit, and spirit for the Holy Spirit.

Part first deals with the Christian ideal. The moralist is the man with an ideal. The Christian ideal has been historically communicated in the person and Spirit of Christ. Christian ethics is the application to human life in all its spheres and relations of the divinely human ideal historically given in Christ.

This ideal was progressively revealed in the Bible. Here the author remarks that the doctrine of the Spirit in the Bible is a special part of the still larger doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the life of the world. Indeed, one of the most valuable features of the book, from a theological point of view, is the vital, essential, real and rational place assigned to the Holy Spirit in the ethical and spiritual life of man. The

Church is the Spirit-bearing body of Christ. The presence of the Spirit in the Christian community and the Christian consciousness assures at once the continuity and the progressiveness of Christian thought and life. Hence theology cannot become a closed science without ceasing to be Christian. The fruit of the Spirit is progressive appropriation of the Christian ideal. The Christian Scriptures and the Christian consciousness are not rival authorities to be set up one against the other, but are complementary manifestations of one and the self-same Spirit, and the authority of the one requires the witness of the other. The Holy Spirit is the final authority. True conservatism is progress which takes its direction from the past and fulfils its good; false conservatism is a narrowing and hopeless reversion to the past, which is a betrayal of the promise of the future.

The contents of the Christian ideal include every form of human good. This highest human good is to be found in the development of the whole life of humanity in harmony with its environment; in the greatest possible social efficiency; in the realization of the powers and capacities of the type of the human organism. Yet it is not merely scientific humanitarianism. It is the glorification of man through the Spirit of God; the spiritualization of the life of humanity. It is new hearts in men, the better spirit of the laws, the more Christian cast of social institutions. It is fulness and fruition of life. This is contrasted with the classic, the Buddhist, the evolutionary, and the socialistic ideals.

This ideal has been realized through successive stages. The fall of man was both a loss and a gain—a fall from innocence into sin, and also the beginning of a moral conflict; a step down on a way which runs forward. The beginnings of morality, both in the individual and the race, are social beginnings, right adjustment of personal relations, and the maintenance of happy human equilibrium. The perfect fruits of the Spirit require time in which to ripen.

The second stage of moral development is the legal, in which religion becomes a forensic procedure before God rather than a personal dealing with God. The incompleteness of this stage is obvious. The law is the way to life, not the life. Morality in its highest perfection is right relation of personal life. Persons who are simply and solely conscientious are arrested moral growths.

The third or Christian stage of development is faith, or spiritual receptivity of the Divine motive-power. God is always around us in His life-giving love. We have not to create our spirit's atmosphere of life, but simply to breathe it. We are to live in the freedom of sonship and in the

communion of the Spirit. Faith is the continuous endeavor of a soul to live up to the possibilities of its Divine environment. Apart from the growth of the saints, there can be no perseverance of the saints. This ideal must be wrought out in moral and spiritual conflict, in co-operation through the communion of the Spirit.

The reign of love is to include family, State, Church, and society as spheres of its embodiment. The State is neither a night-watchman nor a guardian angel; it is the realization of the primal relations of humanity. The present relations between Church and State are merely a *modus vivendi*. Their perfect unity can be reached only when all law becomes an inward law, and this inner liberty of the Spirit becomes not the virtue of the few but the wisdom of the many.

The second part of the book discusses the concrete duties which the Christian life involves, and concludes with an analysis of the Christian moral motive power.

From first to last the book is clear, bright, breezy, stimulating, and suggestive. The concepts of philosophical ethics are clothed in the phrases of Christian theology. The general reader will find this one of the few recent philosophical works which is thoroughly interesting and intelligible and at the same time profound and scholarly. It is a book which no minister who cares to keep informed concerning the deeper movements of philosophical and theological thought can afford to be without.

WILLIAM DEWITT HYDE.

Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me

THE CHURCH IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE BEFORE A.D. 170. By W. M. RAMSAY, M.A., Professor of Humanity in the University of Aberdeen; formerly Professor of Classical Archæology, and Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford; author of "The Historical Geography of Asia Minor," etc. With maps and illustrations. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893, 8vo, pp. xv., 494.

This is one of the most noteworthy productions of recent times. So many books have been written on its general theme that the question naturally suggests itself to the reader of its title, Why should there be another? But the mere glance at the preface will convince any one that this book has abundant *raison d'être*. The reader finds that he is dealing with that rare man, a scholar who has read the sources upon the ground. Mr. Ramsay is apparently a layman; and this fact is to his advantage, as he is able to treat his subject with more freedom than if a trial for heresy stared him in the face. Not that Mr. Ramsay has any heresy to set before us. Far from

it. His book is of the greatest aid and comfort to the most conservative of us all. But still it was a good thing that he felt perfectly free to follow his investigations wherever they might lead him. Mr. Ramsay is an accomplished archæologist, and has lived for years in Asia Minor and trodden every foot of the ground made sacred by the presence of the early Christians.

Mr. Ramsay has great respect for the New Testament as a source of correct historical information. He is old fashioned enough to believe that Paul was a truthful man; and, what is more remarkable, when he comes across a difficulty he does not raise the cry of interpolation, or suggest that we have here a line from that wonderful personage who has done so much to destroy faith in the Bible—the redactor. He rather takes it for granted that the New Testament writer is correct. Similarly when he finds that Paul, or Peter, or some other New Testament writer makes a statement which is different from that made by Baur, or Pfleiderer, or Steck, even, he does not at once conclude that the New Testament writer erred, but he looks around to see if the modern has not made a mistake. It is astonishing how uniformly it turns out that the modern higher critic is wrong. To cite chapter and verse for the statement just made, read pp. 186, 187, and see how neatly Mr. Ramsay shows up the "bold assumption of knowledge," or, in other words, the complete ignorance of Baur and Pfleiderer upon points vital to their argument. Thus Mr. Ramsay comes to the help of those who have been timidly suggesting that English-speaking Protestants have sat long enough at the feet of German critics, and trembled for the ark of God, for no other reason under the sun than that these German critics said that the ark was in danger. Now that our scholars can read Greek fairly well, and even Hebrew, provided it be pointed—why, one of them is getting up a Hebrew lexicon!—it does seem rational to hope that after a time they will be able to stand upon their own feet. In fact, such a book as that under notice may be advanced in proof that outside of the Fatherland there is wisdom and profound learning.

My present object is merely to call attention to Mr. Ramsay's book. It is a familiar fact, and is so stated in the preface to Cary's second edition, that it was the commendation of Coleridge which brought Cary's translation of Dante into notice. I wish that I had the power to do a similar service for this book of Mr. Ramsay's. It should have an enormous sale, for it is a first-class work in every particular, and the publishers have given it a worthy dress. It is a fresh and stimulating study of the origins of our Christian faith. It abounds

in surprising but sensible pieces of exegesis. It makes the New Testament a new book. It transports you into the very company of the great apostle. You are able to follow his route and appreciate his difficulties as never before. You are also made to understand how the Christian faith developed a polity which brought it into hopeless antagonism to the Roman State and fairly compelled the attempted suppression. But the reader will find out for himself that my enthusiastic commendation of the book is well placed.

SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON.

New York.

THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH. Four lectures delivered in June, 1892, in the Cathedral Church of St. Asaph. By CHARLES GORE, M.A., Principal of Pusey House, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892, 12mo, pp. xii., 123, \$1.

To begin with, we heartily recommend these lectures to our readers. Not that we by any means entirely agree with all the author's conclusions, but we do very largely agree with them. And the lectures are eminently sensible; and Mr. Gore is a representative man. He clearly perceives that a religious teacher must "commend himself to every man's conscience." The doctrine, or ecclesiastical system, which cannot convince the understanding, excite the emotions, satisfy the conscience, determine the will, is doomed. Mr. Gore is what is called a High Churchman, and these lectures are a presentation of High Church doctrine to the reason and common sense of to-day.

They were delivered at the Cathedral Church of St. Asaph, without any view to being published, before the bishop and the clergy and laity of his diocese. We entirely agree with Mr. Gore that such gatherings are highly useful, adding, however, if the lecturer has anything approaching to Mr. Gore's ability, clerical meetings are only too often characterized both by intolerant bigotry and gross ignorance of "them that are without." Even Mr. Gore has been fairly well abused; for, as we said, he is eminently sensible, and intolerant bigots never are.

The first lecture is on "The Mission of the Church." "The point which, at this stage, I wish to emphasize," says Mr. Gore, "is that Christ has enshrined in a visible body, a visible Church, those gifts of truth and grace with which He has enriched mankind." Probably nearly everybody would accept this statement. Very few would contend that the organization (if there be one) of the Society of Friends or the Plymouth Brethren corresponds to

what is known to history as the Christian or Catholic Church; and on such a matter the voice of history is conclusive and beyond appeal. Nevertheless, the "visible Church" has passed through very many stages both of development and corruption. Notably at that tremendous revolution which is generally called the Reformation it was split into many fragments. There was the great Roman Church, still remaining in submission to the Roman see; there was the Anglican Church, which, rejecting the supremacy of the Pope, still retained bishops, sacraments, liturgy; there were the Lutherans, Calvinists, Presbyterians, organized and strong, but treating both "Catholic" dogma and discipline with the greatest freedom. Later on the Protestant bodies themselves began to disintegrate, to say nothing of Unitarians, Puritans and Nonconformists rent the Anglican Church. Still later came the Methodist secession—and of Methodists there are many divisions. Now all these are doing a vast work and a really good work. Whether they "follow with" Rome or England or not they are really "casting out devils" out of the hearts and lives of men.

But very many churchmen regarded as "High" are understood, or misunderstood, to affirm that all this work is mischievous and quite unauthorized; that the ministers of these various bodies have no right to exercise their ministry; that their sacraments have no validity and convey no grace. Now let us see how Mr. Gore treats this subject. Of course he regards the divisions of Christendom as a very serious misfortune. He is quite satisfied that the Anglican Church has a mission, which may be expressed in the words, "As the Father hath sent Me, even so send I you." He believes that God has a covenant with His Church, that her ministry have an indisputable authority, and her sacraments a sure validity; but he says, as to the necessity of sacraments (quoting sundry authorities): "Thus, though in Hooker's words, 'It is not *ordinarily* God's will to bestow the grace of sacraments on any but by the sacraments;' yet God is not tied to any special channels. There are no such things as exclusive means of grace, means of grace as to which one can say, 'God worketh here, not elsewhere.' But this, after all, is no novel concession. '*Deus non alligatur sacramentis suis*,' it was said of old ('His ordinances are laws for us, not for Him'). In all ages, thoughtful theologians of almost all schools have seen that this truth is involved in the recognition of the fatherhood of God and His all-rectifying and impartial justice. That is what we mean by eminently sensible. See by what a breadth of difference this teaching is separated even from the teaching of so great a doctor as St. Augus-

tine. He says: "There is no middle place for anybody; but he who is not with Christ must needs be with the devil. . . . A little child is baptized that it may be with Christ. Assuredly if it has not been baptized it is not with Christ, and because it is not with Christ it is against Christ" (*De Peccatorum Meritis*, i., 28, 55).

Mr. Gore writes on exactly similar lines as to the validity of sacraments and the Nonconformist ministry. "It were blasphemy," he says, "to deny the Spirit's action where we see the Spirit's fruits. It is impossible for one who thinks seriously to ignore or underrate the vast debt which English Christianity owes to Nonconformist bodies, to bodies which have fallen quite outside the action of the apostolic ministry. But was there not a cause? If we consider the sins, the scandalous neglect and sluggishness of the Church, is it so very wonderful that God should have worked largely and freely outside the appointed and authorized ministries?"

The second lecture is on "Union within the Church of England;" and here there are some very good remarks on the Articles and on "open questions." Perhaps the Broad Church party would hardly accept Mr. Gore's account of them. He seems to imply that their functions have been chiefly negative, and that positively they hold "that all truth which is preached, all ordinances ministered," are to be judged by the tendency to promote good Christian living." That is indeed a good test, so far as it goes. But we are inclined to rank Mr. Gore himself as a Broad Churchman on the ground that he affirms the fatherhood of God and deduces from that fact another negative only in form: "Deus non alligatur sacramentis suis." There is one passage in this lecture which will certainly provoke discussion: "Let us give no countenance to any use of baptism such as would allow children who are not in immediate danger of death to be baptized when there is no fair prospect of their being brought up to understand the meaning of their Christian vocation—a practice, I believe, utterly contrary to fundamental Christian principles." To this Mr. Gore appends a long note. But why, on Mr. Gore's own principles, make an exception of children in immediate danger of death? The elasticity of a baby's life is almost miraculous; and it is much more likely that a very sick child will recover than that, if it does, it will be brought up by irreligious parents to understand the meaning of its Christian vocation. But this raises questions far too wide for our space—such as the origin of infant baptism; the use of sponsors; the relation of confirmation to baptism; whether a parent's "faith" can be accepted as the child's faith, and many others. Mr. Gore's opin-

ion, apart from his admission to baptism of infants in immediate danger of death, seems undistinguishable from the opinions of the "Baptists." The theory of a large number of the divines of the Anglican Church—which seems assented to by Mr. Gore in his "recognition of the fatherhood of God"—seems to be that infants are children of God; should be at once claimed as such and brought up "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord;" that the parents are to be aided in this work by the sponsors, who in a measure represent the Church herself; that all members of the Church are under constant spiritual supervision, and (like the Corinthians to whom St. Paul wrote) are to be assumed to be "saints." Apart from some such assumption there is no alternative but the administration of baptism only to adults who give reasonable evidence of their personal knowledge, faith and sincerity.

There are two other lectures in this sensible little book—the third on "The Relation of the Church to Independent Opinion," and the fourth on "The Mission of the Church in Society." They are both thoroughly good and interesting, but our space is exhausted. Mr. Gore's remarks on socialism are good—or at least would be if any socialism existed at the present day at all closely resembling what he has in mind. But this, again, is one of those vast questions, both of fact and theory, which cannot be so much as touched in a short review. WILLIAM KIRKUP.

Jersey City, N. J.

THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS. (The Expositor's Bible.) By ROBERT RAINY, D.D., Principal of New College, Edinburgh. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1898, 12mo, pp. viii., 368, \$1.50.

Books of this class, which occupy the border-line between homiletics and exegesis, are difficult to judge, because a good commentary would make a poor sermon, while a good sermon will often lack clearness of view and minuteness of instruction such as is sought for in a commentary. The chief excellence of this book lies in the sermonic direction. The exposition is clear, connected, and flowing. It draws many valuable lessons from the apostle's words, and not a few important inferences from his teaching. And there is here a marked feature, which is none too common even in commentaries, that the peculiarities of Paul's ways of expressing himself are emphasized and justified, truths being thus brought out which do not lie on the surface for the ordinary reader. Of course this may be overdone, as in the long discussion about the "saints" in the first chapter, where we do not think that Paul intends to ascribe individual holiness to the

members of the Phillipian Church, but rather that sanctification which belongs to them as a theocracy.

It is from the critical point of view, and considered as a commentary, that we find the book not specially fresh, strong, or complete. There is little evidence of any wide acquaintance with the recent literature on the subject. Lightfoot is of course constantly in use; but our author might have avoided mistakes such as his interpretation of "Pretorium" and "all others" on page 47, by keeping closer to his guide. I see no trace of Hutchinson, Eadie, Vaughan, or even of Beet.

In German, Pfeiderer's *Paulinismus* is leaned upon (pp. 217f), but the recent works of Lipsius and von Soden, and the older but valuable monograph of B. Weiss, do not seem to have contributed to this volume. Of course it is not certain that none of these have been used, though I do not judge from their being unquoted, but from an apparent lack of the breadth of view which such study would have supplied. The introduction is very meagre, especially in the notice of Philippi, and in the scantiness of the analysis and course of thought of the epistle, Weiss's "Introduction to the New Testament" being at hand to supply the defect.

One must not ask too much of a book on this plan, so that it is perhaps natural not to find clear or convincing views on critical passages. And some fine points even from the homiletical side have been missed, such as i. 8: "I long for you in the heart of Jesus Christ" (p. 29), or in ii. 10f., the extent of the homage paid to Jesus (p. 123). Yet there are not a few admirable passages. Look at this (p. 85), in which the Nonconformist shows himself.

"On the one hand they err who think that because the state of the visible Church is marred by divisions, therefore unity in her case is a dream, and that the unity of the Church invisible is alone to be asserted. On the other hand, they err who, on much the same grounds, conclude that only one of the organized communions can possess the nature and attributes of the visible Church of Christ. The visible churches are imperfect in their unity as they are in their holiness. In both respects their state is neither to be absolutely condemned nor to be absolutely approved. And no one of them is entitled to throw upon the rest all the blame of the measure of disunion. Any one that does so becomes a principal fomentor of disunion."

Perhaps the finest page in the book is on Phil. ii. 18 (p. 152).

A good deal of the exposition, especially in the latter part of the volume, where 115 pages are devoted to 14 verses (iii. 8-21) has not sufficient closeness of connection with the text. The earlier part of the book

is superior in this respect, yet the great Christological passage (ii. 5-11) is quite timidly handled and much of its richness unexplored.

In conclusion, we may say that this volume is interesting and instructive for the Bible reader, and may supply hints and suggestions for the preacher, but adds very little to our knowledge of Philippians, and does not show profound, extensive, or elaborate exegetical study.

C. J. H. ROPES.

Bangor Seminary.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. By the Rev. G. T. STOKES, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Dublin, and Vicar of All Saints', Blackrock. Vol. II. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1892, crown 8vo, pp. xvi., 480, \$1.50.

The second volume of Professor Stokes on the "Acts of the Apostles" presents the external characteristics now familiar to the public through the appearance of thirty parts of the Expositor's Bible. While the several parts of the extensive work are necessarily of unequal merit, owing to the variety of authors, Professor Stokes has taken a high place in both of the volumes he has prepared. More biblical matter is covered in the second part than in the first, since the author "of set purpose" discusses the latter portion of the Book of Acts more briefly than the earlier chapters. The Apostle Paul is the central figure in the present volume. The passages referring to him are selected from the earlier chapters of Acts, while from chapter ix. onward the exposition is practically consecutive. Much is omitted that belongs more properly to commentaries and such works as those of Conybeare and Howson, Lewin and Farrar. The result is a compact historical exposition, clear and candid, if not always convincing. The same genial mode of application which was a peculiar charm of the first volume is found here also. Professor Stokes is remarkably apt in discovering the family resemblance between incidents in the Apostolic Church and matters of current discussion in the politics and ecclesiastical life of the United Kingdom. He speaks courageously as well as keenly in regard to such lessons from history.

As regards the higher criticism of the Book of Acts the author wisely holds that Luke wrote it, and that he wrote it "up to date"—that is, finished it about A.D. 63, at the end of the two years' imprisonment of Paul at Rome. The notion that the book was an *apocryphon* written in the second century he rejects, quoting with approval Salmon's argument derived from the silence of the narrative about the traditional joint martyrdom of Peter and Paul at

Rome. He also vindicates the truthfulness of the account by citing the abundant means of historical verification. In the face of these data, to believe that the book is a later production "with a purpose" is to believe that some unknown author of the second century succeeded where the greatest novelists have failed, namely, in writing a historical novel without any deviations from historical, topographical, or political fact.

It will not be necessary to discuss the treatment in detail. Professor Stokes, with most British scholars of this generation, places Galatians after 2 Corinthians to connect it more closely with Romans. But the polemic mood of 1 Corinthians makes it more likely that Galatians should immediately precede that epistle. The apostle's mood would change; his doctrinal positions would not. Naturally enough the author dwells at some length upon those matters that seem to support the Church polity with which he is identified. He admits, of course, the identity of bishops and presbyters in chapter xx. But he argues in his footnotes for the apostolic sanction of the diocesan episcopate. As he says himself, "I simply appeal to Irenæus" (p. 418), and then intimates that as the testimony of Irenæus is deemed "sufficient to establish the apostolic origin of the gospels, he should be quite sufficient to establish the apostolic origin of Episcopacy." But Professor Stokes knows well that we simply start with Irenæus in defending the authenticity of the gospels. He has, in the former volume, shown what weighty earlier testimony has recently been discovered. Were the evidence for the apostolic origin of Episcopacy back of Irenæus as strong as that for the gospels, his analogy would have force. Furthermore, as usual, the exigencies of this discussion lead him to overrate the second-century fathers, speaking of them as "the best commentary upon the sacred writers." Now, this is an unguarded statement. The second-century fathers are competent witnesses as to matters of fact within their knowledge; but where insight, judgment, intellectual grasp are required they count for little. Their intellectual weakness remains still one of the strongest negative arguments for the unique inspiration of the New Testament.

Professor Stokes is careless at times. He speaks several times of Meyer as a "textual critic," when he evidently means to characterize him as a grammatical exegete. "Textual criticism" is a phrase that ought to be preserved for use in its technical sense. The word "Nazirite" occurs several times; but the Revised Version in Num. vi. 2 and elsewhere has restored the correct form—"Nazirite," which Professor Stokes doubtless knows.

But despite these points open to criticism, the volume deserves high praise, and the practical suggestiveness is commendable. However far the author moves from the text to strike a blow at present error he always moves to the attack along the line pointed out by the text. What he says he says heartily, clearly, and aptly.

M. B. RIDDLE.

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BRIEF REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

BY THE EDITOR.

It is a matter of regret that the demands on our space are such as to preclude the possibility of presenting adequate reviews by thoroughly competent hands of two volumes which have recently come to us: *Lehrbuch der Alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte*, von Dr. Rudolf Smend, Professor an der Universität Göttingen (1893, 8vo, pp. xix., 550, 12 marks); and *Einleitung in den Hebräer*, I. Text; II. Tabellen, von Lic. Dr. H. Holzinger, Repetent am Ev. Theol. Seminar in Tübingen (1893, 8vo, pp. xvi., 511, 14, 15 marks); from the press of J. C. B. Mohr: Freiburg i. B. (New York: Steckert.) It is needless to say that these volumes are in accord with the views of biblical criticism currently accepted in Germany. The former is constructive in design, aiming to set forth the history of the religious development of the chosen people, distinguishing the various periods and phases of revelation, and presenting the whole in accordance with what appears to have been the historical and logical sequence of events. The subject treated is one of exceeding importance, and the volume is not only of great interest, but one with which those interested in Old Testament study must become acquainted, whether they approve of the author's results or not. Dr. Holzinger's work is more properly a first volume in a general "Introduction" to the Old Testament. The fundamental position and importance of the first six books and the unexpected wealth of the material which were gathered covering them, compelled the division of the treatment. The work is one intended for the use of specialists, and is a noteworthy addition to the critical literature. An exceedingly interesting and instructive portion of the book is the second part, which consists of a series of tables which show the critical results of modern scholars in their analysis of the six books in question. Upon the whole, they exhibit a remarkable degree of agreement except in matters of minutest detail.

The Gospel and its Earliest Interpretations. A Study of the Teachings of Jesus and its doctrinal Transformations in the New Testament. By Orello Cons, D.D.

(New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893, 8vo, pp. viii., 413, \$1.75.) The title indicates in general the intent of the author. His purpose has not been to present a complete body of New Testament theology, but only to discuss "its more important features in such a manner as to present in outline the principal teaching of Jesus and the interpretations and transformations which they underwent in the books composing the Christian canon." The terminology of the author is not that of those who find "progress" in New Testament teaching, and one is moved to take decided issue with many of his statements. The book is calculated to be useful on account of the very antagonisms which it calls forth, and the whole discussion will lead eventually to clearer statements of the actual truth.

Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature. By John Kitto, D.D., F.S.A. (London : Adam & Charles Black, 1893, 8vo, pp. viii., 800, \$3.) A condensed edition of the three-volume "Kitto," but of a date quite other than that of the title-page. It contains, of course, a vast amount of standard information, but in the articles which should tell of discoveries made and conclusions reached within the past decade, such information is not given. The year marking the present issue is the only thing up to date about it.

Christian Worship: its Principles and Forms. By Rev. J. W. Richard, D.D., Professor of Homiletics and Ecclesiastical Theology in the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, and Rev. F. V. N. Painter, A.M., Professor of Modern Languages and Literature in Roanoke College. (Philadelphia : Lutheran Publication Society, 1892, 8vo, pp. 358, \$1.50.) To a considerable extent this volume constitutes a history of worship from the apostolic times. It is intended to be of service in present liturgical discussions from the light which it sheds upon the past. The liturgies of Chrysostom, of the Eastern, Romish and Lutheran churches, are given in full. The volume is valuable, but in order to be a full presentation of the subject it must be considerably extended.

Princeton Sermons. Chiefly by the Professors in Princeton Theological Seminary. (New York and Chicago : F. H. Revel Co., 1893, 12mo, pp. viii., 352.) A volume of sermons of more than usual interest, not only to the students of Princeton who heard them, but to a wider circle of men who desire to know the practical expressions of "orthodox" teachers. They were delivered by the late professors, Caspar W. Hodge and Dr. Aiken, by Drs. Green, Warfield, Paxton, and Davis, of the Seminary, and by President Patton and Dean Murray, of the college.

Morality in Doctrine. By William Bright, D.D. (London and New York : Longmans, Green & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. xxiii., 351, \$2.) Twenty-eight sermons and a preface by the Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, based upon and applying the truth that correct belief is the only foundation upon which the structure of correct conduct and practice can be reared. The sermons are "practical" and helpful, and the volume is one of those which it is a pleasure to take in one's hands.

Christ in the Centuries, and other sermons. By A. M. Fairbairn, D.D. (New York : E. P. Dutton & Co., 1893, 12mo, pp. viii., 223, \$1.25.) This new volume in the "Preachers of the Age" series is one of the most valuable. The many friends and admirers in this country of the Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, will be delighted to obtain and enjoy it. The strong, manly face represented in the frontispiece is but an earnest of the volume itself, in the perusal of whose pages one can feel the pulsing intentness of the speaker.

Nobiscum Deus. The Gospel of the Incarnation. By William Frederic Faber. (New York : Randolph, 1893, 12mo, pp. 187, \$1.) A dozen sermons by the author of "The Church for the Times," which we noticed favorably some time ago. This book is more pretentious, is well and pleasingly written, and contains in dignified and yet simple language many valuable thoughts now given to an audience wider than the writer's congregation.

Canonical and Uncanonical Gospels. With a Translation of the recently discovered Fragment of the Gospel of Peter, and a Selection from the Sayings of our Lord not found in the Four Gospels. By W. E. Barnes, B.D. (London and New York : Longmans, Green & Co., 1893, 12mo, pp. xii., 112, \$1.25.) A popular work, giving in brief form some of the more obvious historical grounds for the canonicity of the gospels, especially as derived from Tatian, Justin, Hermas, Papias, and the apostolic fathers. The treatment of the uncanonical gospels is brief.

In Paradise; or, The State of the Faithful Dead. A Study from Scripture on Death and After-Death. By Charles H. Strong, Rector of St. John's Church, Savannah, Ga. (New York : Whittaker, 1893, 2d edition, 12mo, pp. 119, \$1.) An attempt to gather up the teachings of the Church as to the life beyond death, in order to make it applicable to the comfort of those who have dread of dissolution, and who have not realized the beatific vision of the future.

The Pastor in the Sick-Room. By John D. Wells, D.D. (Philadelphia : Presby-

terian Board of Publication, 1893, 12mo, pp. 128, 50 cents.) Three lectures delivered at Princeton Theological Seminary, March, 1893, comprise the volume. The author, pastor of the South Third Street Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn, is qualified by length of service to give valuable advice to the young men who formed his audience. The lectures are now sent forth in printed form in the hope that they may be of service also to some of those already in the field or still to come.

Sanctified Spice; or, Pungent Seasonings from the Pulpit. By *Madison C. Peters*, pastor of Bloomingdale Reformed Church, New York City. (New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham, 1893, 12mo, pp. 216, \$1.50.) The taste shown in the substance of this volume exceeds that of the title; but whether these extracts and preludes were worth printing we cannot decide for others, since tastes vary. Some of them, however, are good—possibly better in oral than in printed form.

At His Feet. By *Wayland Hoyt*, D.D. (New York and St. Paul: D. D. Merrill Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 212.) A helpful little book, in which the author tries to impress the lesson that the true Christian life is one which, while active and effective, is kept pure and sweet by its nearness to and continual communion with the loving Master.

The Tongue of Fire; or, The True Power of Christianity. By *William Arthur*. (New York: Harpers, 1893, 12mo, pp. xxi., 350.) This is a new edition of a work which, since its first issue in 1856, has proved its excellence and usefulness. It is now printed with a new preface and an introduction by Dr. William M. Taylor. It touches upon many themes connected with the work and office of the Holy Spirit in a fresh and powerful way.

Church and State in North Carolina. By *Stephen Beauregard Weeks*, Ph.D., Professor of History, Trinity College, North Carolina. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1893, 8vo, pp. 65, 50 cents.) We have already noticed Professor Weeks's "Religious Development of the Province of North Carolina." The present work carries the history further, tracing the growth of religious toleration and liberty down to its final completion in 1835. The two parts present an excellent summary history.

The Life of Love. A Course of Lent Lectures. By the Rev. *George Body*, D.D. (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1893, 12mo, pp. xii., 237, \$1.25.) The words of the mother of our Lord supply the texts of these lectures, and they are made to teach the duties of the "life of love" as involving separation, consecration, association, joy, sorrow, and ministry. The author anticipates the ac-

cusation of "Mariolatry," but in spite of it he manages to teach many important spiritual and practical lessons.

The Newer Religious Thinking. By *David Nelson Beach*. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1893, 12mo, pp. 227, \$1.25.) To some the title of this book will be startling, to others presumptuous, and to many it will appear simply as an object in the water showing the set of the tide. It is not startling, and it is not presumptuous. It is simply the attempt of an earnest man to set before his people the philosophy of the present theological and religious situation. He has done it in outline in clear and forcible language.

Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools. By *Andrew Fleming West*, Professor in Princeton College. (New York: Scribners, 1892, 12mo, pp. 205, \$1.) An important and interesting volume in the "Great Educators" series, which will take its place among the standard works on Alcuin and serve as a convenient introduction to the general subject, setting forth the educational work which engrossed so much of his life in its connection both with past and future.

The Deaconess and Her Vocation. By *Bishop J. M. Thoburn*. (New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1893, 12mo, pp. 127, 60 cents.) Four addresses delivered at Calcutta, New York, Chautauqua, and Middletown, O., treating of various phases of the subject, but not pretending to be exhaustive as to theory or practice. They are, however, a useful contribution to the practical side of the subject.

Means and Ways; or, Practical Methods in Christian Work. By *T. D. Roberts*. (Boston: James H. Earle, 1893, 16mo, pp. 141.) Mr. Roberts is at the head of the Massachusetts Industrial Temporary Home—a most praiseworthy and effective charity. He is, therefore, well fitted for his task. The present volume is for the most part autobiographical.

Madagascar: its Missionaries and Martyrs. By *William John Townsend*, D.D. (New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 12mo, pp. 160.) A brief account of the inception and progress of mission work, which is suited for a rapid survey of the subject or for perusal by the children of our Sunday-schools.

Phillips Brooks in Boston. Five Years' Editorial Estimates. By *M. C. Ayres*. With an Introduction by the Rev. W. J. Tucker, D.D. (Boston: George H. Ellis, 1893, 16mo, pp. 119, 50 cents.) A little book of peculiar interest. It consists of extracts from the editorial page of the Boston *Daily Advertiser* from March 26th, 1888, to February 17th, 1893, giving the

impressions which were made at the time by the work and words of the eminent preacher and bishop.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Davis, Ozora Stearns. Vocabulary of New Testament Words classified according to Roots, with statistics of usage by Authors. Hartford Seminary Press, 1893. 8vo, pp. 32, 50 cts.

The First Millennial Faith. The Church Faith in its first one thousand years. By the author of "Not On Calvary." N. Y. : Saalfield & Fitch, 1893. 12mo, pp. 64, 50 cts.

Crothers, Samuel McChord. "Members of one Body." Six Sermons Preached in Unity Church, St. Paul, Minn. Boston : George H. Ellis, 1892, 8vo, pp. x., 132. Cloth, 75 cts.

Benson, Rev. R. M., M.A. The Final Passover. A series of meditations upon the Passover of our Lord Jesus Christ. Vol. 3, Part I.-II. London and N. Y. : Longmans, Green & Co., 1893. 12mo, pp. x., 425 ; xl., 453. \$1.75 each.

Hinckley, Frederic A. Afterglow. Boston : Ellis, 1892. 16mo, pp. 90, 50 cts.

Foots, Henry Wilder, Minister of King's Chapel. The Insight of Faith. The same, 12mo, pp. 115, 50 cts.

Greenwald, Rev. E. D.D. Meditations for the Closet. Phila. : Frederick, 40 cts.

Lamont, Rev. T. Johnston. The Joy of Salvation. Rockford, Ill. : Monitor Pub. Co., pp. 128.

Abbott, Lyman. The Roman Catholic Question. Pp. 22, 10 cts.

McDougall, Thomas. Is Inerrancy a new Test of Orthodoxy ? Ginn : Clarke. Pp. 25.

Kohler, Rev. J., D.D. Shall we have a Bishop ? or, the Episcopate for the Lutheran Church in America. New Holland, Pa. : Author, 1893. 8vo, pp. 50.

Campbell, James M. Unto the Uttermost. N. Y. : Fords, Howard & Hulbert, 1889. 12mo, pp. 234.

Crushed, yet Conquering. A story of Constance and Bohemia. By the author of "The Spanish Brothers," "The King's Service," "Genevieve," etc. Second edition. N. Y. and Chicago : F. H. Revell Co., 8vo, pp. 576, \$2.00.

SEPTEMBER MAGAZINES.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE for September contains : "When Phyllis Laughed" (a poem), John Hay ; "A General Election in England," Richard Harding Davis ; "September" (a poem), Archibald Lampman ; "The Handsome Humes" (a novel), Part IV., William Black ; "Edward Emerson Barnard," S. W. Burnham ; "An Albert Dörer Town," Elizabeth Robins Pennell ; "Gabriel and the Lost Millions of Perote" (a story), Maurice Kingsley ; "The Letters of James Russell Lowell," Charles Eliot Norton ; "Texas," ex-Senator Samuel Bell Maxey ; "The General's Sword" (a story), Robert C. V. Meyers ; "Down Love Lane," Thomas A. Janvier ; "Horace Chase" (a novel), Part IX., Constance Fenimore Woolson ; "The Diplomacy and Law of the Isthmian Canals," Sidney Webster ; "A Gentleman of the Royal Guard," William McLennan ; "Riders of Egypt," Colonel T. A. Dodge, U.S.A.

THE contents of the September CENTURY are : "Portrait of Daniel Webster," frontispiece ; "Sights at the Fair," Gustav Kobbé ; "Storm-Voices," Archibald Lampman ; "William James Stillman," Wendell P. Garrison ; "Six Bulls to Die," Mrs. Norman Cutter ; "Moonlight Song of the Mocking-Bird," William H. Hayne ; "The Thormina Note-Book," George E. Woodberry ; "The Angel with the Flaming Sword," painting by Edwin H. Blashfield ; "Benefits Forgotten," X., Wolcott Balestier ; "A Glance at Daniel Webster," Mellen Chamberlain ; "A Woman in the African Diggings," Annie Russell ; "A Glimpse of the Sea," William Prescott Foster ; "When Polly Takes the Air," Lizette Woodworth Reese ; "Balcony Stories," Grace King ; "In Her First Youth," painting by Lydia F. Emmet ; "The White Islander," Conclusion, Mary Hartwell Catherwood ; "The Horizon Line," Thomas Wentworth Higginson ; "The Census and Immigration," Henry Cabot Lodge ; "The Heavenly Cherubs," John J. Shuterly, Jr. ; "The Author of Robinson Crusoe," M. O. W. Oliphant ; "Phillips Brooks's Letters from India," Phillips Brooks ; "The Heir of the McFulshes," in two parts, Part I., Bret Harte ; "The Test," Mary Thatcher Higginson ; "The Hiltons' Holiday," Sarah Orne Jewett ; "In Life's Tunnel," Grace Denio Litchfield ; "Leaves from the Autobiography of Salvini," Tommaso Salvini.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE for September contains : "Aeshbourne Church," "Izaak Walton," by Alexander Cargill ; "Moonrise," by J. Russell Taylor ; "A Thackeray Manuscript in Harvard College Library," by T. R. Sullivan ; "Chartres," by Edith Wharton ; "Clothes—Historically Considered," by Edward J. Lowell ; "An I. O. U.," by Margaret Sutton Brascoe ; "The Machinist," by Fred. J. Miller ; "The Tides of the Bay of Fundy," by Gustav Kobbé ; "The Copperhead," Chapters VI.-VIII., by Harold Frederic ; "A Birthday in Autumn," by Mrs. James T. Fields ; "A Letter to Samuel Pepys, Esq.," by Andrew Lang ; "The Opinions of a Philosopher," Chapters IX.-X., by Robert Grant ; "The Harvest," by Duncan Campbell Scott ; "Richardson at Home," by Austin Dobson ; "The Sharpness of Death," by Elizabeth Knight Tompkins ; "The Rich Miss Girard," by Harrison Robertson.

THE September LIPPINCOTT contains : "A Bachelor's Bridal," Mrs. H. Lovett Cameron ; "In the Plaza de Torres," Marrion Wilcox ; "Whom the Gods Love," Edgar Fawcett ; "A Girl's Recollections of Dickens," Elizabeth Wormeley Latimer ; "The Cross-Roads Ghost," Matt Crim ; "Uncle Sam in the Fair," Charles King, U.S.A. ; "For Love's Sake," Zitella Cocke ; "Forest Fires," Felix L. Oswald ; "The White Amaryllis," Margaret B. Harvey ; "Ishmael," Richard Malcolm Johnston ; "Hypnotism : its Use and Abuse," Judson Daland, M.D. ; "The Sleep of Death," James Kay Phillips ; "The Carthusian," from the French ; "A Sea-Episode," C. H. Rockwell, U.S.N. ; "Don't : To Young Contributors," F. M. B. ; "Men of the Day," M. Crofton.

CONTENTS of the COSMOPOLITAN for September are : "A World's Fair" (illustrated) ; "Introductory : The World's College of Democracy," "A First Impression," Walter Besant ; "The Foreign Buildings," Price Collier ; "Notes on Industrial Art in the Manufactures Building," George F. Kunz ; "An Outsider's View of the Woman's Exhibit," Ellen M. Henrotin ; "Foreign Folk at the Fair," Julian Hawthorne ; "Electricity at the Fair," Mura, Halstead ; "Transportation, Old and New," J. B. Walker ; "Mines and Metallurgy," F. J. V. Skiff ; "Chicago's Entertainment of Distinguished Visitors," H. C. Chatfield-Taylor ; "The Government Exhibit," F. T. Bickford ; "Lullaby" (poem), Franz A. Sewall ; "Ethnology at the Exposition," Alice Boas ; "Points of Interest," Ex-President Harrison ; "In the World of Art and Letters," "Alienation" (poem), Edward L. White ; "The Progress of Science," J. Jose ; "William R. Lighton ; "The Stronghold of the Gods" (poem), J. V. Cheney ; "Is He Living or is He Dead ?" Mark Twain ; "A Traveller from Altruria," W. D. Howells.

INDEX OF PERIODICALS, AUGUST, 1893.

Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index of Periodicals.

- Af. M. E. R. African M. E. Church Review. (Quarterly.)
 A. R. Andover Review. (Bi-monthly.)
 B. S. Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quarterly.)
 B. W. The Biblical World.
 B. Q. R. Baptist Quarterly Review.
 Ch. Q. R. Church Quarterly Review.
 C. M. Q. Canadian Methodist Quarterly
 C. R. Charities Review.
 C. T. Christian Thought.
 Ex. Expositor.
 Ex. T. Expository Times.
 G. W. Good Words.
 H. R. Homiletic Review.
 K. M. Katholische Missionen.
 L. Q. Lutheran Quarterly.
 M. R. Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)
 M. H. Missionary Herald.
 Miss. R. Missionary Review.
 N. C. Q. New Christian Quarterly.
 N. H. M. Newbury House Magazine.
 N. W. The New World.
 O. D. Our Day.
 P. E. R. Protestant Episcopal Review.
 P. M. Preachers' Magazine.
 P. Q. Presbyterian Quarterly.
 P. R. R. Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
 R. Ch. Review of the Churches.
 R. Q. R. Reformed Quarterly Review.
 R. R. R. Religious Review of Reviews.
 S. A. H. Sunday at Home.
 S. M. Sunday Magazine.
 T. Tr. The Treasury.
 Y. R. The Yale Review.
 Adel : Its Church and History, E. M. Green, NHM.
 Annexation, The Historic Policy of the United States as to, Simeon E. Baldwin, YR.
 Another Side of the World, Helen Milman, NHM.
 Apostolic *versus* Patriotic Pulpit, The, Professor Schaff, TTr.
 Apostolic Churches : Their Doctrine and Fellowship, The, Robert A. Watson, PM.
 Architecture and Acoustics, Church, Compton Reade, RRR.
 Art of Reading, The, RRR.
 Baptisms, Marriages and Funerals in Greece, Mrs. Delves-Broughton, NHM.
 Bering Sea Controversy from an Economic Standpoint, The, Joseph Stanley-Brown, YR.
 Bible and the Republic, The, Arthur Mitchell, CT.
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 Bible, The Integrity of the, D. MacDill, TTr.
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 Calvinism, An Apology for, Thomas Munnell, NCQ.
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 Congregationalism in Relation to Schools and Benevolent Societies, Charles B. Rice, BS.
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 Evangelical Work in Bulgaria, Growth of, A. S. Tsanoff, MH.
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 Freeman, Edward A., Hannis Taylor, YR.
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 God's Communicating Fulness, J. C. Keener, TTr.
 God's Footprints in History, F. M. Bruner, NCQ.
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 Graves of Egypt, The, D. S. Schaff, HR.
 Harms, Louis, James Douglas, MissR.
 Hebrews vi. 4-6, Joseph Agar Beet, Ex.
 Higher Criticism, The, J. Westby Earnshaw, HR.
 Higher Criticism, The Rational and the Rationalistic, William R. Harper, NCQ.
 Holy Spirit, The Preacher's Equipment in the, Robert T. Mathews, NCQ.
 Hymns for Sabbath, J. M. Rodwell, NHM.
 Hymns, Some of Our, M. Marshall, RRR.
 Immortality in the Light of History and Reason, W. H. Isley, HR.
 International Ethics, A Prophet's View of, John Taylor, Ex.
 Italian Renaissance of To-Day, The, G. R. W. Scott, OD.
 It always Rains, J. G. McPherson, GW.
 Jesus, The Growth of, M. J. Cramer, CT.
 Jesus Christ, the Truth-Teller, William R. Huntington, TTr.
 Life, The Abundant, D. K. Tindall, TTr.
 Lucerne, The Old Catholic Congress at, J. J. Liss, RCh.
 Magee and his Sermons, Archbishop, James Silvester, NHM.
 Marcus Aurelius, The Meditations of, Ellen C. Hindeale, NCQ.
 Ministerial Training now Needed, The, Clinton Lockhart, NQ.
 Mission, Madrid Undenominational, Albert R. Fenz, MissR.
 Missions, Education and, A. J. Gordon, MissR.
 Missions, What Have they Accomplished in the Madura District? J. Colton, MH.
 Missions in India, Present Aspect of, II., James Kennedy, MissR.
 Missions to Romanists, W. J. Morman, MissR.
 Modern Criticism, The Gospels and, Arthur Wright, ExT.
 Moses : His Life and Its Lessons, XIII., Mark Guy Pearse, PM.
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 Neglected Poem, A, John Taylor, ExT.
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 Right the Wrong, To, Edna Lyall, GW.
 Romish View of the British Indian Government, A. Samuel Mateer, MissR.
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Scriptural Texts from Recent Discoveries, Light on,
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Students of the Old World, A New Movement
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Summer, Memoirs and Letters of Charles, George P.
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Tailoring by Steam, David Paton, GW.
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Turkey, A Native Pastor in, Robert Chambers, MH.
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THE NEW CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY.

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The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius.
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London, August, 1893.

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Adel : Its Church and History.
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Boston and Chicago, August, 1893.

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Is it Safe for Some Men to Die in their Sins ?
The Italian Renaissance of To-day.
The Inadequacy of Natural Selection.
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Shall we Find them at the Portals ?

THE PREACHER'S MAGAZINE.

New York, August, 1893.

A Burdensome Stone.
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Warren, Henry White, D.D. Exegesis: (a leading out of perplexities into perception) of the "Pentateuch" (five fold book) of Moses. [Also] Studies (zealous thinking) in the Addresses of Isaiah (Jah is helper). New York: Meth. Bk. Conc., 1893. Pp. ii., 46, 12mo, cloth, 40 cts.

Zahn, A. Abriss einer Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche auf dem europäischen Festlande im 19. Jahrhunderte. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1893. Pp. vi., 291, 8vo, 3.50 mk.

Zuckermann, B. Anleitung und Tabellen zur Vergleichung jüdischer und christlicher Zeitangaben. Herausgegeben von M. Brann. Breslau: Jacobssohn, 1893. Pp. 47, 8vo, 2 mk.

the Rev. Daniel Steele, D.D., is to succeed Dr. L. T. Townsend in the chair of Pastoral Theology in the theological department of Boston University; Rev. Albert T. Swing has been appointed to the chair of Church History in Oberlin Theological Seminary; Professor F. R. Beattie, of the Columbia (S.C.) Theological Seminary, has resigned, and the Rev. S. S. Laws, D.D., has been chosen to succeed him; Dr. George Milligan, Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism at Aberdeen, has intimated his intention to resign; the Rev. R. J. Willingham, D.D., has been elected Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, Southern Baptist Convention.

OBITUARY.

Mann, Rev. Alexander McCalla (Dutch Reformed, afterward Presbyterian), D.D. (Rochester University, 1856), at Farmer, N. Y., July 15, aged 85. He was graduated at Rutgers College, 1837, being at the time of his death the oldest graduate of that institution, and from the Theological Seminary in New Brunswick, 1839; became pastor at Ithaca, N. Y., the same year; removed to West Troy, 1837; took charge of the First Church of Poughkeepsie, 1838; he removed to Hoboken, N. J., 1857; accepted call to the Presbyterian Church of Trumansburg, N. Y., 1861, serving till 1863, when he retired, serving as temporary supply as occasion demanded.

He was President of the General Synod in 1831, and was known as the composer of the hymn, "Child of sin and sorrow."

Peters, Rev. Thomas McClure (Protestant Episcopal), D.D. (Yale College, S.T.D. (Trinity College, Hartford), at Peekskill, Aug. 13, aged 72. He was graduated from Yale College, 1841, and from the General Theological Seminary, New York City, 1844, entering St. Michael's Church as lay reader, 1842. Last year he celebrated his jubilee, having served that one parish fifty years. In 1892 he was elevated to the office of Archdeacon of the Diocese of New York. He was deeply interested in charitable work, being President of such charities as the Sheltering Arms, Children's Fold, Shepherd's Fold, etc.

CHRONICLE.

(Closes on the 20th of each month.)

July 15-August 6. Roman Catholic Summer School, at Plattsburgh, N. Y.

July 25-28. International Congress of Education, at Chicago.

July 27. Centennial of the organization of the First American Synod of the Reformed Church, at Allentown, Pa.

Aug. 1-13. World's Conference of Christian Workers, at Northfield, Mass.

Aug. 2. Thirteenth National Temperance Camp-Meeting, at Ocean Grove, N. J.

Aug. 11-20. Sixth Annual Interdenominational Seaside Bible Conference, at Asbury Park, N. J.

Aug. 13-15. Meeting of the United Presbyterian Synod of New York, East Pennsylvania and New England, at Chautauqua, N. Y.

Aug. 13-20. Annual Meeting of the Baptist Vineyard Association, at Cottage City.

Aug. 19. Twenty-first Annual Summer Meeting of the Methodist Episcopal Women's Foreign Missionary Society.

The Rev. T. C. Billheimer has been elected Professor of Hebrew and German in the Lutheran Seminary at Gettysburg, to succeed the late Dr. Hay; Dr. J. G. Morris, of the same institution, has resigned;

CALENDAR.

Aug. 31-Sept. 6. Second World's Sunday-School Convention, at St. Louis, Mo.

Sept. 2. Roman Catholic Education Day, at Chicago.

Sept. 5-9. Catholic Congress, at Chicago.

Sept. 6-7. Convention of the Catholic Young Men's National Union, at Chicago.

Sept. 11-30. World's Parliament of Religions, at Chicago.

Sept. 15-21. General Missionary Convention of the Disciples of Christ (Christian Evangelist), at Chicago.

Sept. 16-23. International Congress of Unitarians, at Chicago.

Sept. 22-23. African Methodist Congress, at Chicago.

Sept. 25-29. Annual Conference of the British Evangelical Alliance, in Dublin.

Oct. 3-6. Anglican Church Congress, at Birmingham, England.

Oct. 8-15. International Christian Conference, in the Memorial Art Palace, Chicago.

Oct. 9-12. Autumn Meeting of the English Congregational Union, in London.

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THE SURVEY OF THOUGHT.

THE SERVANT OF THE LORD IN DEUTERO-ISAIAH.—A notable contribution to the rapidly growing literature on this question has been made recently by Dr. Julius Ley, of Marburg, in a dissertation entitled "On the Significance of the Expression, 'the Servant of God,' in Isaiah xl. to liii.," which is incorporated with his "Historical Explanation of the Second Part of Isaiah according to the Results of the Cuneiform Inscriptions." The result of this new inquiry concerning this much debated subject can be summed up very briefly. In the three prophecies found respectively in xlii. 1-7, xlix. 1-8, and lii. 13-liii., an individual must be intended by the expression "my servant"; and this can be no other than the Messiah so distinctly foretold by the earlier prophets, especially by the earlier Isaiah with whom Deutero-Isaiah is so closely connected. This re-statement of the old-fashioned interpretation, which has been scouted so often by modern critics, is elaborately defended and accompanied by a close examination of several theories in favour in recent years, especially of that which may be described as the "Theocratic Kernel Theory." This theory, which identifies the servant of the Lord with the better part of Israel, is alleged to be irreconcilable with the general significance of the chapters under discussion (xl. to liii.), as well as with special designations and expressions. How, for example, can this servant of the Lord raise up the tribes of Jacob and restore the preserved of Israel (xlix. 6) if he is a portion of that Israel? How artificial and unsatisfactory to every unprejudiced reader the whole penitential confession in the fifty-third chapter—a confession manifestly representing the whole people—(vers. 5, 6, 8, 11, 12), if the suffering servant of God is the people itself ideally conceived, or the better portion of it? Then there is a grave historical difficulty. This better portion of Israel, this theocratic kernel, would include the heads of the tribes and the elders, the priests and the Levites and the prophets. What unprejudiced person could possibly recognize them in the despised and suffering servant of the Lord? These magnates of the return could not, except in irony, be represented as the most despised and tormented of their nation. Another improbability, said to be consequent on the acceptance of this theory, is the prophet's exclusion of himself from this better part of Israel? When he writes, "the Lord against whom we have sinned" (xlii. 24), and "All we like sheep have sinned and gone astray" (liii. 6), he evidently classes himself with the sinful portion of his people. Is it in the

least likely that he would have done so—he, the inspired representative of Jehovah—if there had been in Israel a section which could be truthfully described by the language used concerning the servant of the Lord? Again, it is argued that the evidence of linguistic usage is against the interpretation of the expression as used in these three prophecies as a collective. Singulars used in a collective sense are often in Hebrew combined with a plural predicate, and, as a rule, the grammatical number is subsequently forgotten and the plural which is suggested by the sense is employed. There are many examples of this in Deutero-Isaiah, but in these three prophecies the singular alone is employed. When he passes from refutation to construction our author lays stress on four points. The Messianic interpretation is probable. It has in its favour the evidence of Israelitish history, which shows that it was God's invariable practice to raise up one hero or prophet in times of need. Again, scarcely any exegete has denied that these prophecies produce on the mind of the unprejudiced reader the impression of a single personality. In other words, the Messianic application is natural. In the last place Dr. Ley attempts to find a historical background for these prophecies, which will account in some measure for their form. The most important of them, the great prophecy of the suffering and dying servant in lii. 13–liii., is supposed to have been written soon after the return. The prophet was sadly disappointed in the new Israel. It had regained Jerusalem, but where was the splendour and happiness which had been anticipated? Most of the people were poor, the leaders were unworthy, surrounding tribes were bitterly hostile, and a proud, exclusive, hierarchical spirit, which the prophet abominated, was daily becoming stronger. How was this helpless, sinful Israel to be saved? Where was the deliverer to be found? Cyrus, from whom so much had been expected, had failed; the house of David had proved miserably inadequate to meet the emergency; the priesthood was intolerant and selfish. Whither could the hopes of the afflicted prophet turn but to the Messiah? He, coming not as a conqueror but as a lowly, self-sacrificing Saviour, could alone raise up weak and sinful men and bring deliverance to Israel and the world. This historic setting is of course conjectural, as it assumes the existence of Deutero-Isaiah. Apart from this, however, Dr. Ley may be congratulated on his able advocacy of the long unfashionable view that the greatest of the Old Testament prophecies can only be rightly read as a prophecy of Jesus Christ.

MODERN CRITICISM ON THE GENESIS AND PURPOSE OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.—A treatise on "The Chronology of the Pauline Epistles," by Dr. Karl Clemen, of Halle, the author of a remarkable essay on "The Present Condition of Religious Thought in Great Britain," which appeared in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1892, includes an interesting and instructive review of the various theories about the origin and nature of the Acts of the Apostles propounded by critics during the last two hundred years, closing of course with some new suggestions by the author. The apparently simple

question, "What is the subject of the Acts of the Apostles?" has received a bewildering multitude of irreconcilable answers. Some have regarded the work as a history, and nothing more. Grotius, for instance, considered it a history of Peter and Paul. Eichhorn viewed it as a general account of the earliest Christian missions. Credner restricted its theme to the missionary activity of Paul. Mayerhoff maintained that it was a representation of the victorious progress of the Gospel from Jerusalem to Rome. Others find an apologetic purpose. According to Aberle, it was, in the first instance, a reply to the charges brought against Paul at Rome; whilst the Dutch scholar Straatman, dating it from about the middle of the second century, pronounced it a defence of orthodoxy against Marcion. A third group treat it as an Eirenicon. So the leader of the Tübingen school, Baur, who tried to prove that it was the work of a Pauline Christian desirous of purchasing the recognition of his party from the Jewish Christians by concessions to the latter. The same line has been adopted by a more recent writer, Wittichen, but with exactly opposite results. In the Acts of the Apostles we have indeed, according to him, a work intended to promote peace in the Church, but we must look for its author not in the circle of Pauline Christianity, but amongst the Jewish Christians, and we must suppose it to be addressed to the dominant Gentile element. Our author, Dr. Clemen, proposes with great assurance a new hypothesis. The work is based in his judgment on historical records of very early date, but owes its present form to the labours of two editors or redactors. One of these, a friend of the Jews, must have written after 93-94 A.D., as his work betrays acquaintance with the Archæology of Josephus, which was composed at that time, but not subsequently to the reign of Adrian, which closed in 138 A.D. The other, writing later, represented the opposite party in the Church, the Gentile party which disliked the Jews. It is admitted that it is quite impossible to determine with precision the time when, the place where, and the person by whom either of these revisions was effected; but that uncertainty matters little to a German theorist. Of the original authorities thus manipulated in opposite directions by these unknown redactors, the two of greatest importance are: (a) an account of the Hellenistic mission; and (b) a narrative of the travels of the Apostle Paul. This latter document, which includes the portions distinguished from the rest by the use of the first personal pronoun—the "we-sections"—has been assigned by different modern critics to Timothy, or Silas, or Titus, but Dr. Clemen sees no adequate reason for rejecting the traditional view. "Unless we are prepared to assume an altogether unknown companion of Paul as the author, there remains only Luke." The substance of this document may have consisted of notes of a diary kept on the journey to Rome, and subsequently worked up into a continuous narrative in the imperial city. On this point, then, our advanced critic is in agreement with the generally received belief; but his assent is, after all, very partial, as he finds many interpolations. The account of the missionary journeys of Paul, as we have it, is said to contain much which cannot have been written by Luke. The

two redactors have both interfered with the original document, each endeavouring to adapt it to his own special purpose. In the fifteenth chapter, for example, the first four verses are ascribed to the sympathizer with the Jews, but the speech of Peter is supposed to have been inserted by his anti-Jewish successor. Paul's association with the vow of the Nazarites, and his declaration that he was "a Pharisee and the son of Pharisees," are pronounced unhistorical. The editor, who was friendly to the Jews, is charged with inventing and inserting these statements. But the interpolations proceeding from these two sources are not sufficient to explain all the phenomena of the narrative in its present form. Other portions, in which no definite tendency can be discovered, are also considered to be additions by a later hand. These mysterious interpolations include the whole story of the conversion of the Philippian gaoler and the speech on the Areopagus. This fantastic theory, which dates the book, as a whole, from about the middle of the second century, and assumes at least three sets of interpolations, some of which are supposed to be deliberate falsehoods, raises more difficulties than it solves, and will probably be torn to pieces in whole or in part before long by some smart young doctor of divinity who has just evolved out of his imagination a fresh and equally baseless theory. Still, Dr. Clemen's discussion of the subject is worth reading. His advice to those engaged in such an inquiry as the analysis of the sources of the Acts of the Apostles is well worthy of quotation. Three principles, he says, must be constantly kept in view. (1) The investigation must include all the individual moments connected with the question, not simply those which seem suitable. (2) The criterion for the separation of sources must be found mainly in the presence of gaps or leaps in the composition. (3) The analyst must strictly distinguish between certain and merely probable results. Had Dr. Clemen followed out his own counsel consistently, some paragraphs in this clever but inconclusive book would never have been written.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE PAULINE EPISTLES.—Dr. Clemen's treatment of this question, the real subject of his book, is quite as startling and questionable as his analysis of the Acts of the Apostles. His results (our space will not permit a description and discussion of his methods) are as follow:—The Epistles to the Thessalonians were written respectively in 47 and 48 A.D. The Christians of Corinth are believed to have been addressed by Paul in five epistles. The first, which is completely lost, was written in 49 or 50 A.D.; the second, our first epistle, was written in 50 A.D.; the third, partially preserved in chapter ix. of our second epistle, is ascribed to 51 A.D.; the fourth, which is supposed to have been preceded by an ineffectual visit of the Apostle to Corinth, and to be preserved in the last four chapters of our second epistle, is ascribed to the same year; the fifth, comprising the remainder of our second epistle, is referred to the following year, 52 A.D. A short passage in the Epistle to Titus (iii. 12-14), the only part of that epistle which is allowed to be from the Apostle's pen, dates from 53-54 A.D. A little

later in the same year was written the Epistle to the Romans. The Council at Jerusalem, which is usually supposed to have taken place in 50 or 51 A.D., is put as late as 54 A.D., and is supposed to have been quickly succeeded by the dispute with Peter at Antioch and the Epistle to the Galatians. The order of the four great epistles therefore, which is usually believed to have been Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, is alleged to be Corinthians, Romans, Galatians, and the time of composition is put several years earlier than by most scholars. This arrangement, coupled with the late date assigned to the Council, constitute the most important feature in Dr. Clemen's treatment of the question. To the period of the imprisonment at Cæsarea, 58-60 A.D., are assigned three epistles and a note preserved in the second Epistle to Timothy (iv. 9-18). The epistles are Colossians, with the exception of three verses (i. 18-20), which are pronounced an interpolation; the Epistle to Philemon, and the earlier letter to the Philippians, which is incorporated in our Epistle to the Philippians with a later one. Only two documents are assigned to the period of the Roman captivity: a few verses preserved in the second Epistle to Timothy (i. 3b-4, 15-18), and the remainder of Philippians, comprising i. 1—ii. 18; ii. 25-30; iv. 1-7 and 10-23. The Pastoral Epistles are excluded (with the exception of a few fragments, most of which have been mentioned) as "unquestionably spurious," and also the Epistle to the Ephesians. The recognized epistles thus arranged are thought to indicate a gradual development in St. Paul's theology, which involved in some measure the abandonment of earlier beliefs. Of course, if the chronology advocated by Dr. Clemen falls, his views about Pauline theology fall with it. The Apostle's conversion is put in 37 A.D., only two years, according to our author, after the crucifixion, and his martyrdom in 64 A.D. This rapid sketch will be sufficient to indicate that this "fresh examination of the chronology of the Pauline Epistles" is too speculative, too confident, and too one-sided to satisfy practical students.

SAMSON: WAS HE MAN OR MYTH?—There is so much that is extraordinary in the narrative of the life and exploits of Samson, that it is not surprising that a certain school of critics should regard him as a mythical personage. The meaning of his name (the Sunny), and the remarkable coincidences between events in his history and those in the legends of the classical Hercules, lend themselves naturally to a theory of the kind. In an article in *The Expository Times*, however, Professor Blaikie clearly shows that such an interpretation of the history of Samson, so far from removing difficulties, only increases them. Myths are subject to definite laws and conditions, and have marked features that differentiate them from history; they are usually directed to glorify their hero, whom at last they place virtually, if not formally, in the ranks of the gods. In the Hebrew story, on the other hand, there is an utter want of harmony between the supernatural element and the character of the hero. The twofold annunciation of his birth by an angel from heaven might have been expected to herald

the appearance of a servant of God, lofty in character and devoted in service. "But so far from our finding in Samson any such type of character, we are surprised, if not shocked, at his wild, rollicking, jovial life, his grotesque and uncouth methods even of delivering his people, and the combination of savagery and recklessness which marks his exploits. So far from his showing anything of the solemn dignity of the prophet, he is wanting even in the decency and gravity of a responsible citizen. The most extreme rationalist would find it impossible to reconcile, as the creation of a poetic fancy, an annunciation so spiritual with a career so carnal." Then, too, his consecration to the order of Nazarites is another remarkable circumstance in his life, incompatible with the idea of a mythical origin. So far from his fulfilling the ideal of that office, his ordinary habits and demeanour, except in the matter of abstinence from the fruit of the vine, outraged it. A third point where any legend-theory must fail is, to explain the peculiar nature of the service which Samson rendered to his country. Personally, he does not seem to have hated the Philistines, but rather the contrary. When he attacks them it is in revenge for some personal injury. This is not the kind of work that would excite the spirit of legend, or create a desire to make a hero of the performer. A strong man that in return for personal injuries had inflicted much havoc on a people with whom he was usually on friendly terms, is not the man round whose memory the spirit of admiration, love, and honour rises to its utmost height. There must be more of self-abnegation, more of the disposition to identify himself with his people, more ordinary forgetfulness of self, to rouse the legendary spirit, and place a man among the gods. A fourth conclusive argument against the legendary theory is its incompatibility with the treatment received by Samson from the tribe of Judah. So far from being roused to faith and courage by his example, they blamed him for irritating their foes, and actually had the meanness to lay hold of him and to bind him, that they might deliver him into the hands of the Philistines. "Would anything like this ever have occurred to a maker of myths? What glory could such legends bring either to the hero or to the nation? The rejection of Samson by the tribe of Judah was a greater ignominy than his having his eyes put out by the Philistines, or his being called to make sport for them at their feast. It spoiled his public life, and reduced him to the position of one who had only showed how great things he might have done if he had been properly supported by his nation." Professor Blaikie's article is an exceedingly fresh and interesting one, and in it he lays stress upon a number of points that help us to a better understanding of the career of the great Jewish hero.

CHRISTIAN THOUGHT.

THE IONA OF THE SOUTH; OR, THE CRADLE OF EUROPEAN MONASTICISM.

BY REV. HUGH MACMILLAN, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E.

ALL beginnings are peculiarly interesting, from the source of a great river to the origin of a great nation. Institutions, social, political, or religious, that have flourished for ages, derive a fresh charm from the consideration of their first feeble commencement, and the contrast between what they were then and what they are now. The thought that there was a time when these things had no existence gives a vividness to the feelings with which we regard them, and brings back the freshness that has evaporated with long familiarity. It is a morally healthful task, in this age of sere and yellow ripeness, to recall especially the spring beauty of the early times when the foundations of our faith were being laid, and to realize, in imagination, the primitive simplicity of those times. A feeling of restfulness comes over us in so doing, like turning aside from the noisy, dusty street to the cool, quiet glade of the woodland. Nowhere is the desire to go back to the beginnings of sacred institutions more keen than on the shores of the Mediterranean, where there is everything to captivate and chain down the senses to the present. We have an instinctive longing for a sense of contrast; and as the luxuriant greenness of a clump of fern in summer gains immensely in beauty by being associated with the russet fronds of last autumn, that still linger about its roots, so the beauty of the scenes of the Riviera has an added charm imparted to it by the memories of the past. The loveliness of nature seems a fitting background to the romantic story of piety and devotion that belonged, in far-off ages, to this region.

Off the coast of Cannes, in the south of France, about two miles distant from the shore, and giving a natural shelter on the south to the little port, there are two small islands called the *Iles des Lérins*. A little steamer, during the season, takes passengers from the quay of Cannes to these islands, allowing them sufficient time on shore to examine the various objects of interest. The larger and nearer island is called *St. Marguerite*, and has on its northern point, which is steep and rocky, a citadel built by Richelieu, in which, for eleven years, the mysterious person known as the "Man in the Iron Mask" was confined as a prisoner. The island is about five miles in circumference, and except in the neighbourhood of the fortress, is entirely

covered with shady pinewoods. About half a mile distant is the twin island, called St. Honorat, which is only a fourth of the size of St. Marguerite. It is low and wooded, and fringed with a reef of rough rocks. Formerly, the whole interior was covered with dense forest, but this has been cut down in recent years in order to furnish fields and gardens for the Franciscan monks who were sent there as agricultural colonists; and all the old gloom and solitude have vanished. Only along the shore have traces of the original forest been allowed to remain. At the landing-place is a modern convent inhabited by Cistercian monks, of whom about two-thirds are lay-brethren, and they are as much distinguished for their courtesy to visitors as for their reverential care of the ancient relics of the island. On the shore a little to the south there is a massive and venerable pile of buildings, half monastery and half castle, very like the style of architecture of some of the old castles of Scotland, which carries back one's thoughts to the insecurity of mediæval times. It was founded on the remains of an older building of the twelfth century, and fortified in the manner of the great Eastern monasteries, to resist the attacks of the Algerine pirates. Outside it looks entirely like a castle or fortress, with a moat and portcullis protecting the gate, a donjon tower, loop-holed walls, and projecting battlements; but the interior arrangements are purely those of a monastery, with an oblong double-arched cloister, surrounding a little open court and cistern, and opening into a chapel, a library, a refectory, and the cells and other domestic buildings of the monks, all more or less in a ruined state. A well-made road winds round the island, shaded by splendid umbrella pines, through which the vivid sunshine comes filtered of its glare and heat, and filling all the air with a delicious balsamic fragrance. Nothing can be more charming than the view obtained from the tower of the castle. To the south the wide sea lies unbroken to the line where the blue of the water melts into the blue of the sky; to the west the grand range of the Esterel Mountains rises up, with its broken outline and ever-varying aspects of light and shade and delicate colouring; in front, Cannes, with its picturesque old town and modern suburbs, stretches its bright line of white along the shore, fills up the middle space, and climbs up the hills behind, with the grey olive-woods making a silvery haze to tone down the brilliant colours of the buildings and the tropical vegetation around them; while in the far distance the magnificent picture is adequately framed by the great circle of the Maritime Alps, whose dazzling white snow-peaks tower up behind the lesser heights, and the endless undulations of the vast landscape, like a door opened in heaven, revealing a glimpse of the Great White Throne.

But it is not altogether for its exquisite features of scenic beauty, or for the curious combination of military and monastic architecture to be seen in its old castle, that St. Honorat is remarkable. It acquires an added interest from the ancient ecclesiastical ruins which it contains. Indeed, it is a perfect treasure-house of religious antiquities. At one time no less than seven chapels existed, dating from the seventh century or

earlier. Two have disappeared, without leaving any trace behind ; and the remains of the other five, placed at intervals along the road that winds round the island, bear some resemblance to the ruins of the still ruder chapels built about the same time in Ireland and in the western islands of Scotland by the disciples of St. Columba. The best preserved of the group is the chapel of the Trinity, on the eastern point of the island. It is not more than twelve yards long and about two wide, and is placed from east to west. It is a low building, with an immense block of stone forming the doorway, and a single rough Romanesque window of diminutive size above it, by which the dark interior is lighted. The corner-stones are enormous, and the arches of the nave and the roofs of the apsidal chapels are of the most primitive description. At the western end of the island is the chapel of St. Sauveur, which looks on the outside, with its tiled roof and white-washed walls, like a peasant's cottage. Inside it is a regular octagon, with a dome-shaped roof, six of the sides being occupied by arched niches, the seventh being formed into an apse, containing a rude stone altar. On the remaining side is the rough ruined doorway, with a small window over it, through which the light enters into the interior. Besides these most interesting old buildings, there are the chapel of St. Justine, now a stable ; the chapel of St. Pierre, near the landing-place, which has little more than the foundations to show ; and the restored chapel of St. Porcaire, where, it is said, the saint of that name was buried, situated against the wall of the convent, a little to the west of the castle.

In the middle ages these seven ancient chapels of St. Honorat served as shrines of pilgrimage, like the seven sister churches at Glendalough in the county of Wicklow. They were famous all over the south of Europe, and pilgrims from all parts of France, Germany, and Italy flocked to the island in crowds. He who visited the chapels seven years in succession received from the prior of the monastery a palm-branch and plenary absolution. There is a tradition of a devout Provençal swineherd who had made a pilgrimage to the seven churches no less than six times, but was prevented on the last occasion by his churlish master from completing the mystic number of visits. Worn out with sorrow on account of his disappointment, he fell sound asleep one day while tending his herd of swine on the edge of an oak-wood among the mountains, and dreamt that he had actually set his foot for the seventh time on the Holy Island, and that in consequence the abbot had given to him the coveted palm-branch as the reward of his devotion. Awaking from his sleep, he was about to renew his lamentation on account of the aggravated mockery of the vision, when he found to his great joy a palm-branch lying by his side, brought by an angel to comfort him for his sore disappointment. There is also a tradition that St. Virgil, one of the abbots of the monastery, was in the habit of going the round of the seven chapels every night, so excessive was his devotion ; and it is said that his ghost still haunts the sacred precincts, and may be seen by the belated visitor.

There can be no doubt that the seven chapels I have thus described were relics of the earlier cœnobitic establishment of the time of St. Honorat. That mode of religious life was widely different from the later monastic type, which the great founder of the order of Benedictines organized; the peculiarity of which was that the monks lived together in one building, in a close corporation under the rule of a superior. The cœnobitic form of monasticism came originally from the East, and seems always to have been a special characteristic of the Greek Church; and even at the present day it is carried out in remote places among Greek, Coptic, and Abyssinian Christians. In the first Christian centuries there were swarms of hermits in the deserts of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, who wished to imitate the example of St. Anthony and dwell apart from the rest of mankind. At first the hermits lived in separate caves or cells remote from each other, and they had no mutual bond of union. After a time a number of them built their cells together, like the wigwams of an Indian encampment, with a central chapel common to all. One of their number was appointed to act as the superior, but the rules that guided the fraternity were of the loosest character. On the first and last day of the week, the old and new Sabbath, they met together for a common meal and for common worship in the chapel; but during the rest of the week they lived apart, each in the solitude of his own cell. To the community thus formed the name of *Laura* was given, from a root signifying an alley or small court. This word meets us often in the ecclesiastical history of the first five Christian centuries, showing how popular was the institution so called. In the course of time this semi-social form of asceticism became less independent and assumed a more compact organization, developing ultimately into the cœnobism which had fixed rules to control the irregularities of such a mode of life, while it still afforded ample scope for solitude and for the cultivation of individual peculiarities. At a later period, the devotees of this system, crowded out in the East, and inspired by missionary zeal, migrated westwards and founded similar institutions in Europe; and wherever they located themselves they faithfully imitated there the type of monastic life which they had left behind in Egypt. At St. Honorat, which was one of the first settlements in Europe, there were numerous solitary cells scattered over the island, inhabited by hermits who celebrated certain religious rites together, had a semi-social organization, and were governed by a superior chosen among themselves. From this island the cœnobitic mode of life was afterwards introduced into the Celtic Church; and we find traces of it as late as the twelfth century in the peculiar type of monasticism that prevailed in such institutions as the great Abbey of Bangor, on the banks of the Dee, founded by the Welsh St. Illtud, cousin of the mythic Arthur, and the Abbey of Armagh in Ireland, both of which were remarkable not only for their great crowds of monks, but also for their rigid austerities and for their loose discipline. The seven sister churches of Wicklow were derived from the same source. From Ireland St. Columba transmitted this type of cœnobism to Iona and to Scotland

generally. Consequently we infer that the Celtic Church can trace its origin directly to the East, and got no part of its ecclesiastical organization from Italy. Like the Waldensian Church, it can boast that it was never suckled by the Wolf of Rome.

In Europe the sea took the place of the desert in Asia. Hermits in the East sought the vast solitudes on the western side of the Nile, for there they were farthest removed from the habitations of man, and had the freest scope for meditation upon the Divine life. Such pathless wastes as those around the natron lakes of Egypt were not to be found in the West, and therefore the early missionaries of Christianity to Europe sought refuge in the islands which line the coasts of the Mediterranean, for there they could find the best security from the troubles of these rough ages. In our own country we have numerous examples of this favourite practice, such as Lindisfarne, off the coast of Northumberland; the Isles of Arran, off the west coast of Ireland; Bardsey and Ramsey, islands near St. David's in Wales; Iona, the Island of May, and the Island in Lochleven in Scotland. In the seventh century the Bass Rock gave shelter to St. Baldred, who laboured in East Lothian; and the little oratory in the Island of Inchcolm in the Frith of Forth is attributed to a solitary of this period. We read of St. Cormac, and other disciples of St. Columba, sailing over the Northern Ocean to find a desert spot where there should be no trace or recollection of man, and failing in the attempt, so widely had the hermit fever spread and taken possession of every available place. Even St. Kilda, though so far away, amid the melancholy main had a hermit's cell upon it. On the desolate islands of Orkney and Shetland there were cells of the old hermits, who were called "papas" or "popes," and who left the memory of their holy lives in the curious names of Papa Strona and Papa Westra, by which the islands are known to this day. Off the coast of Ireland there is an island called Papey for the same reason, where the first Norse settlers found relics of the bells and croziers of the ancient hermits who lived there.

Connected with this search for an ideal home of the hermit was the famous legend of St. Brendan's seven years' voyage, which may be called the Monkish Odyssey, and which Matthew Arnold and Sebastian Evans have made familiar to us by their beautiful poems upon the subject. So popular was this story in the middle ages that no fewer than eleven manuscripts of the original Latin narrative are in existence, and versions of it exist in nearly all the European languages. It must have been well known to Columbus, and probably inspired those visions which led to the discovery of America. Centuries before Columbus was born there was a tradition in Mexico of the visit of a strange white man from the other side of the sea, who came in a boat with sails, lived a most austere and holy life, and taught the people a new and humane system of religion, and then went away back to his own country, promising that either he himself or some one sent by him would return at some future time. When the Spaniards landed

in Mexico their visit was hailed as the fulfilment of the old promise, and they found amongst the people not only the most minute accounts of the personal appearance of their holy visitor—as that he had a large beard and black hair, and was dressed in a long coat with a mantle marked with crosses—but also fragments of his teaching, and relics of rites and customs which bore a strange resemblance to those of Christians. It is possible that this legend of the Mexican Messiah may refer to the famous voyage of St. Brendan in the western seas. St. Brendan's Isle, it is said, was only occasionally visible; it was not found when it was sought; but if the Mexican legend be true, it fixed itself at last in the revelation of a mighty continent, to whose western shores, beyond our setting sun, the course of empire takes its way.

To the student of ecclesiastical history the little island of St. Honorat is one of the most impressive spots in Europe. Almost invisible on the map, it at one time occupied a most conspicuous position in the eyes of the world, as one of its great historical sites. As a centre of intellectual and moral influence it had, as Montalembert truly says, a greater effect upon the progress of humanity than any famous isle of the Grecian Archipelago. For more than five hundred years it was the pulse of Christian Europe; and it may be regarded as the cradle of European monasticism—the stepping-stone by which the peculiar religious life of the East crossed over into the West. It may well be called the Iona of the South. It is a remarkable circumstance that two little, insignificant islands, one in the far north, amid the dark clouds and mists of the wild Atlantic, and the other in the far south, under the brilliant blue sky, and laved by the bluer waters of the Mediterranean, should have formed the centres which drew to them, and from whence were dispersed, all the spiritual and intellectual forces of Christendom during its darkest ages. The correspondence between these two islands in their geographical position and in their ecclesiastical history is singularly close. Their annals run on parallel lines. The institutions in both were founded by men of noble birth, who gave themselves up with almost unparalleled devotion to the service of God, and had wonderful power in attracting around them disciples, whom they sent out as missionaries to all parts of Europe, where they founded monasteries and churches, and spread a wide circle of light amid the prevailing darkness. Both monasteries enjoyed a long period of remarkable activity and prosperity; they were both the seats of momentous religious controversies and schisms, and they both received the blow which proved fatal to them from the encroachments of the worldly spirit within, and from the ravages of their ruthless foes without—the one succumbing to the Algerine pirates, and the other to the Norwegian invaders.

St. Honorat, who gave his name to the little island in the Mediterranean, was a man of the same stamp as St. Columba, whose name is imperishably associated with Iona. He belonged to a knightly family in Belgic Gaul, and

was born on the border of the province of Loraine. In all likelihood he had a native name, for Honoratus was merely a Latin epithet like our own modern "honourable"—employed either to denote a certain official position or high moral character; and used in this way, the name was so common in the first five centuries, that it is almost impossible to identify with certainty the different eminent persons who bore it. The original name of St. Patrick we know was Succat; and Patricius was bestowed upon him as a Roman epithet on account of his noble birth. This may have been the case with St. Honorat, whose Belgic name has been altogether forgotten. In that rude age he grew from infancy to manhood pure and virtuous. Tall, handsome, endowed with great gifts of mind and graces of character, he won the esteem and affection of all with whom he came into contact. At an early age he renounced the world and devoted himself to a religious life. After his baptism he was seized with an ardent desire to visit the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, from whence had come the saints, whose beautiful feet, bringing the glad tidings of salvation, were first seen on the rocky heights and in the lonely villages of the Maritime Alps. In the age of St. Honorat the East was far more closely connected with the West than we imagine. There were still the Churches founded by the Apostles, and crowds of hermits and holy men worshipping God in dens and caves of the earth, and pilgrimages were frequently made to visit the sacred sites in Egypt and Palestine. The heart of the young enthusiast was fired with a longing to tread the soil of these holy lands. But his father refused to allow him to undertake the dangerous journey; and his elder brother Venantius, who was still a pagan, made sport of the proposed pilgrimage. Saddened and disheartened, the youthful devotee saw no immediate hope of carrying out his plan, and therefore devoted himself to such works of faith and labours of love as he could perform at home. There is a touching story told of him at this time which the fond imagination of later ages has invested with a supernatural halo. Meeting one day one of those wretched lepers, who, owing to the miserable living and the utter want of sanitary knowledge of those times, were as common in Europe in the early Christian centuries as they are now in Asia, he took him home to his own room, and began to anoint his terrible sores. Suddenly the dreadful mask of deformity fell off, and the scarred face burst out into overpowering radiance; and in the transfigured leper he beheld with inexpressible awe no other than the Lord Jesus Himself. In reward of his loving deed he was divinely promised that his father's opposition to his pilgrimage would be removed, and that he would be the means of converting his brother to the Christian faith. And so he gained his end; and at last, in the company of his brother, who had suddenly become as ardent a devotee as himself, he set out to visit the morning-land of his faith. Caprasius, a man of good education and position, described by his contemporaries as a saint of angelic conversation and of venerable gravity equal to the fathers, associated himself with the two brothers in their pious pilgrimage. Previous.

to starting they all distributed their property to the poor, that they might be entirely free from worldly cares. But the pilgrimage was never carried out. Venantius died by the way at Messina through fatigue and sickness, and with his last breath exhorted his brother to be strong in faith, for that God intended him to do great things for the world. In the first bitterness of his sorrow St. Honorat cared no longer to pursue his travels; the pilgrimage had lost its interest for him, and so he turned his face homewards.

But no sooner did he reach his native place than he received, in a vivid dream of the night, what he interpreted as a Divine command to proceed to the shores of the Mediterranean, to a spot indicated to him, where he might carry out the rule of life which he had planned for himself. This was the little island of Planaria, or Lerina, to which he afterwards gave his name. Sheltered by its obscurity and its insular position from the ravages of the barbaric hordes, who invaded the south by the course of the Rhone and the Garonne, no place could be better adapted for a religious retreat. Before, however, settling down in this island, St. Honorat spent some time in solitary meditation in a cave in the face of a rock near the summit of Cape Roux, about four and a half miles above the station of Agay, near Cannes. This hermitage, called La Sainte Baume, is the object of a favourite excursion from Cannes, and amply rewards the modern pilgrim, not only on account of its interesting associations, but also by the magnificent view which it commands.

Fortified by this discipline of seclusion and prayer, St. Honorat took with him his friend Caprasius, and proceeded to carry out the chief purpose of his life. When he reached the little island of Planaria, or Lerins, in the year 410 of our era, about a hundred and forty years before St. Columba landed at Iona, he found not only this spot but all the mainland adjacent utterly desolate. The Roman Empire had fallen into decay, and the towns which it had founded and occupied along the Riviera were deserted and fast crumbling into ruins. Cannes, now the gayest and most fashionable town in the South of Europe, was a little collection of fishermen's huts huddled together for the sake of protection and purer and drier air, on the top of an abrupt eminence, surrounded by pestiferous marshes covered with those luxuriant canes or reeds which gave it its name, as they gave its name to Cana of Galilee. The island that was to be his home was a lonely wilderness overrun with tangled brushwood and covered with the ruins of an old Roman village called Vergoanum, among which serpents swarmed in such numbers that no one was bold enough to land on the shore. In this dreary solitude St. Honorat took up his abode, and having sought ordination from his friend Leontius, the bishop of the neighbouring See of Frejus, he set himself at once, with characteristic energy, to establish a monastery on the island. The first necessity was water, and after a diligent search the old well which had supplied the wants of the inhabitants

of the forgotten Roman town was re-discovered in the centre of the island, and, cleared of the weeds and rubbish that had choked it, it burst forth anew a sparkling and abundant spring. The legendary chronicle gives a less prosaic account of this well. It originated in the miraculous power of the saint, who, after the manner of Moses, struck the ground three times in honour of the Trinity, and commanded the hidden waters of the rock to flow forth, which they did at once, and have continued to do ever since; for "St. Honorat's Well" still affords the only supply of fresh water to the modern monks of the island. Beside this holy well grew two lofty palm-trees that raised their crown of foliage above the pine woods. Into one of these St. Honorat ascended when he prayed heaven to rid him of the poisonous snakes that abounded on every side. This was done by the simple expedient of submerging the island beneath the waves of the sea, all but the crown of the palm-tree in which the saint was safely ensconced, until every noxious reptile was drowned, and then raising the land to its old level and draining off the briny waters. A single palm-tree stands at the present day beside the ruins of the church, as a link of connection with the traditional history of the founder. Beside the well overshadowed by these palm-trees, like another Elim in the desert, St. Honorat cleared a space of ground amid the dense thicket of thorn bushes and wild scrub, and on it erected his future home. The buildings would no doubt be of the simplest character, and would consist of a number of small wattled huts constructed of the branches of brushwood around, woven together and plastered over with clay, like the common dwellings of the people on the neighbouring shore. Such was the style of the conventual establishment at Marmontier in which St. Martin of Tours lodged his eight disciples; and such was the architecture of the little community which St. Columba afterwards settled in Iona. There were no magnificent abbeys or monasteries in those days. The *Candida Casa*, as the white stone church which St. Martin built at Whithorn, the first stone church erected in our island, was an innovation upon the ecclesiastical usage of the country; and, humble and unpretending as it must have been, was an object of great astonishment to those who were accustomed to see only the rude wooden dwellings of the natives and the rough caves and cells of the hermits.

When St. Honorat left his northern home he was accompanied by his sister, who was devotedly attached to him; and who for his sake gave up all her friends and identified herself with his fortunes. The building of the monastery threatened to sever the tie which bound them together; for the strict rules of monastic life would not allow the presence of a woman within the precincts of the establishment, which in this case were co-extensive with the whole island. The gentle and beautiful girl, who, at her baptism as a Christian received the name of Margaret, in honour of St. Margaret of Antioch, was consequently sent to reside in the neighbouring isle of Lero, where she was completely separated from her brother. This island was sub-

sequently named St. Marguerite, from its association with her. But she found the solitude so irksome, and the longing to be with her brother so strong, that by her entreaties she at last prevailed upon him to promise to come and see her once a year. "Let me know," she said, "at what time I may look for your coming, for that season will be to me the only season of the year." The saint replied that he would come when the almond-trees were in blossom. Whereupon the legend says the forsaken Margaret assailed all the saints with her prayers and tears, until she got her wish, that the almond-trees in her island should miraculously blossom once a month; and sending each month a branch with the significant flowers on it to her brother's retreat, he dutifully came to her at once, and her heart was thus made glad by the sight of her brother no less than twelve times every year. This beautiful legend contains a moral, not unlike that which the old story of Aaron's almond rod in the Jewish tabernacle was meant to teach the rebellious tribes. The almond rod always blossoms when the heart sacrifices its own selfish inclinations, and prefers obedience to the natural loving instincts which God has planted in it to a mere mechanical ascetic obedience which is against nature. The religion of love and of the sacrifices that are made by love creates life, makes the wilderness to rejoice and blossom as the rose; whereas the religion of self-will, and of the self-denials and mortifications that are made on account of it, destroys life, and converts the fairest garden into a desert.

But we have reason to believe that there is more than a mere sentimental significance in this touching legend, a significance of a kind which gives to St. Marguerite no small share in the profound interest which attaches to the religious history of the neighbouring isle. It has been conjectured that on this island a nunnery was established, soon after the monastery of St. Honorat was built, and over which St. Margaret presided. At this period there was almost as great a fever for a life of religious seclusion among the Roman women as among the men. Ladies of the highest rank and of the most delicate refinement devoted themselves with remarkable enthusiasm to a life of the greatest hardship and of the dreariest loneliness in the cause of Christ. And St. Margaret, with a kindred zeal, set up in her own island an establishment of holy women similar to, and closely affiliated with, the monastery of her brother. There is another interpretation of the legend, however, which seems to me more plausible. It supposes that the island of St. Marguerite was inhabited by the wives and female relatives of the monks of St. Honorat. St. Honorat, while separated from his sister, visited her at certain intervals on the neighbouring island; and it is probable that the other members of the holy fraternity associated with him may have had similar and even more intimate relationships, and may have been granted similar privileges. And if this be the true explanation, it affords another example of the remarkable parallelism that exists between the history of St. Honorat and the history of Iona. In the Sound of Iona, nearly east of the cathedral, but so near the opposite shore of Mull as to seem from Iona

to form part of it, there is a small island called Eilean Nam Ban, or the Island of the Women. It received this name from the tradition that St. Columba suffered no women to stay in Iona, but compelled all the wives, daughters, and sisters of the monks to live in this little neighbouring isle, where traces of a building called the nunnery may even yet be distinguished. The monks were allowed on certain occasions to visit this island and consort with their relatives. There was a nunnery on the island of Iona itself, of which we are told that Beatrix, only daughter of Somerled, Lord of the Isles, was prioress; but this nunnery did not belong to the primitive institutions of the island, and the ruins of it, which remain at the present day, clearly prove by their Norman style of architecture that its foundation does not date farther back than the twelfth century, when the Church of Rome had possession of the place. In the time of St. Columba no such institution would have been tolerated; and though the saint was desirous to promote conjugal happiness, and was held in great veneration by women, yet he strictly enjoined on his community while they were on the holy isle to maintain a total separation from all their female friends. He was accustomed to say, with ungallant frankness, that "where there was a cow there was a woman; and where there was a woman there was mischief and trouble." But though celibacy was thus the rule in Iona itself, and was commended as a higher vocation, it was not absolutely enforced out of the island, and marriage no doubt existed among the secular and even the regular clergy. This must have been the case in the south of Europe as well; and we must therefore regard St. Marguerite at Cannes as standing in the same relation, as a women's isle to St. Honorat, which Eilean Nam Ban stood to Iona.

The fame which St. Honorat acquired soon drew to him devotees from all parts. There were materials ready to his hand to mould in the results of the previous labours of missionaries from Asia Minor, and chiefly from Pergamos, who propagated the Christian faith in the Jewish settlements of the Riviera. In these spots, according to tradition, Martha and Mary and Lazarus, and Mary Magdalene and Barnabas, ended their days, and to them as an historical fact Pontius Pilate and the two Herods were banished. Pothinus and Irenæus, the friends of Polycarp, and probably also the pupils of St. John the Divine, preached the Gospel among the wild tribes of Provence and in southern France. They founded the heroic Churches of Lyons and Vienne, which suffered the most dreadful persecution in the reign of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. From the blood of these martyrs sprang up the faithful witnesses who took up their abode here and there along the curving shores of the Riviera, and became identified with the spots where they settled. St. Romulus of San Remo, St. Ampelius of Bordighera, St. Devote of Monaco, St. Pons of Nice, St. Cassien of Cannes, St. Trophimus of Vence. In this beautiful region was fought out the final struggle between Christianity and classical paganism. And thus we may fairly attribute the origin of the Monastery of St. Honorat, the first great missionary centre in Southern Gaul, to the Church of Pergamos, to which our Lord Himself said,

"Thou holdest fast my name and hast not denied my faith, even in those days when Antipas was my faithful martyr, who was slain among you."

It is a suggestive thought in this connection that, while the Roman Empire in the days of St. Honorat was destroyed by the northern barbarians, the inherent vitality of its civilization, though repressed in one direction, reappeared and became dominant in another. It was compelled to give up the physical sovereignty of the world only to enable it the more effectually to rule supreme in the world of mind and spirit. Nearly all the monks and saints who lived during the invasion of the barbarians were of Roman blood, and belonged to noble families; their names were almost entirely Latin. They had turned monks in order to escape the dreadful fate which had overtaken their race; in them the spirit of the heroic old Romans, which seemed to have been so long dead, blazed forth anew in doing and suffering for the cause of Christ; and, conserved by this moral heroism, while the rest of the Roman aristocracy disappeared, they became the founders of a mightier and more enduring kingdom, which was destined in the end to conquer the conquerors. And so in a new form the old Roman Empire was resuscitated among men, and built up an intellectual and spiritual empire that has ever since ruled the world.

(To be concluded.)

BIBLICAL THOUGHT.

ANOMALIES IN OLD TESTAMENT CHARACTER.

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IN the study of Old Testament character few devout readers can have failed to feel a double perplexity in the case of the best samples presented to us;—first, as to how they came to be in some ways so good; and second, as to how they continued in other ways so evil. The combination of good and bad is what perplexes us. As to their goodness, we wonder to find it of so high an order, inasmuch as they did not live under the dispensation of the Holy Spirit; they had not the benefit of that crowning view of the character of God which is presented in Christ manifest in the flesh; they had not the clear view which we possess of the future life; they had not that acquaintance with the way of salvation which the Gospel communicates; and they could not experience the overpowering motive to trust, gratitude, and obedience which, in all true believers, flows from the consciousness that the Son of God has loved them and given Himself for them.

Yet many of them, while profoundly impressed with God's indefeasible righteousness, had obviously a warm love to God and trust in Him; they lived very near to Him, and often their fellowship was as delightful as it was intimate. Did ever the spiritual thermometer rise to a higher point than in the case of Enoch, whose brief biography is given in words so simple yet

striking—"Enoch walked with God, and he was not, because God took him"? If we take the Psalms as a fair reflection of the devotional attainments of the best men of the Old Testament, what a remarkable experience they must have had! "O God, Thou art my God, early will I seek Thee; my soul thirsteth for Thee, my flesh longeth for Thee, in a dry and thirsty land where no water is." What strikes us most throughout the whole Book of Psalms is the combination of reverence and intimacy, and the reality of the intimacy of which they are the record. It was a real, soul-to-soul communion, removed as far as possible from the sphere of mere external or mechanical religion.

How, then, came these men, living in the dispensation of types and shadows, to reach so profound an experience of the substantial, the real? How were they enabled, under a religion in many ways so external, so firmly to grasp the spiritual? Granting such men to have been but few and far between (though probably they were more numerous than we think), still they must have had a remarkable spiritual education, and the result of it was a spirit of trust that "staggered not at the promise of God through unbelief, but was strong in faith, giving glory to God." How, then, were they educated? Or to put the question regarding them as the angel asked in the Apocalypse: "Who are these arrayed in white robes, and whence came they?"

1. We are necessarily thrown back, in some degree, on the sovereignty of God, and His power to accomplish His ends, as an old theologian put it, "with means, or without means, or against means." Whatever plan God may lay down as His *ordinary* method of dealing with men, we cannot hold Him as tied to that method, so as to exclude every other. It was under the New Testament, and in connection with the incarnation and atonement of our Lord, and the gift of the Spirit through Him, that the dispensation of grace took the form under which, in these latter days, men are commonly brought to God. In Old Testament times God seems to have influenced the hearts of men in ways more free and undefined. He conveyed to them impressions of His character in thorough accordance with those which the Gospel of Jesus Christ conveys, but before the Gospel was more than a dim promise. More particularly, He made them to understand that, while infinitely righteous, He was a sin-pardoning God, before the special ground of pardon, derived from the shedding of Christ's blood, could have been clearly apprehended.

In the world of nature God sometimes falls back on compensatory forces that make up for the absence of the principals. When rain fails, the dew often keeps the grass fresh and green. When the degree of light is small, the pupil of the eye expands, so as to take in more light. Or He gives intensity to agents that seem too feeble to accomplish much, as when the soft and yielding air acquires the force of the hurricane. Under His special blessing the widow's crust and cruse furnish sufficient food for many days. The five loaves and two fishes are so multiplied that thousands are fed

from them. Akin to these unusual operations may have been the method by which God made the scanty light of the Old Testament available for the good men of those times, so that their apprehension of His true character was clearer and brighter than we should have supposed possible. But however brought about, the result certainly was, that while full of reverence for His righteousness, these men were led to regard Him with the same feelings of love, trust, and devotion which in our day are kindled only at the cross of Christ.

2. But, again, the believing men of those times were helped to a right apprehension of the character of God by His very gracious dealings with *the nation*, the seed of Abraham. Israel, with his marvellous national privileges, was a conspicuous monument of the grace of God. In his history was seen God's electing grace, choosing him from among all the nations, but not on any ground of superiority or merit of his; God's saving grace, delivering him from the bondage of Egypt, and from all the enemies that assailed him from time to time; pardoning grace, blotting out his transgressions whensoever he repented, even transgressions of the deepest dye; restoring grace, going after the lost sheep in his wanderings, and bringing him back; purifying and healing grace, cleansing him from all his idols and uncleanness, restoring health to him, and healing him of his wounds; and finally, satisfying grace, producing the delightful sense of full, complete enjoyment. And many of God's national interpositions were very touching, fitted to thrill the heart, and show His generosity and forbearance in the most affecting light. In particular, three great deliverances in the experience of the nation—under Moses, from the bondage of Egypt; under Gideon, from the ravages of the Midianites; and under Hezekiah, from the invasion of Sennacherib—appear to have been always viewed by devout hearts with profoundest wonder and admiration. Such deliverances filled the imagination and the heart; nothing could have shown more wonderfully the tender love of God for Israel.

Now, in the case of certain individuals, this sense of God's love for the nation was appropriated and applied to themselves. They could not only say, "This God is *our* God," but "O God, Thou art *my* God." This was a remarkable advance on the ordinary experience. It was a remark of Luther's that all that is precious in the 23rd Psalm turns on the pronoun "*my*." "The Lord is *my* shepherd." It was this appropriation to their own individual case of God's feelings to the nation that marked so strikingly the men of faith in Old Testament times. The same power of appropriation holds an equally important place under the Gospel. It is on the accepting or appropriating of Christ as our personal Saviour that our salvation turns: and one of the highest experiences of believers in this connection often finds its fittest expression in the symbolical language of the Old Testament: "My beloved is mine, and I am his."

Thus much in answer to the question, How, apart from special Gospel revelations and influences, did the believing men of the Old Testament often attain to such goodness? We come now to the darker side of our inquiry, How, in spite of such goodness, did they often fall into such lamentable sin?

ABRAHAM is one of the most faultless of Old Testament saints, and in his readiness to offer up Isaac he showed that he had attained an almost unexampled reach of virtue. Only one serious offence is laid in Scripture to his charge, and in the superficial view of ordinary readers his passing off Sarah as his sister is generally regarded as but an act of deceit. In reality, however, it was far worse. The declared purpose of the deceit was to save the life of Abraham, because, if Pharaoh or Abimelech knew that Sarah was his wife, they would kill him in order to get possession of her. But if she were believed to be an unmarried woman there would be no obstacle to their taking her, on their giving a fitting present to her brother. There can be no doubt that Abraham gave up Sarah to a position of loathsome humiliation in order to save himself. Commentators may try to explain it away, but the record is as clear as noonday. We dare not explain it away, but we may understand how it happened if we bear in mind the strong sentiment of the time which invested the head of the house with extraordinary authority and privilege. To him servants, children, and wife were entirely subordinate. They were his property, his chattels, he alone being of any worth or consequence. Lot was ready to give up his daughters to save his guests; Isaac offered no word of remonstrance on the altar; Jephthah's daughter would not dream of life when her father had made his vow to God. Abraham was the person to whom God had made the promises; therefore, argued Sarah, his life must be protected by whatever means. The submission of Sarah is extolled in Scripture, "She obeyed Abraham, calling him lord"; she asserted no rights for herself beyond what the custom of the age permitted; she was willing to sacrifice herself to save her husband. Very different was her bearing when Hagar made herself disagreeable; that was, indeed, a very different matter. From the slave girl she would not tolerate a vestige of presumption; but she would place herself under Abraham's feet without a murmur, and to save him become less than nothing. And this was a deliberate bargain made between them when they were leaving their father's house. Yet Abraham was deeply attached to Sarah; and his conduct would be utterly unaccountable were it not for what we know of the extraordinary influence that established custom and the unquestioned voice of public opinion possess in quiet times.

DEBORAH stands out in a somewhat craven age as a woman of singular spirit and singular faith. Alone of all her people she braves the risks of an enterprise against the powerful and warlike Canaanites, who are inflicting on her country the pain and humiliation of a cruel and crushing invasion. That a nation having for its charter the Divine promise, "I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee," should be content to lie, cowed, crestfallen, and unresisting, before these doomed Canaanites, was to Deborah simply intolerable. It is very evident that her movement was inspired by faith. It was God's voice she had heard when she summoned Barak to muster an army of ten thousand and move toward Mount Tabor, in order to encounter the chariots and multitude of Sisera. To all human

view, with such a disparity of force, it was a desperate enterprise, which nothing but the strongest faith in God could justify. The patriotism that burnt in this woman's heart was of the noblest quality, and her concern for the honour of her country and the welfare of her people was beyond all praise. Yet Deborah could not only pardon the treachery of Jael, but extol her deed to the very skies. Into the question of her treachery she did not enter, because her whole soul was filled with admiration for her deed. During the twenty years' oppression the cruelties perpetrated by Sisera on the tribes of Israel had doubtless been countless in number, and for atrocity enough to make one's blood run cold. To Deborah, Sisera must have appeared the very embodiment and incarnation of all these atrocities—a monster in human form; and when she heard that Jael had killed him, there was no room in her heart for any feeling but delight. It was the removal of an awful incubus; it was the end of a dismal nightmare; it was the morning of joy after the night of weeping; and Deborah could only praise God.

SAMSON is one of the most abnormal characters of Scripture, and yet he is held worthy of a place in the roll of heroes of the faith. The mixture of good and bad in him seems unaccountable. A man solemnly consecrated to the Lord, yet leading a revelling and rollicking life; a Nazarite, bound to abstain from wine and strong drink, yet allowing a kindred bodily craving to remain unwatched and unsubdued; called to judge Israel and protect them from the Philistines, yet living for the most part on friendly terms with these Philistines, and attacking them only in revenge for personal injuries; a man of jokes and cranks, who is sobered into seriousness only by the loss of his liberty and of his eyesight, and who never rises to the heights of patriotism till at his death he deliberately sacrifices his own life in order to weaken the enemies of his country. What was there good about him? Undoubtedly his faith; and if we study his history with care we shall find that it was his aim to stir up the powerful tribe of Judah against the Philistines—an aim which they regarded with terror and met with treachery. In general, Samson is more like an overgrown boy than a man; more like a mountebank than a prophet, more like a libertine than a man of God. And yet he was a man of faith. For the most part we note a correspondence between God's work and the character of the men who were called to do it; but in Samson's case we can hardly think of any one whose ordinary demeanour was less like that of a holy servant of the Lord.

And now we come to DAVID—a man after God's own heart—that is, in his character of ruler, and in contrast to Saul. David differs from Samson pre-eminently in this, that his good qualities do not need to be searched for, they are apparent to the naked eye. His courage, his patriotism, his fearless faith, his regard for God's honour, his value for God's favour, his delight in God's fellowship, his unwearied exertions on behalf of his people, his warm heart and genial manner are manifest on the very surface of his history. And yet how flagrant are his faults! To shield him in danger a lie seems to come as readily as it does to the lips of the lowest;

massacre of his foes is no ungenial task; his cruelty to enemies is revolting; and as for his combined treachery, meanness, ingratitude, and adultery in the case of Uriah and Bathsheba, we can hardly think of anything blacker. Many of his sins were no doubt sins of the age, especially his treatment of his foes; but no such palliation is possible of his sin in the matter of Uriah. And what a handle to godless men the conduct of David in that case has given in every age! Like Calvin's treatment of Servetus to the enemies of Protestantism, it is what continually presents itself as alike beyond mitigation and beyond reply.

The problem in all such cases is to account for the presence of so much evil side by side with so much good. Were such men really in fellowship with God? As men of faith, were they in true spiritual communion with the Holy One—did God dwell in their hearts? If they were in alliance with Him, how could they do such wicked things? A little reflection will show us that the difference between them and the same class of men under the New Testament is but a difference in degree, not in kind. Imperfect sanctification is the universal rule. Indwelling sin was well known to St. Paul, and however a few weak men and women may claim to have reached perfection, their claim can but raise a smile. The life of God in the soul of man is not a steady, continuous life, but often resembles the fight with Amalek at Rephidim. "The flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh." Men may grieve and vex God's Holy Spirit, and fall into grievous backslidings. It is hardly possible to say how far backsliding may go. Every one familiar with the work of grace can tell of instances where backsliding seemed equivalent to the utter abandonment of the service of God, and yet the spark of the new life was still within. God's patience and condescension are wonderful; often, if we listen, we may hear His fatherly yearnings: "How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? how shall I deliver thee, Israel?"

But though there is no difference in *kind* between the sins of good men in the Old Testament and the New, there is a manifest difference in *degree*. The sins of David would now be counted intolerable scandals, fatal to every claim to the Christian character. Undoubtedly, since those days there has been a great elevation of moral tone, a great purification of conscience. How could it be otherwise after the advent of Jesus Christ? Did He not bring into the world the life, the light, the purity, and the peace of heaven, and set us an example of perfect holiness, before which all other lives appear poor, stained, and ragged? In Him do we not enjoy redemption through His blood, even the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of His grace? And is not the Holy Spirit His special gift? With such an example and such influences, ought we not to be far ahead of the men of old? In Old Testament times, under a preparatory and typical dispensation, it was not to be expected that regenerate souls would attain the symmetry and comparative completeness which are brought within reach under the Gospel. A provisional machine will not do as good work as one that has been

carefully contrived and constructed for its specific purpose. The New Testament economy of grace is God's completed contrivance for bringing men into peaceful and loving fellowship with Himself. It is His completed contrivance, likewise, for making them holy in all manner of conversation. Well may Jesus ask of His followers, What do ye more than others?

The greatest wonder, and that which it concerns us most to ponder, is, that the products of this perfect machinery, this completed dispensation, are often, through men's own carelessness, so defective and unworthy. We have good cause to fear lest the men of the Old Testament, with their imperfect light and privileges, rise up in the judgment to condemn us. Even the men of Nineveh and the Queen of the South may bear witness against us; and it may possibly be seen that not Hebrews only, but pagans likewise, made better use of their light and became better men than we.

EXPOSITORY THOUGHT.

THE FEET-WASHING.

JOHN xii. 1-17.

BY THE LATE DR. W. F. GESS.

I. A PATTERN FOR US TO IMITATE.

On the Sunday before His death Jesus went from Bethany to Jerusalem in solemn fashion, riding on an ass, as Zechariah had foretold, thus proclaiming Himself the Messiah, the King of Israel. On Monday, and again on Tuesday, He also came in the morning from Bethany to Jerusalem, went to the temple, spoke there, went away again in the evening, and stayed the night in Bethany or the Mount of Olives. The Wednesday He spent alone in quiet. The Thursday of that year was the day when the Passover was to begin. Jesus had had a room prepared for Himself and His disciples in Jerusalem in order to keep there in the evening the feast prescribed by the law. It is this room to which we would now transport ourselves. The meal is about to begin, when there is a quarrel among the disciples. John does not expressly say that this quarrel was the occasion of the feet-washing, but we may infer it from Luke xxii. 24 ff. How the dispute arose we know not; several wished to be the greatest. To the Lord this was a sad opening of the feast. This feast is to be the Lord's farewell meal, at which He will institute the Supper. But the disciples know no better than to quarrel. Another sight saddens the heart of Jesus. There sits Judas, into whose heart, as the Evangelist says, the devil had already put the thought of betraying Jesus. Jesus sees it in him, looks through him, knows what is going to happen. The Saviour has to begin His farewell meal in such circumstances. Luke relates the touching words with which Jesus began the meal: "With desire I have desired to eat the Passover with you before I suffer" (xxii. 15). What a painful contrast to this longing of the Master is the mood of the disciples!

What, then, does the Saviour do when He sees His disciples quarrelling? "Having loved His own which were in the world, He loved them to the end" (xiii. 1). He seizes His weapon to put an end to the quarrel. Jesus' weapon is His *love*. Love is the Lord's weapon in the time of *grace*. A time is coming when He will use other weapons. But now it is said still to us: "Having loved you, He will love you to the end." What had He not had to overcome before, to love His disciples! Once He breaks out: "How long shall I be with you, how long shall I suffer you?" (Matt. xvii. 17). Another time He cries: "Do ye not yet perceive, neither understand? Have ye your heart hardened?" (Mark viii. 17). A third time: "Get thee behind Me, Satan; thou art a stumbling-block to Me; for thou mindest not the things of God, but the things of men" (Matt. xvi. 23). Nevertheless He began every morning with new love. To the end He loved His own, to the end of His earthly course. And what the disciples experienced from that point was a new history of His love. He loved them, bore them to their old age. When they came at last to the next world, His love again was there. This is the same Lord who is also ours. Great comfort for hearts that feel their need of love! Glorious balm for bruised souls: Jesus loves to the end! Even this may be listened to with cold heart. Thou hast enough of earthly love; what need of Jesus' love? Or thou art enough for thyself; why speak of love at all? We may also say: Jesus' loving to the end is matter of course; how else could He be Saviour? What would His love be to me, if it did not love to the end? Very good; if any one deems himself worthy of the love of Jesus, to him this is matter of course. And in the case of almost all men there is a time when the heart thinks itself worthy of love—the time of natural pride, of an unsubdued heart. But a time may also come to thee when thou canst scarcely believe, that Jesus will love thee, even thee, when thou wouldst fain believe and wouldst give much if thou couldst believe it and canst not. For it is indeed divinely natural, but for this very reason wondrous, that Jesus should love, love *us*, love to the end. God is the wonder of wonders. Jesus' love is matter of faith, for Jesus is invisible, and His working also is often hidden. What thou seest and sufferest often looks unlike love. But again come times when one can feel, taste love, and times when the heart by a power from above is sure and glad of this: Jesus loves and He loves even me. Every one among us, if he is only in earnest, may have such experiences. Therefore, should every one among us, those of ripe age especially, be able to say: I know that He loves, how much He loves. And I know on what the certainty rests, that He is an exhaustless fount of love. Nor can our inner life be bright or one of joyous progress until we have the certainty that Jesus loves us.

But if there are any tempted souls among us, any heavy hearts feeling themselves unworthy of love, to such I would say with all affection: Look into the room where Jesus is to keep the Passover; the disciples quarrel; Jesus is grieved about them; what does He do? He loves them to the end, contends against them with His love, overcomes them. Put away your petty

thoughts; no longer measure Jesus' love by your petty standard; measure it by what you see at work among His disciples.

The Lord now rises up, lays aside His garment, girds Himself with a towel like a servant, pours water into a bowl, and makes the round of His disciples to wash their feet. They are to learn with shame who is the greatest.

This is done by One who knows that He is now going to the Father; that the Father has given everything into His hands; that He came from God and goes to God. A few days afterwards the Resurrection took place. What must have passed through John's mind when he remembered: this Risen One, this majestic speaker a few days before did a servant's work for us! John wrote the Gospel in his old age; several decades lay between the history itself and its writing down. But one feels in the words how the thought of the time when Jesus did this menial work still impresses him; twice he begins, first in ver. 1: "When Jesus knew that His hour was come"; again in ver. 3: "When Jesus knew that the Father had given all things into His hands." Our heart is easily elated when an elevation awaits us; Jesus, when His Father is about to raise Him to His right hand, goes down to a servant's humiliation before the poor disciples.

When John wrote his Gospel, three other Gospels were already current in the Christian Churches. John will not tell a fourth time what the three have already told, therefore he says nothing of the institution of the Supper. But one evening which Jesus spent with His disciples was full of meaning, the farewell evening—full as a flooded stream. This servant-form of Him who was going to the Father John would not have pass away from the remembrance of Christians.

After the Saviour has washed the disciples' feet, He says to them, "Know you what I have done to you?" (ver. 12). Why, they have seen it; yet He asks them: "Do you know its meaning? Do you understand what it implies? Does your duty occur to you?"

Suppose the Saviour, present invisibly in our midst, were now to become visible, might He not say to us also: "Know you what I have done to you?" And would not shame and grief fall upon us? "From thy childhood I called thee; but thou wast indifferent and self-sufficing many a year, wast busy with a hundred things, only not with Me. Then the years of vanity passed away; thou becamest serious, full of thought; I called thee, called thee often, I made thee understand that I would be gracious to thee. Then thou didst see thy need of Me, didst vow thy heart to Me. I filled thee with My consolations, and convinced thee thou oughtest to be wholly Mine; this was thy duty. How is it now? My love won thy heart.' For a long time thou didst run well. But then slackness overcame thee. Thou beganst to look two ways, to play a double part. It came to reckoning and bargaining with Me, that thy heart must not be too much Mine, only when convenient. Then I spoke sharply to thee, said this must not continue; I brought sickness and poverty on thee, took thy dearest from thee; this was

My rebuke of thee. Thy heart then gave way ; for how long ? This time also has passed, and thou art again in thy old ways." In these and many similar words might the Lord speak to us, and ask : " Know you what I have done to you ? " Perhaps one has been keeping Good Friday, and a light from above dawns. " Behold, this was done for thee this day " ; and the resolve was made, " Henceforth my whole spirit must be different, now I know what He did for me ; never again will I forget." How much of this has been carried out ? How much fruit has grown from the good seed ?

Jesus says further to the disciples : " You call me Master and Lord, and you do well, for so I am " (ver. 13). Verily we call Him so. " The Lord Jesus," how often the words are on our lips. Many simply say " Jesus " ; they call Him by His proper name, as one man calls another. Or they say " Christ " ; this is His official name, " the Messiah." If we would speak more lovingly of Him, or use a more reverential name, we say fondly, " The Lord Jesus, the Lord Christ." In Switzerland one often hears this, " The Lord Jesus " ; it is a beautiful custom. But " Lord " lays an obligation on us. " If you know that I am Lord, happy are ye ; do accordingly." One may know much, be well instructed, form a right judgment, may see clearly and describe exactly the defects of others' conduct ; how happy wouldst thou be, if thy doing were equal to thy knowing ! What ought I to do, then ? Everything implied in Jesus being thy Lord ; obey Him, no longer be thy own master, give Him thy heart. If men were to deal to us our own judgments, and measure us by the standard we apply to others, how should we fare ?

But at present the Lord Jesus gives above all this command to His disciples : " If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye ought also to wash one another's feet " (ver. 14). To say this is not to be taken literally, is to say too little. The precept of feet-washing is one of the cases to which Paul's saying applies : " The letter killeth, the spirit makes alive "—at least in one of its aspects. A man might fulfil it literally and yet remain spiritually dead, nay, confirm himself in death by the practice. But what is the spirit of Jesus' saying ? Has none of us to do with contrary people, when it requires self-denial to use friendly, gentle language to them, or to give them practical help, and that more than once ? Among thy acquaintance are there weak-minded people who need thy love ? In this case you will easily understand what the words mean : Wash one another's feet. In such circumstances it is often difficult to show kindly, loving patience, and that for years, even to near kindred, to brothers and sisters ? Even parents, when age comes with its infirmities and whims, become a trouble to children. Then it behoves to remember the precept of feet-washing. And what as to us parents with our children ? In regard to the amiable and gifted, who are our joy and glory, a parent's heart naturally rejoices in diligence and truthfulness ; then the greatest sacrifice is no sacrifice. But the feeble and troublesome, whom one cannot speak of ? Even here *natural* love sometimes overcomes every obstacle. Yet love often

makes so blind that parents cannot see even the defects of children. Christians should not be blind, even towards children. But when children become an irksome tax upon them, what should they do? Perhaps thou too hast a bad, misguided child. My friends, Christians are then not to be like old Eli, not to shut their eyes and deceive themselves, not to be faint-hearted and do nothing. Then is the time to be earnest, to show anger—anger like God's, zeal against sin, and therefore against the sinner who nurses sin in himself, and with it death, the un pitying zeal which springs from true love, from real mercy. But how feel love towards a bad child? How soothe trouble of heart for a child's ingratitude? Any one among us who knows such parental grief will understand what the Lord means by the feet-washing: exercise love, be bold to love, when loving grows irksome. But let us take a still wider circle.

We so readily take our stand on the ground of right. We say I "owe thee so much, thou canst demand it of me and I will do it; but thou owest me so much and must do it." Then another step easily follows: "Thou hast not paid me what thou owest; then it is clear I need not pay thee what I owe! It is so important to preserve our honour, to keep up our pride." Is not this the opposite of feet-washing, the opposite of what the Saviour did? Is He bound to do what He does? Were the Lord to stand on the ground of right, what would be my fate? But it needs long effort to take His standpoint—that of love which can humble itself. One may perhaps *begin* with this standpoint, but when offence arises we so easily shift away. With Jesus everything so hangs upon love that His only question was: How can I help My disciples, how deliver the people from their burden? Whether they were worthy, loved or hated, honoured or despised, He did not think; to deliver, sanctify, save, was His aim, and whatever sacrifice the reaching of the aim cost, He accomplished it—self-humiliation, a servant's form, surrender of His life.

And this act of the Lord supplies great strength to those who would fain learn the self-humiliation of love. The Saviour says further to His disciples: "Verily, verily, I say to you, a servant is not greater than his lord, nor he that is sent greater than he that sent him" (ver. 16). There can scarcely be a saying so evident and incontestable as this. But that we may give heed to it, the Lord impresses it on our hearts by prefacing what is so evident with "Verily, verily." Oh, if we only ever kept before our eyes what it cost the Lord to effect our salvation, and by what paths of humiliation He Himself went to His glory! To be dishonoured and outraged and yet to keep on loving is a task over which our hearts weary themselves a hundred times in vain. To deny oneself, to exhibit self-sacrificing love is a fine thing to hear about, but hard to practise. How keenly one is made to feel the difference between knowing and doing! But a glance at the Lord, and the thought that we servants are not greater than our Lord, and can claim nothing but His way, may help us to climb many a steep path. Looking at men's usual course, thou mayest easily be self-contented. Men

do not commonly get far in the path of love and sacrifice. But thy conscience is not pacified by the knowledge that thy friends are no better than thyself. The demand that thou shalt be perfect in love still remains binding. Look not at men, but at the Lord! This melts thy heart and gives it power to begin to do what naturally is utterly beyond thee. To come to Jesus Himself often in the worst circumstances quickly brings counsel, light, liberty, inward might. If Jesus had ceased to love when man did not love, if He had not humbled Himself, what would have become of us? And a servant is not greater than his Lord.

II. A SYMBOL OF WHAT JESUS DOES TO THE SOUL.

"I have given you an example, that you should do as I have done to you" (ver. 15). In this saying the Lord Himself indicates the immediate end of the feet-washing. By His act of self-denial He would subdue the vain spirit of His disciples. But Peter's opposition in refusing the ministry of Jesus brought to light a further meaning of the Lord's act. To it let us now turn our gaze.

Jesus had risen up, laid aside His upper garment, girded on the towel, prepared the water, and made a beginning of the feet-washing with Peter. We may suppose that Peter was the first to whom He came, for undoubtedly Peter would have raised objection also in the case of another, so intolerable was the sight to his mind; but the Evangelist relates that Peter objects when Jesus comes to him. "Lord," he cries, "dost Thou wash my feet?" (ver. 6). This objection in itself was not blameworthy. On the contrary, it would have been a reproach to the disciples if they had at once allowed One whom they knew to be God's anointed, the King of Israel, to do a servant's work. It is not right that Christendom should take the deep humiliation of the Son of God as matter of course. How it should astonish us that He became a servant of servants! Again and again the words should well up from the depths of our hearts: "Depart from me, O Lord; I am a sinful man" (Luke v. 8).

But Jesus tells the disciple that, while He understands the objection, the Master so wills it, and the servant must be content. "What I do thou knowest not now, but shalt learn hereafter" (ver. 7). The saying is like the one to John the Baptist, when Jesus comes to him and wishes to be baptized of him; and the Baptist, seeing this Man who has no equal, and recognizing by the Spirit's illumination the Messiah in Him, says: "I have need to be baptized of Thee, and comest Thou to me?" Then, too, Jesus acknowledges the objection to be right, but insists on His wish. And the Baptist obeys. "Let it be so now; for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness" (Matt. iii. 15). So Peter should have obeyed. But the impetuous man ignores the words in which his Master insists on His purpose. "Never," he exclaims in his zeal, "shalt Thou wash my feet" (ver. 8).

Let us now hear the Lord's word all the more carefully. For often it is true of us also, "What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt learn

hereafter." How often does the Lord lead us in a way which we understand not! To Christians the most painful thing in the painful ways of life is when they do not understand why the Lord so acts. The worldly resist the cross, because it presses heavily. Christians easily accept a cross, because they see it is *Christ's* cross which they are to bear. This was a great consolation to the martyrs. But many a cross does not look like Christ's cross, and as if it came from *His* hand. It often happens that we cannot understand the connection of a trial with God's whole direction of our course, or its use in helping us on in the heavenly way. To our mind some other way seems far more blessed, leading more directly to heaven, far more effectual in enabling us to advance God's glory among others, more useful as well as more pleasant. A wife has to give up her husband, who led her to Christ; children lose their mother, who gave them spiritual guidance and help: this is the reverse of a plain path. The pastor is asked: Why this? And he has to confess: I do not understand it. Peter had only to wait a few minutes before he understood the Lord's meaning; with us difficult questions remain for years, often till death.

But it is also true that a time will come to every sincere disciple of Christ when it will be said: "I will tell thee why this and that happened to thee." Therefore it becomes us to wait and hold fast faith. Peter cannot do this. Then the Lord utters a second word: "If I wash thee not, thou hast no part in Me" (ver. 8). It is easy to see that He uses the bodily washing as a symbol. He would say: "Peter, My washing thy feet is the least that I do to thee; it seems to thee much for Me to do, and yet it is the mere outward image of My work within thee; and because I would wash thee inwardly, I would give thee this outward symbol. If thou receivest not the inward washing from Me, thou hast no part in Me." This, in fact, is an epitome of everything in Christianity. He would wash us, and if this is not done we have no part in Him. In youth we make great resolves as to how we will glorify Jesus and what we will do from love to Him; we long for opportunities to prove to Him what sacrifices we are ready to make for Him. Such thoughts belong to spiritual immaturity. The longer our experience of life, the better we know our own heart, the more Christianity reduces itself to this: Jesus must wash me. To be Christ's disciples does not signify that we do great things for Him, but that He does great things in us men. He must be the doer, we the receivers; only what He does is of lasting worth. A man may be drawn to the Word of God or the person of Jesus; but the ruling thought is that he is thus serving the Lord. On the contrary, thou must come to Him and let Him render thee the greatest service. Doing this and that for Him will not be much. A man may serve Christ his life through, and when he reckons it up, he must be ashamed. But His serving us and freeing the heart from all guilt, and His will to cast out sin itself, are really great things. This costs Him much, and has cost Him much. This ministry of feet-washing was a humiliation over in a moment; but His whole living and dying, His course through the world,

His work of atonement, was a struggle and passion. And even still the work of purifying a human soul is a work of patience on His part. For God to make the earth bloom, or storms rage, or the stars revolve, is no labour to Him. He is the Almighty God, and they obey His command of necessity. But God treats us men in harmony with our freedom; He would lead us to obedience, but it must be done in the way of persuasion; He would overcome our heart, not by force but by love. Then labour is necessary; God seeks us, and for a long time finds us not; or when He has found us, we flee from Him. Then effort is necessary, like that of a father who wishes to win the heart of a child that refuses to be won. The heart of many a child is closed to its parents; they have to see it, as its freedom grows, following its own will more and more, and seeking its joys among strangers, whither the parents can only follow with grief and fear. But our ideas of training are far from deep, and our superficial views are soon satisfied with the behaviour of children. God, on the other hand, would renew our hearts through and through, thoroughly transform them. Then He has to strive with us. Looking back, we must often say: True, a hundred times I have seen that He drew near me, but I closed my heart and evaded Him. Men may evade each other, and acquire such skill in doing it that it may have a good appearance. So a man may deal with God. And even when the Lord has found us, how gladly we would reserve certain chambers in our hearts, though we have vowed ourselves wholly to Him.

"If I wash thee not, thou hast no part in Me." How terrified Peter is when he hears this! Then he tacks about and cries: "Lord, not my feet alone, but my hands and my head" (ver. 9). It was a fine trait in him that his greatest pain was to hear the Lord say: "Else thou hast no part in Me." When we see that a certain thing would hinder fellowship with the Lord, or others tell us so, are we as resolved to make sure of having part with Jesus? Do we then say: "Lord, not my feet alone, but my hands and my head"? This was Peter's honest heart, in virtue of which he was able afterwards to become so perfect a disciple of the Saviour. But now he has to be checked. Jesus says to him: "He that has bathed needs not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit" (ver. 10). This third saying of the Lord also is of abiding significance. It distinguishes bathing from feet-washing. The whole man is made clean by bathing; but the feet are the first to be soiled again, and so ever need cleansing. What does the Lord mean by having bathed? It is what Holy Scripture means by the new birth. Washing the feet is daily forgiveness and sanctifying. Jesus bears witness to His disciples: "Ye are clean" (xv. 3). This they become through His word and intercourse with Him; their heart was turned away from the world, from the service of vanity, and belonged in reality to the Lord. And accordingly, when He departed, the Spirit came from on high and dwelt in the centre of their heart. This is the new birth which we all need. "Unless a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." Our very mind and heart must be transformed: This may possibly be done

gradually by God, from the time of baptism, so that the Spirit gains power in us imperceptibly, as Tersteegen says:

“As flowers their opening leaves display,
And glad drink in the solar fire.”

But if it has not taken place after baptism, it must take place now. It is scarcely credible, before one has experienced it, how much our heart leans on itself, how closely our own nature clings to us. Most men do not know it. We only perceive it when we begin to try to go out of ourselves. But we must go out of ourselves. Instead of our own ideas, the love and the glory of God must become our end, a new life of God's Spirit must begin in us. Such a transformation of nature took place in the disciples; they became pure. Now, says Jesus, ye need still to wash the feet. Too many new stains and faults occur. The old man still works, we fall short of God's will, we go astray in our own ways. But do not treat it lightly, do not think: “My heart is all right, I am bathed; my outward circumstances and natural temperament still make me stumble now and then, but in heart I am the Lord's disciple; no one is perfect!” This is the way to forget the daily washing. We know that this and that is not right, but we would fain forget it; we feel how deep-rooted inclination is, and do not struggle against it. But faults of the soul are not like faults in wood and stone, or even some bodily defects, which are fixed; but it is here as with those physical ailments which must either be got rid of, or they consume the whole body. Either—Or. There is no true peace of heart, unless one is always anew coming to an understanding with Jesus. What takes place between us and Him we are always to discuss with Him and come to a settlement about with Him. We may go on with a heart which has but a half peace, in which is a certain unrest. This is not the true Christian state. But as soon as we have failed in anything (and the failure is always towards God), in doing or leaving undone, we should humbly confess it to Him, seek His forgiveness and begin afresh. By thus ever seeking His forgiveness, and not resting until we have it, the heart is set free, enjoys perfect peace, and daily receives new strength to go forward in the narrow way.

THE PATTERN IN THE MOUNT.

I.—THE COVENANTS.

BY REV. PROF. W. MILLIGAN, D.D.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the fact that the Epistle to the Hebrews has its lessons for all ages, and even more particularly for the present time. Nothing but a superficial view of the Epistle will lead any one to suppose that it is occupied only with a ritual and ceremonial system which has long since passed away, and in which Christians now have no more than a historical interest. The real question with which it deals is not simply that

between the authority of the ancient lawgiver of Israel and that of another and higher Teacher by whom the Christian Dispensation has been introduced. It deals with the nature of the latter Dispensation in itself—in the object at which it aims, in the means by which it would effect its purpose, in its sole ability to lead men on to the end which all religion must contemplate if it would satisfy the desires and longings of the human heart, and in the completeness and finality with which it accomplishes its task. The Epistle is filled with the deepest and most spiritual conceptions as to the nature of God upon the one hand, and of man upon the other; and the alternative which it presents to the Hebrew Christians to whom it is addressed is either the intelligent understanding and cordial acceptance of the truths which it sets forth, or such a reception of weak and beggarly elements in religion as must inevitably issue in destroying the very conception of a religious life, and in leaving us under the power of this visible, material world as our all.

It is true that the Epistle is addressed to Hebrews, and that the condition of Hebrews and the relation of Christianity to them are so steadily, one might almost say so exclusively, kept in view, as not unfrequently to suggest a doubt whether the writer's idea of the Christian faith was not far too narrow, or whether he had ever risen to that perception of its universalism which is one of its clearest and most elementary lessons. The words of chap. ii. 16, *e.g.*, have often constituted a serious difficulty upon this point; for when it is there said that Christ taketh not hold of angels, but "taketh hold of the seed of Abraham," it is hardly possible to think that he means by the last words anything but the natural seed of the patriarch. The Pauline idea of Abraham as the father of the faithful of all nations, Gentiles as well as Jews, is strange to him, or one at least upon which he nowhere dwells. Yet it would be a great mistake to imagine that, in his deepest thoughts, he would thus limit the relation of our Lord's humanity to Israel, instead of extending it equally to the human race. He knows that those to whom he writes are not merely Israelites, but men; and he is led to his peculiar language only because none but Jews are at the moment present to his mind. Had he been addressing Gentiles, he would equally have said that our Lord taketh hold of the seed of those who were once "alienated from the commonwealth of Israel" (Eph. ii. 12). In either case we could have had no hesitation in deciding that though he spoke, as determined by circumstances, from a limited point of view, his full thought lay deeper, and would find utterance when required. There is nothing, therefore, to hinder the application of his teaching to Christians, whatever be their birth, and of every age.

If so, it would seem as if the teachings of this Epistle were peculiarly applicable to our own day. There never, perhaps, was a time when the Gentile Church has been more in the position of the Hebrew Church now addressed than it is at this moment, not only in Great Britain, but wherever it is found. The Hebrew Christians had not forsaken Christ; nor have

we. So far from despising Him, they, as shown by their conversion to Christianity, had recognized in Him a great and authoritative teacher. They had, indeed, been to a certain extent offended by His sufferings and death, and they felt how great the contrast was between the simple spiritual worship of the Christian Church and the magnificent ritual of Judaism. But though many of them were in danger of falling away, the great bulk of the community had owned the superiority of the faith of Jesus to everything they had previously known. They were distinguished also by many things that accompany salvation—by work which God would not forget, by love which they showed towards His name in that they had ministered to the saints, and still did minister (chap. vi. 9, 10), by patient endurance of a great conflict of sufferings, by compassion for them that were in bonds, and by joyful submission to the spoiling of their possessions, knowing that they themselves had a better possession, and an abiding one (chap. x. 32-34). They had boldness in Christ; and they gloried in their hope (chap. iii. 6). These things, however mingled with defects, point to much that was vigorous and lively in their Christian life; besides which, the whole Epistle shows that its writer's object is less to find fault with what they had done than to urge them onward to another and a higher stage of progress, which, if they did not reach, all that they had hitherto accomplished would be vain, and they would sink back under the power of the world and the flesh. Is not this exactly the state of things now?—no want of honour paid to Christ as a human teacher; no hesitation in comparing Christianity with every other religion either of the past or of the present, only to bring out its superiority to them all; no want of effort made in the name of Christ, as the wisest and best of men, to instruct the ignorant, reclaim the wanderer, and comfort the sorrowful; an admiration for the "enthusiasm of humanity" which He displayed, and a sincere desire to imitate His love for the downtrodden and the poor. Yet, with all this, it cannot escape the notice of any reflecting person that we have in it, to a great degree, a mere humanitarianism.

It puts into the background, sometimes even eagerly disclaims, the very truths by which Christianity claims to conquer, and has hitherto conquered, the world. It resolves the faith of Christ into a phase of religious feeling, largely pervaded by superstition, which is now becoming superseded by a juster view of the nature of man and the realities of life. It is logically connected with a disbelief in any immortality except the immortality of the race. The relation of such views to Christ cannot continue what it professes to be. His manifestation of Himself, if we may put any faith in the records that we possess of it, is too unique to be explained in this way upon merely human principles. Men cannot indeed at once break with the past, with its ideas which have largely made them what they are, or with its traditions and acknowledged history. But the logic of the human mind is a powerful factor in the course of generations or centuries, and there can be no doubt that, if a great deal of what is now said of Christ holds its ground, the

progress of the future with regard to Him will be downward, not upward. What is acknowledged will be so mixed with superstitions to be cast aside, and pretensions to be reprobated, that no alternative will be left us except to follow the course so often followed by inquirers on the Continent. We shall begin with sincere devotion to the heroic life of the human Founder of our faith, and shall end in treating Him as an amiable enthusiast, or, rather, as a self-confident and ambitious schemer.

To this state of mind, then, the Epistle to the Hebrews addresses itself with more than ordinary directness and power. The keynote of its whole system of teaching is the supra-mundane, the heavenly not the earthly, Person and Work of our Lord. That it insists much upon His humanity is undoubted; it brings out in many passages the fact that He could not have been the Redeemer of man had He not been truly human. Its conception of Christianity is not simply that Christ does something for men by which men are saved, but that He is the Head of the family, the Leader and Captain who goes before His people into the promised rest, and *in* whom, rather than *by* whom, they are redeemed. For all this a true humanity was absolutely necessary, and therefore in the Epistle our Lord comes before us as not only man, but as sharing in all the experiences of men—their labours, temptations, afflictions, and death. Yet we are not permitted to rest there. These things are no more than a necessary introduction to, a necessary preparation for, our Lord's real work. The nature of that work finds expression in one of the earliest utterances of the book, in one to which adequate importance has not been attached. We refer to chap. i. 3, where the writer, after having spoken both of the original glory of the Son and of what He had done on earth, winds up his statement with the words, He "sat down on the right hand of God." Should any one reply, "That is reward, not work," it is enough to recall the words of our Lord Himself in John v. 17, "My Father worketh even until now, and I work." The Redeemer's session on the right hand of God is His heavenly work, and it is in the carrying out of that work that He proves Himself to be the Saviour of the world. Therefore it is with a heavenly Lord that we have to deal if we desire to abide by the Christian scheme. The merely earthly view of Christ is not enough. It may, for aught that now concerns us, be as good as the Christian view. Let us even go the length of saying that the conception may at least be entertained, that time and experience may prove it to be better. But it will not be Christian. Another name must be found for it, and the perfectly fair demand must be made that those responsible for the newer religious philosophy shall leave that philosophy to stand upon its own merits, and shall not seek the aid of a designation consecrated through nearly nineteen hundred years to ideas which it treats with contempt and ridicule.

It is because the Epistle to the Hebrews, among all the books of the New Testament, is the clearest and fullest upon the point now spoken of, that we turn to it for the purpose of examining one or two of its leading lessons.

I. THE COVENANTS.

The main idea of the Epistle is that of the covenants of God with man; and this particular method of setting forth the relation into which the Creator had entered with His creatures was the natural effect of the Hebrew method of conceiving the establishment of any friendly relation between two parties. Throughout all their history the Jews had been familiar with the thought of covenants—arrangements by which two persons or tribes solemnly pledged themselves to mutual obligations of peaceful intercourse, of duty, or of helpfulness. Such contracts were, indeed, generally made between parties standing on the same footing, and of whom it could be said that each owed something to the other. No such relationship, of course, existed between man and God, and no notion either of right upon the side of man or of obligation on the side of God was permitted to enter into the conception of a Divine covenant in which human beings had also part. For this reason probably it is that there is an almost constant avoidance of the Greek term *συνθήκη* even in the LXX. (where, with the exception of five times in the apocryphal books, it meets us only thrice), and the substitution of *διαθήκη* in its place. This latter word alone is found in the New Testament. Inasmuch, however, as, when God entered into dealings with His creatures, it was with the view of conferring certain benefits upon them, which were at the same time made contingent upon the performance of certain obligations to be fulfilled by the recipients, the term *διαθήκη* might with propriety be used. While it preserved the idea that the creature was bound to a return corresponding to the blessings granted, it carried the thoughts to the Creator as the original and free Bestower of the blessings promised. The very first transaction, accordingly, mentioned in Scripture to which the term covenant is applied—that with Noah in Gen. ix. 8-17—bears upon its front the entirely independent action of God, and implies, rather than directly expresses, the duty of man. A similar remark is applicable to the mention of both the covenants spoken of in the Epistle to the Hebrews, in his allusions to which the writer is peculiarly careful to use words bringing out distinctly that each was wholly due to the grace of God, without any merit in those with whom they were respectively made. Thus, in chap. ix. 20, when speaking of the inauguration of the Old Testament covenant, he says, “This is the blood of the covenant which God commanded (*ἐνετείλατο*) to you-ward”; and thus, when giving an account of the institution of the new covenant in chap. viii. 6-10, every expression employed by him leads to a similar inference. It is a covenant which has been “enacted” (*νενομοθέτηται*) upon better promises (ver. 6); it is one which God will “accomplish” (*συντελέσω*) with the house of Israel and the house of Judah (ver. 8); it is one which He will Himself “covenant” (*ἦν διαθήσομαι*) with the house of a united Israel (ver. 10), while every blessing conferred by it is described as God’s free gift, not a word being said of conditions which must first be fulfilled by those with whom the covenant was made. We cannot, therefore, be misled by the use of this particular term, as if it meant less than is contained in the many other

passages of Scripture in which the whole scheme of man's redemption is attributed to the unmerited love of God. The revelation of the "covenant" is simply the revelation of that love in a special form thoroughly understood by the Hebrew people.

In the Epistle we read of two covenants—the one, that made with Israel at Sinai; the other, the new covenant which belongs to, and is characteristic of, the Christian Dispensation. And the point which most of all concerns us is to determine the manner in which the writer thought of the relation between them, and of the objects which they respectively proposed. Was their object the same, or was it different? If different, wherein does the difference lie? A distinct answer to these questions will help us more than anything else to comprehend that peculiar teaching of the Epistle, which hardly seems as yet to have received full justice at the Church's hand. In seeking the answer now spoken of, we shall be greatly aided if we turn our thoughts first to the manner in which St. Paul speaks of the Sinaitic covenant, or, in other words, the Dispensation of the Law. It will appear that, while both St. Paul and the writer of this Epistle regarded Christ as the end of the Jewish Economy, and allowed that that Economy contained in itself testimonies to its own weakness and imperfection, they thought of the routes by which it led to Christ in a very different manner.

To St. Paul the whole Dispensation under which God's ancient people were placed was a hard and severe discipline, designed, through what theologians have called a law-work, to make men weary of it as a burden, and thus to conduct them to Him who was to be "the end of the law unto righteousness to every one that believeth" (Rom. x. 4). It was, strictly speaking, no covenant, but was given to shut men up to a covenant which had been made with Abraham four hundred and thirty years before (Gal. iii. 17). For this purpose it needed to be stern, unbending, filled with institutions which not only from their nature must become, but were intended to become, a heavy and intolerable yoke. It was something by which men were "kept in ward," "shut up" as within prison-bars to a faith to be afterwards revealed (Gal. iii. 23). It was a "tutor," watching over those who would fain be free, and leading them unwillingly to school (Gal. iii. 24, 25). It was a system of servitude adapted to the children of Hagar the bond-woman, and unsuitable to the condition to be occupied by the children of Sarah the free woman (Gal. iv. 21-31). It was a ministration of "the letter which kills," of "death" and "condemnation" (2 Cor. iii. 6, 7, 9). No doubt St. Paul does speak in one place of "two covenants" (Gal. iv. 24); but the whole history in connection with which he does so shows that he is thinking less of covenants in any proper sense of the term than of two habits of mind which, from the days of Abraham downward, had held their place and wrought their work—before the Law, under the Law, and even after Christ came. St. Paul, in short, knows only of one covenant; and His dealing with men by such a law and such institutions as are found in Mosaism is not making a covenant with them, but is adding something to

the one true covenant, which is as old as the days of Abraham, and belongs to the one seed of promise.

Very different from this is the light in which the Epistle to the Hebrews looks at the relation of the covenant of law to the Gospel covenant as manifested in the Christian age.

1. The Epistle has distinctly in view two covenants properly so called—that enacted for Israel according to the flesh, and that belonging to the new and spiritual Dispensation of the last times, or “the world to come.” Nothing can be clearer than the manner in which these two covenants are represented in chap. ix. as possessing an independent place in the dealings of God with man, and are at the same time contrasted with each other. The one is the “first covenant,” dating from the days of Israel in the wilderness (vers. 1-10); the other is the “new covenant,” dating from the death and glorification of Christ (vers. 11-22). Each has its own specific character, its own definite historical position, and the new does not begin until the old has vanished or is nigh unto vanishing away (chap. viii. 13).

2. What, then, is the object of the first covenant? Is it, as St. Paul conceived it, to be a burden to men, to weary them, to make them long for the time when it shall be replaced by something higher and better than itself? That is not the view which the Epistle takes of it. As a true and proper covenant, it contemplates what must be the purpose of every Divine covenant, that manifestation of the love of God by which He shows the earnestness of His desire to dwell with man, and to lead man to dwell with Him, so that there may be loving communion between them, and that the one great end of all revelation may be attained. The Sinaitic legislation, including under that term the various institutions of Israel, is not to stir up a struggle in the heart leading to death or life, but to bring God and His people into as close a union with each other as was possible at the time, and to convey to the people every element of communion with God which they were capable of appreciating. The first covenant, in short (though with a difference which we shall have carefully to note), has precisely the same general object before it as the second. Hence, in the very first words of the Epistle the distinct parallelism drawn between God’s method of dealing with Israel and with us who belong to the Christian Church—“God, who of old time spake unto the fathers in the prophets (a word, as allowed by all commentators, to be understood in a wide sense) by divers portions and in divers manners, at the end of these days spake unto us in a Son” (chap. i. 1). “God having spoken . . . spake”—the same word, and obviously implying not only that it was the same God who on both occasions spake, but that He spoke in the same spirit and for the same general end. Hence throughout the Epistle the mention of the many particulars of the old covenant which, so far from being designed to drive men from the old to longing for the new, present correspondences to the latter of such a kind that we are sometimes tempted to ask, wherein lies the difference? Thus, if it be the privilege of Christians to have a Gospel

preached to them which they are in danger of rejecting through unbelief, the Israelites in the wilderness had also a Gospel: "For indeed we have a Gospel preached to us even as they" (chap. iv. 2). If it be the object of the Christian faith so to unite God and men that "He will be to them a God, and they shall be to Him a people" (chap. viii. 10), there was "a tabernacle prepared" (chap. ix. 2) in the very midst of the camp of Israel, in which the glory of God dwelt, and at which He so met His people that the name He gave it was the "tent of meeting." If there is now provided for the Church of God a High Priest every way qualified to discharge priestly offices, to sympathize with us, and to secure for us the help of which we stand in need, Israel had also its high priest, "taken from among men," "who could bear gently with the ignorant and erring," and "called of God" (chap. v. 1, 2, 4), so that he might be a source of strength and comfort to every one who sought his aid. If the great work of our High Priest is to make atonement for the sins of men, what were all the institutions of Israel but so many varied provisions for procuring the Divine pardon to such as had fallen from their theocratic standing, and for nourishing them in the position thus regained? And, to say no more, if believers have set before them at the end of their earthly pilgrimage a blessed "Sabbatism" (chap. iv. 9), in which they shall rest from their labours in the holy rest of God, Israel had also a "rest" promised it into which if it did not enter it was only through unbelief (chap. iii. 19).

The lesson to be deduced from these particulars is confirmed by the remarkable statement of chap. viii. 5, in which the words of the Almighty to Moses are quoted: "Even as Moses is warned of God when he is about to make the tabernacle: for, See, saith He, that thou make all things according to the pattern that was showed thee in the mount." It is impossible to enter here into any discussion as to the precise way in which this "pattern" is to be thought of, and it is unnecessary to do so. The general meaning can hardly be disputed. The Mosaic Dispensation was to be founded on the eternal purpose of God with regard to man. It was to express, this so far as it could be expressed, by means of outward materials and arrangements; and so far as Israel was at a stage to apprehend it. The purpose and the ideas with which it was connected belonged, indeed, fully to the covenant of God as realized in the new covenant, but they existed under the old covenant, and had a certain manifestation in it.

3. If what has now been said be correct, the question, of course, immediately arises, Wherein, then, lies the difference between the Legal and the Christian Dispensation? The answer to this question must be deferred. Yet even in the meantime we have seen enough to show us in what a peculiar light the aim of the covenants with Israel is set before us in the Epistle to the Hebrews. We say, the aim of the covenants with Israel, not the human race. It is with Israel alone that the writer deals. He may see, we need not doubt that he does see, in the kingdom of God as introduced by Christ a kingdom destined to embrace all nations. But it is not

necessary for him to think of this. Judaism, it is also true, rested upon the promise to Abraham (chap. vi. 13), but it had a distinct history of its own, divinely regulated in such a way as to be not a system of compulsion driving men to that promise, but, up to a certain point at least, its fulfilment. Judaism was not cold, harsh, oppressive. In its main lines it spoke of pardon, peace, joy, a walk with God, and God's dwelling with His tabernacle in the midst of the people. The partial and imperfect manner in which it did this, as well as the manner by which Christianity supplies to it what was wanting and perfects what was weak, we have yet to see. And it is by seeing this that we shall also be led to understand the special, though much forgotten, light in which the writer of the Epistle unfolds to us the power and beauty, as well as the final and everlasting nature, of the Christian faith.

EXPOSITORY NOTE ON LUKE XV.

By REV. ALFRED ROEBUCK, B.D.

It has been suggested that these well-known parables illustrate gradation of value—*sheep, coin, son*; but if so, it is only subordinately. Christ's chief aim is rather to supply an answer to the opponents of reform, who betrayed their ill-concealed opposition when they scornfully said, "This man receiveth sinners, and eateth with them."

Now, an answer must have relation to the question asked or implied, and bear upon the criticisms expressed or insinuated. Any exposition, therefore, which obscures this dominant thought only tends to confusion.

That we are not justified in isolating one parable from the others is evident from the fact that they are addressed to one class—the murmurers mentioned in the second verse. Around that one word *δικόγγυζον* the stories revolve, circling it as the rainbow the storm-cloud.

The phrase, *εἶπε δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην*, introducing the first parable, would well suit as a preface to the other two. The idea is present, if not the actual words: "What man of you having an hundred sheep," *et. sqq.*, is followed by "or what woman," *et. sqq.* In point of fact, the first and third parables do open with the same *εἶπε δὲ*, and is equivalent to, "He spake *this*, and *this*, and *this* parable unto *them*," each one driving the nail deeper home.

It is only in the following chapter that we find Christ turning to another section of His audience, from complainers to disciples, "in the broader sense of earnest hearers among the publicans and sinners," *ἔλεγεν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς* (Luke xvi. 1).

Thrice He skilfully changes the illustration, but each glances at the same people, and carries home the same arrow. The congregation and the moral remain unchanged throughout the delivery of the parables of this 15th chapter.

A brief analysis will suffice to show us the position assumed by Christ towards the despisers and despised ; and at the same time exhibit the continuity of thought running through and binding together the parables into one.

1. The first represents the wanderer lost in the *wilderness* (vers. 4-7). The second, the precious one, lost in the *house* (vers. 8-10). The third, the child lost from the *home* (vers. 11-32).

2. The priestly order is probably referred to in the parable of the Shepherd, and the Church it represents in the parable of the Lost Coin ; whilst the third tenderly, but faithfully, exposes the people's folly in forsaking the Father in the conduct of the younger son.

3. Blameworthiness for the lamentable state of society is shown to attach to Pharisees and publicans, but the guiltier of the two parties are the lordly rulers themselves.

4. For they have not sought the lost, much less rejoiced when it was recovered. The charge, therefore, is one of cruelty as well as neglect.

5. Both brothers of the third parable are anticipated in the two earlier ones. The younger is represented by the sheep lost in the wilderness, and the elder by the coin lost in the house. The latter had a name to live, but was as truly dead as the former.

6. The earthly side of the family rejoicing is more plainly portrayed in the last parable. God's neighbours are not angels only who serve in heaven, but servants also who minister before Him on earth.

7. Sufficient reasons are given for the unwonted festivities, and given with cumulative emphasis. There has been not only loss, but death ; and therefore it was meet they should make merry when the lost is found and the dead is alive again.

8. And so they all did rejoice with music and dancing, except one—the elder brother.

In his petulant conduct the callous scorners may see themselves faithfully photographed. They meet every entreaty to assist the jubilant celebrations with a curt and disdainful "no."

From this brief analysis we see that Christ regarded the outcast crowds as the sheep, the coin, the children ; and the angry murmurers as the shepherd, the woman, and the elder brother, whose plain duty was to have sought the lost. It was a duty devolving upon their sacerdotal office. That duty they have not only neglected, but now that the true Shepherd has come, and by example and precept shown them how to win and save the erring souls, they have added to their former passive indifference the positive sins of hindering and complaining. Each parable, then, is knit to the other, and is complete in itself only as the segment of a circle or the chapter of a book. All the verses from three to thirty-two inclusive form a lovely mosaic. They are Christ's complete reply in three parts, each capable of amplification, and containing common ethical teaching ; but to separate one from the other is erroneous and destructive of the bond of union. They are mutually

dependent, as the primary colours of a sunbeam are complementary to each other, and form in combination the white ray of light: so these three exquisite parables are one—one living flame of heavenly fire.

This, then, is Christ's triumphant reply to those who murmured at Him because He received and ate with sinners, "It was meet that we should make merry and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is alive again: and was lost, and is found" (vcr. 32).

THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

DID OUR LORD UNITE IN PRAYER WITH HIS DISCIPLES?

BY THE REV. D. W. FORREST, M.A., MOFFAT.

No words can exaggerate the value which Jesus Christ attached to prayer. Every reader of the Gospels is impressed by it. Before choosing the twelve Apostles He spent the night on the lonely mountain in prayer for direction. It was "as He prayed" that the Holy Ghost descended upon Him at His Baptism, and the fashion of His countenance was changed at His Transfiguration. It was also, we are distinctly told, in the power received through prayer that He opened the ears of the deaf (Mark vii. 34), and raised Lazarus from the dead (John xi. 41). A Divine communion filled and inspired His commonest duty. "I can of Mine own self do nothing. . . . As the Father hath said unto Me, so I speak." And as He nourished His own soul by prayer, so He was ever, both by parable and direct precept, enjoining the need and the duty of it on His followers. "This kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting." "Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation."

Seeing, then, the immense emphasis that He put upon it, we are apt to conclude, as a necessary consequence, that He must have joined in the observance of it with His disciples. Any religious leader, we think, passionately desirous to bring men's thoughts up to God, would employ fellowship in devotion as one of his first and chief means. He would not be content with showing them an example of private, and not of united, prayer. More powerful than all his teachings would be the moments spent together at the footstool of the Throne, their spirits blending in a common aspiration after the Divine. Is it at all likely that Jesus, whose whole method of training was not by command, "Go and do this," but by example, "Follow Me," would surrender such opportunities of spiritual quickening? It is this *à priori* consideration drawn from what Christ might have been expected to do, rather than any minute examination of the recorded facts, that has given rise to the prevailing conviction on the subject. But, as Mr. Gore warns us in his *Bampton Lectures*, the religion of the Incarnation

is pre-eminently a religion of fact and experience, and our business is not to theorize abstractly on what was or was not possible, but to find out what God has actually manifested of Himself in the Person of Jesus Christ.

A recent writer, in a very valuable and interesting study of Christ's character, says emphatically, "He prayed in company as well as in solitude. We hear of Him again and again taking two or three of His disciples away to pray with them, and sometimes of Him praying with them all. The Twelve were a kind of family to Him, and He assiduously cultivated family worship." No pronouncement could be stronger or more definite. But what foundation for it is there in the Gospels? There are three occasions when our Lord is said to have taken Peter, James, and John apart from their brethren: the raising of Jairus' daughter, the Transfiguration, and the Agony in the Garden. Now, the reference cannot be to the first of these, for in none of the Synoptists is there any allusion to a prayer by our Lord in the house of Jairus. It is, indeed, very probable that before performing any miracle He lifted up His heart to the Father, thus obtaining grace according to His need. But that was a personal act, not a united worship, as is plain from the instances already mentioned of the deaf man and Lazarus. Secondly, the scene in Gethsemane speaks for itself. "Tarry ye here," He said, and *He went a little further* and fell on His face and prayed. He was treading the winepress alone; and of the people there was none with Him. The chosen three were brought there for prayer also, but their prayer was not His. "O My Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me: nevertheless not as I will, but as Thou wilt." The Transfiguration is the only case which can be even plausibly quoted in support of the statement. Of the three Evangelists who record the incident, Luke alone tells us the immediate purpose of Jesus in ascending the mount. "He took Peter and John and James, and went up into a mountain to pray. And as He prayed, the fashion of His countenance was altered" (ix. 28, 29). The disciples, as many commentators have pointed out, had fallen into a state of deep depression in consequence of the declaration of His approaching death. Jesus was anxious to raise them from their dangerous stupor. In order to do this, says Godet, He took them to the mount "to pray with them, knowing by experience the influence a sojourn upon some height has upon the soul."¹ But where is there any proof in Luke's words that the devotion of Jesus was shared by His companions? The Evangelist does not say that our Lord went up to pray *with them*. He went up to *pray*, to pour out His heart to the Eternal Father. It was nightfall, and the disciples having engaged in their own evening devotions, had lain down to sleep. But still their Master was wrapt in a Divine communion, and *as He continued praying* the Transfiguration came to Him; partly, perhaps, the shining out of His inner Divine nature through the veil of the human, partly the descent upon Him of the Father's glory in response to His self-surrender and prayer. The brightness of the light that clothed Him awoke the sleeping Apostles, and

¹ Comment. on St. Luke, *in loc.*

they beheld the vision of His future power and triumph. The encouragement imparted to the dejected disciples was not derived from their prayers with Him, but from the revelation which came to them *through His prayer* of the glory that yet awaited Him.¹

And if there appears no reason to assert that He united in devotion with Peter, James, and John on particular occasions, there is even less ground for asserting it with regard to the Apostles as a whole. A crucial test is presented in a memorable incident which again the third Evangelist alone has preserved for us (xi. 1.). "It came to pass that as He was praying in a certain place, when He ceased, one of His disciples said unto Him, Lord, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples. And He said unto them, When ye pray, say, Our Father," &c. Obviously, the fact that such a request was made to Jesus proves that His prayer had been private; nay, it shows that He had not previously engaged with them at all in common supplication. For if He had done so, they would have already known how He meant them to approach the Father. Surely no one will maintain that though they had heard Him praying in their name, and understood well enough how in general to express their wants to God, yet they desired to obtain from Him a particular form of prayer. The absurdity of this is plain on the face of it. That our Lord sometimes passed up into special personal communion with the Father, even when others stood by His side, is clearly stated in connection with the earliest announcement of His passion and death (Luke ix. 18). "It came to pass, as He was *alone* praying, His disciples *were with Him*; and He asked them, saying, Whom say the people that I am?" These seasons, when the Master was with them and yet withdrawn from them into an inward fellowship, "had always something solemn in them for those that surrounded Him" (Godet). They bore home to the disciples the secret of His life, the elevation and strength that flow from prayer, and it was only natural that seeing the inspiration which it brought to Him in every crisis of His experience, they should long to enter more fully into its blessedness. "Lord, teach us to pray. And He said, When ye pray, say." It was *their* prayer, *not* His. And why not His? Because it had in the heart of it a petition which He could never utter: "Forgive us our sins, for we forgive every one that is indebted to us." Yet that petition was indispensable for them. Every prayer of theirs had to contain an element of confession before it could be acceptable to the Father. Even when it consisted chiefly of adoration or supplication, it must be permeated with the feeling of unworthiness. They could only draw near to God aright as penitents, acknowledging mercies which they had not deserved, imploring a grace which they had often despised. This undertone of shortcoming was to be the note of their devotion; and it had no place in His. As the Son of Man made like unto His brethren, His relation to God was one of dependence, and He honoured it from first to last by a constant openness to the

¹ See Geikie, *Life of Christ*, chap. xlvii.

inflow of the Father's life. The Spirit was *given* to Him without measure. His prayers were thus a simple and filial fellowship, untinged by any consciousness of wilfulness or failure. Any one who reads the great intercession which He offered up for His Church universal (John xvii.) must feel how utterly apart He stood from those experiences of remembered fault which give to all our devotion its sharpest cry. "I have glorified Thee on the earth: I have finished the work which Thou gavest Me to do." There is not a whisper of contrition; only the spirit of a perfect confidence and the ring of an assured triumph. The best of men hopes to enter heaven but as a humble penitent: Jesus enters it as a conqueror.

It is very significant that in taking leave of His followers He abstains from that form of farewell which religious teachers in all ages have observed. We recognize the "touch of nature" when St. Paul, after his address to the Ephesian elders who were to see his face no more, kneeled down and prayed with them all (Acts xx. 36). How better could he part with them than at the "feet of God"? But Christ's last prayer in presence of His disciples previous to His crucifixion was a prayer not *with* them, but *for* them. And when the grief was past, and the glory about to open, He led them out as far as Bethany and lifted up His hands and blessed them. And while He blessed them, He was carried up into heaven (Luke xxiv. 50-51). That is our final glimpse of Jesus and His Apostles. They are not together; He is above them, and pouring out a benediction. And this isolation of Christ in the most solemn of acts is the more impressive because He Himself proclaims the necessity of united prayer. Yet the very words in which He enforces it imply His own separateness. "I say unto you that if *two of you* shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of *My Father*, which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them" (Matt. xviii. 19, 20). One thing at least is quite certain. Christ's private devotions may often have been unknown to the disciples, but had there been any instance in which He joined with them in prayer, they must have not only known it, but recorded it. If it occurred once, it must from the necessity of the case have happened many times.

But granting that the facts of the Gospels lead us to this conclusion, it may still be asked, Was it not possible for Christ to associate Himself with the Apostles in the expression to God of those experiences which as a man He shared with them: the need of guidance, the sense of dependence? This is practically to ask, Might He not have repeated with them the prayer which He gave for their direction, omitting the clause of confession? But to do so would have been to convey to them a false idea either of His character or of their own; it would have tended to lessen their conviction of His peculiar and unshared relation to God. The loftiest saint and the repentant prodigal may utter their wants in common, because they are both sinners needing pardon. They are alike in the deepest fact of moral life. The distance that separates them from each other is as nothing to the gulf

that divides both of them from Him who was undefiled and in whose spirit there was no guile. Christ would not employ phrases which if used by Him together with His disciples would have borne a double meaning. As to those passages where it is said that He took the five loaves and the two fishes and looking up to heaven He *blessed them* (Luke ix. 16), or that at the Last Supper He took bread and *gave thanks* (Luke xxii. 19), we do not know indeed the form of words He used. But though the "blessing" that He offered was simply a thanksgiving, an ascription of praise to the Father as the Giver of every good gift, and not prayer in the sense of petition, yet all analogy in the Gospels forbids the supposition that even here He took rank with those around Him and spoke as their representative. By what title could He have addressed God? He nowhere says, uniting His own name with that of others, "Our Father"; it is always, "Your Father," or "My Father"; and when He desires to associate Himself with them, He employs the double expression, "My Father and your Father," thus maintaining the distinction in the most emphatic way. And if this distinction were to be upheld, how could He take part with His followers in any common prayer? He conserved in these deepest things the uniqueness of His personality.

EVOLUTION AND THE DOCTRINE OF THE INCARNATION.

BY REV. PROFESSOR BERNARD, D.D.

THERE are few sentences of St. Paul's more familiar than that in which he first quotes the Scripture, which says that the first man Adam *became a living soul*, and then adds: *the last Adam became a life-giving spirit*.¹ The contrast here instituted is so significant that, although it has been many times discussed, it may be excusable to direct attention to it once more. Viewing the Apostle's words quite literally, without any backward glance at the teaching of science as to the gradual development of the human race from ruder and less perfect types, they seem to teach that the crisis in human history which we call the Incarnation had results even farther reaching than the crisis of creation. *The first Adam became a living soul; the last Adam a life-giving spirit*. The first Adam received a gift; the second Adam bestowed one. And the constant teaching of St. Paul is that the unique relation of the Lord to men is to be sought not only in the beauty of His moral precepts, in the example of His blameless life, but in that Divine force which He imparted to the whole human race when He took human flesh upon Himself. The Incarnation is not like a passing event in the history of the world; it is, as has been well said, "an eternal fact in the

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 45.

Divine life," by which human life is affected, inasmuch as a new source of moral energy is thus made available for men.

This is an aspect of truth which we are sometimes tempted to pass by. The teaching of science as to the order of nature and the regularity of nature's working makes us impatient of any speculation which seems to hint that the progress of the race has not been always continuous. The law of continuity, indeed, has been often treated as if it were not merely a convenient principle for guidance, but a dominant principle of nature. And thus it has been urged that we must not tolerate the assumption of any break in the development of man. His growth has really, we are told, been quite uniform. Evolved from rude types in the remote past, he has gradually reached the stage at which we now see him, the stage at which he possesses self-conscious reason and a responsible will. And, as to his religion, to suppose that Christianity has any higher claim on our allegiance than the claim that it has in virtue of its being the last product of human endeavour to pierce the veil between us and the unseen world, is to shut our eyes to the fact that, like all religions, it has a history of its own which may be traced. To suppose that there is any finality about it—nay, to suppose that there is anything unique about it—is only a mark of that amiable weakness which always leads us to put a high value on what is specially our own.

Let us consider, then, what light (if any) is thrown on the doctrine of the Incarnation by the teaching of science as to the gradual character of human development. And first we observe that, as a crisis in human history, St. Paul compares—for his contrast involves a comparison—the Incarnation of our Lord with the creation of man. What has science to tell us about the latter fact? It will be sufficient for our present purpose to note that, while it forbids us to believe that man is an excrescence upon the face of creation, a being out of all natural relation to the other animals by which he is surrounded, it does not, it cannot tell us that he is not possessed of a unique faculty. His bodily organism is, if you will, developed by the strictest process of natural law out of lower and less complex organisms; but science is going beyond what it can legitimately maintain if it asserts that his mental and moral powers have been thus explained. If we could trace the curve of development of the human race from its beginnings, we should find somewhere upon it a critical point, after which a new character is assumed. That is the point of which Scripture speaks when it tells us that man was made *in the image of God*. However imperfectly we may be able to grasp the full meaning of this phrase, we can see at least that it points to the acquisition by human beings of certain powers hitherto beyond their reach. When the race had reached that stage of development at which it was fitted to receive the gift, the gift was granted. When the need arose it was supplied. The lower animals may be never so closely allied with man, and yet may be without this his peculiar privilege, because they could not appreciate it if offered. Their organism may be incapable of responding to the demands that would be made upon it by such a faculty as

self-conscious reason or deliberate will. The gift was only given to the race when the race was ready. It was given *in the fulness of time*.

This is, at least, a Christian view of the matter. Is there any objection to it on the part of science? The objection usually urged is that a breach of continuity is here implied, and that to speak of any gaps in the steady growth of nature is unscientific. And such an objection has its force; but its force is much lessened, if not altogether removed, by certain considerations, which we will do well to bear in mind.

In the first place, as has been said already, the law of continuity is not a fetich before which we must bow down and worship. It is a principle of scientific investigation, but not on that account an unvarying law of nature. And if we remember that physical formulæ are not wanting in which discontinuity is plainly involved, we shall be slow to deny that there may be points on the curve of development of the human species at which the character of the curvature abruptly changes. If the facts are not fully accounted for by the hypothesis of continuous growth, there is nothing unscientific in rejecting it as inadequate.

And in the next place, he would be a rash man who would assert with confidence that the Christian theory of the evolution of man involves real, and not only apparent, discontinuity. To speak of what did or did not happen at these remote ages of the past, as if we knew all the facts of the case, is in the highest degree presumptuous. To the Divine Mind the whole growth of the human race, of the earth, of the solar system, may be marked by the most unvarying principles; but we who only see *as in a glass darkly* are here and there brought up short by facts which we cannot reduce to law. To borrow an old illustration, made good use of by the late Bishop of Carlisle in one of his delightful essays. Mathematicians tell us that there are many curves made up of isolated points, in addition to a continuous curved line. To a non-mathematical mind it seems an absurd paradox to maintain that a single outlying point can be treated as part of a continuous curve in its neighbourhood. But in spite of the apparent absurdity, nothing is more certain than that it can be so treated. A curve which to the eye appears to be discontinuous and broken is known by the mathematician to follow an unvarying law. Now it is not Agnosticism, but common sense, to suppose that our knowledge is at least as inferior to that of the Divine Mind as the knowledge of geometry possessed by a schoolboy is inferior to the knowledge of the skilled mathematician. In short, apparent discontinuity may not involve any real breach of law; and, indeed, the whole progress of science tends to bring what were formerly outstanding and anomalous facts under the protection of general principles.

When we compare, then, the Christian revelation that man was made *in the image of God* with the teaching of science, we find ourselves constrained to depict the curve of progress of the human race in its early stages as a continuous curve, with a remarkable critical point. The growth was, on the whole, uniform; but a new power, a new life, was introduced at

a certain stage, introduced when, and only when, man became capable of receiving it.

Considerations such as these seem to give fresh point and force to the comparison suggested by St. Paul: *The first Adam became a living soul; the last Adam a life-giving spirit.*

1. The Incarnation marks a crisis in the history of human life. To the first Adam all the previous history of the animal creation may be said to point. It leads up to man as its goal and final cause. And so with the Second Head of the human race. Part of the Divine purpose in creation was, we may well believe, that human nature might be raised to its perfection by being brought into union with God. And to Christ, as the *Word* who *became flesh*, all the previous history of mankind, Jew and Gentile, Greek and barbarian, pointed, and for Him it prepared the way.

2. And again, as with the first Adam, so with the second. He came *in the fulness of time*, at that precise moment when the human race was ready for Him. Within the circle of Judaism, *the law*, as St. Paul assures us in oft-quoted words, *was a schoolmaster to lead men to Christ*. And it is a familiar thought that even beyond the borders of the Hebrew people we may trace in the training of the other great nations of antiquity a discipline preparatory to the Christian revelation. But still, as with the first Adam, so with the second. The development which prepared could not produce. Christ is not the mere product of the age and country in which He appeared. If He is the Son of Man, He is the *Son of Man which is in heaven*. In the fact that man was made *in the image of God*, theologians have thought that they saw something which, humanly speaking, rendered possible the subsequent assumption of man's nature by the Eternal Word. But however that may be, this we know, that the Incarnation, like the Creation, was not a mere result of orderly development. It was a fresh crisis.

3. Thus when the *first Adam became a living soul*, the race was endowed with gifts which were in no sense results of its past growth. And the like may be said of the gifts of Christ. We entirely mistake the position of Christianity as the absolute religion if we fail to observe that our Lord claims to be not only *the Way and the Truth*, but also *the Life*. He puts new possibilities of spiritual achievement within the reach of men. In Him, as in Adam, a new source of spiritual energy is made accessible; though there is a sense, as St. Paul points out, in which there is a contrast as well as a comparison. For the gifts of Christ are not only given *in His Person*, but *through His Person*. He is a *life-giving spirit*, not only a *living soul*.

4. Again, these gifts, as we have seen, were not granted until man was in a position to use them. They were not granted when man was in a state of primitive innocence and purity. His nature, as perhaps we may conjecture, was not developed sufficiently to profit by them. Long years of growth, of discipline—possibly rendered longer by that backward step in human history which we call the Fall—long periods of training were needed

before man could appreciate the perfect gifts which were in store. And to mention one further point of comparison, and one only. The gifts given to the human race in the person of Adam were given in perpetuity. The race has not lost them. So, too, the Incarnation brings its gifts to mankind, new endowments, new energy, which may be neglected, but which cannot be got rid of. The responsibilities of humanity were permanently increased as truly at the crisis of the Incarnation as at the crisis of Creation.

If there be any truth in such a conception of our heritage, as alike the sons of Adam and the sons of God, the practical consequences are momentous; though this is not the place to dwell upon them. But in a few words the general results may be indicated. Our attitude in regard to the Christian Church, our conception of present duty, our hopes of an eternal future, are all affected by the truth that God became man and thenceforward has never left man to himself.

1. Our view of the Church is affected by it. The Incarnation of the Son of God, which brought fresh vigour to a weary race, is even now the source of the life of the Christian Church. The Christian Church is sometimes spoken of as if it were nothing but a widely-extended and respectable society established for the purpose of promoting Christian knowledge. This indeed it is, but unless it is something more, then were the most cherished convictions of the Apostles but delusions; nay, then was St. Paul entirely mistaken when he compared our Lord's Incarnation to the beginnings of self-conscious life on the globe. The Incarnation is a perpetual spring of life; that we can hardly repeat to ourselves too often. And the Church which the Lord set up on earth is the custodian and the dispenser of the Divine gifts thus placed within the reach of men. We cannot say, indeed, that the consequences of that wonderful Fact do not extend far beyond the limits of Christendom, beyond the pale of the Catholic Church. The channels of God's grace are many. But this we can say, that it is only the Christian Society that is empowered to offer these gifts to "all sorts and conditions of men." It is only because of the Incarnation, and through the Incarnation, that there is any efficacy in Sacraments. We need not, happily, enter into vexed questions as to the mode of operation of Sacramental grace. The point here emphasized is that Christ offers us in His Church gifts which are in no sense the natural and necessary endowments of humanity. Indeed, if we only look far enough back, we may see that we cannot claim from the circumstances of our pedigree even such common faculties as self-conscious reason and the power of choice. They are, to use at once the simplest and truest words, the gift of God. And through these gifts we are enabled to benefit by those others which Christ offers us in the Sacramental system of His Church. *The last Adam became a life-giving spirit*, not only at the moment of Incarnation, but in perpetuity through the channel of the Society of which He is the Head.

2. This affects our conception of present duty. We are responsible for the right use of these gifts. The curve of development of the human race

seems now, as far as man may judge, to have been continuous for close upon nineteen centuries. But the history of the past teaches that these periods of continuous growth are periods of discipline. It is in them that the world's training is carried on. A higher gift is never offered until the lower has been appreciated. And so it is that men are being trained now in the manifold discipline of life that they may be worthy at last to receive those *good gifts which God hath prepared for them that love Him.*

3. And, lastly, there are not wanting hints in Scripture that once more there will be a turning-point in the history of humanity when the gifts of the Incarnation have been put to right use, when sin has been conquered when men have learnt to realize that life in Christ of which Apostles speak with such certainty and such joy. The seer of the Apocalypse speaks of *a new heaven and a new earth* which are to continue after the former things have passed away. Once more a critical point, and then an endless progress, a progress in that knowledge of God which is life eternal. On the curve of development of the human race there is an infinite branch.

CURRENT AMERICAN THOUGHT.

ON THE OBSCURITY OF FAITH. By R. F. CLARKE, S.J. (*The American Catholic Quarterly Review*).—St. Paul says that "faith is the evidence of things that appear not." It has always a certain obscurity belonging to it, and which is a part of its essence. Whence does this obscurity arise? Is it always in the material object of our faith, so that it is impossible to make an act of faith respecting that which is already clearly evident to us on grounds of reason? Or does the obscurity of faith arise from the formal object or motive of our faith, in that the reception of some statement, on the authority of another, in itself throws a sort of mist around the object on which faith is exercised; even though it may be in itself on other grounds evident to our minds? The answer depends on our keeping the distinction between human and Divine faith. In human faith we accept some statement on the authority of man, who may deceive or be deceived. In Divine faith we accept the statement on the authority of God, who can neither deceive nor be deceived. The cases, accordingly, do not stand on the same footing.

With human faith, can we accept, on the authority of others, that which we know to be true quite independently of their authority? If we have mathematical certainty, through working out a problem, we are not interested in the answer to it that is given by authority. If we fail in certainty we can believe the authority. An element of obscurity, however slight, is necessary to the practical exercise of human faith. We believe when we do not know, as the exercise of reason can bring us knowledge. We can only walk by human faith when we cannot walk by sight. Moral certitude, founded on external testimony, is superfluous to one whose appetite for certainty is satisfied to the full by metaphysical or mathematical certainty.

Does the same rule hold good in relation to *Divine faith*? Is our acceptance of truths on the ground of Divine faith limited to those which are in themselves obscure,

to the exclusion of those which are immediately or mediately evident to human reason? Is sight compatible with faith? Is the scientific knowledge of some fact compatible with a belief in it as the object of Divine revelation? It may be admitted that the habit of faith, extending as it does to all the dogmas of faith, can co-exist with a scientific knowledge of one or other of these dogmas. "When I prove on grounds of natural reason the existence of God, I do not thereby lose my habitual faith in Him." The mere habit of faith induces no obscurity, and the scientific knowledge, involving as it does a perfect clearness in the scientific act of assent, in no way interferes with it. When a man makes an act of faith in God, it in no way impairs the strength and certainty of the knowledge of God which he had previously acquired by the use of his reason. A mere habitual knowledge respecting anything does not involve any actual mental operation; and, therefore, cannot interfere with the act of faith respecting it. The question before us narrows itself to this: Is an act of faith incompatible with an actual knowledge of the same truth? An act of human faith is; but is an act of Divine faith? How can faith, which always implies a certain obscurity, be exercised on a proposition which is already evident to our minds, and respecting which there can be no possible obscurity? Augustine, answering the question, What is faith? says that it is the believing what we see not. So much as this is true—the truth in which we believe must be obscure in respect to our motive in believing it. But does it follow that it is obscure under any other aspect?

If faith and reason occupied the same sphere of thought, the evidence afforded by reason would necessarily render impossible the obscurity required by faith. Some have imagined that the two acts, the act of faith and the act of reason, could be combined in one and the same act. But what sort of an act would this be? It could not be a merely natural act, since it partakes of the nature of faith. It could not be a purely supernatural act, since it is partly based on reason. It could not be partly natural and partly supernatural, for in that case it would combine the perfections of the two acts that are supposed to be united in it. It would have the supernaturality of the act of faith and the clearness of the act of natural reason. The impossibility of combining an act of faith and an act of reason in one and the same mental act does not prevent us from making an act of faith respecting some proposition which is already evident to us on grounds of reason. For the two acts are not only different acts, but they do not belong to the same order. The act of reason is in the natural order, and the act of faith in the supernatural order, and therefore they can co-exist, not exactly side by side, but one above the other—the act of faith on the higher and the act of reason on the lower level.

What kind of obscurity is required in Divine faith? Human authority can never give us a certainty at all to be compared with the certainty that is the result of demonstration and evidence. It can give at most only moral certainty. Obscurity in an act of Divine faith arises from this fact—the assent of faith is based on the Divine testimony, and all testimony is in itself something not evident, but obscure. Everything that comes to us second-hand is necessarily less clear than that to which our mental powers attain directly. In the case of the knowledge we have by Divine faith, the source of our information is One whom no man hath seen or can see, who dwells in the inaccessible light of His Divine majesty, and is known to us as long as we inhabit mortal bodies only through a glass after a dark manner. If He who speaks is thus hidden from us, it must needs be that there hangs around His utterances an obscurity that will continue until we shall see Him face to face, and know as we are known. And the manner in which He imparts the materials of knowledge to us is in itself obscure. They usually come to us through some human

agency. He has certain established and authoritative media of communication, and before we can accept a proposition as one of faith, we have to be sure of the authority of the medium. The channel through which the communication is made involves a further obscurity. So even when God reveals any truth to us to be believed on His authority, He thereby invests it with a circumambient mist, as far as regards our supernatural acceptance of it. Human faith presupposes obscurity in its material object, and without it is incapable of energizing; whereas Divine faith supplies the obscurity from its own nature, and is quite indifferent to the previous character of its material object as regards its evidence or obscurity, so long as it can claim for it a true moral certainty on grounds of reason. We can make an act of faith not only respecting things over which there hangs some sort of obscurity in the natural order, so that, apart from revelation, we should be at fault to know whether they are true or not; but also respecting things perfectly clear and evident, so that there can be no doubt whatever of their truth, quite apart from all revelation whatever.

The obscurity of faith does not mean that its object must be obscure before faith comes to shed its light upon it, but that that very light is, from its very nature, a light which carries with it an obscurity of its own in its own order.

If faith is compatible with that which is evident in the natural order, is it similarly compatible with the clearness of supernatural evidence? If God reveals to us some truth in such a way that we have an actual vision of it in the supernatural order, can we any longer make an act of faith respecting it? In such cases, this writer affirms, the supernatural field of the human intellect is occupied by a supernatural certitude, and there is no further room for the certitude of faith. Nor is faith compatible with the beatific vision. Faith is the evidence of things which appear not, and, therefore, when the object of our apprehension appears before us in the perfect brightness and clearness of the vision of God, faith is not only superfluous, but impossible; though the habit of faith will still remain.

Was the virtue of faith possible to our Blessed Lord while He was on earth? The question is not whether the act of faith was possible to our Lord. His beatific vision precludes the idea of the exercise of faith. But was the habit or light of faith dwelling within Him, and was it compatible with His Divinity? The writer thinks it was impossible that even habitual faith should be present in the Son of God. For faith implies the capacity to accept, on extrinsic authority, some truth revealed to us by another. The extrinsic authority required by faith could not be present in Him in whom there dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead. There could not be in His case the obscurity which is of the essence of faith. We must, therefore, believe that neither in act nor in habit was the virtue of faith possible to the Son of God.

At the same time, whatever of perfection was to be found in faith was of necessity to be found in His human nature. In faith two acts concur, and in the habit of faith two different habits are combined. The one is in the intellect, the other in the will. The one is an infused intellectual disposition, and is the principle which elicits the assent of faith. The other is supernatural disposition of the will, which elicits the necessary loyalty and readiness to believe. Now, the assent of faith was absolutely impossible in our Lord, and consequently the actual and efficacious will which moves the intellect to believe was also impossible. But it is quite a different case with that disposition of the will that renders him in whom it is found full of that loyal obedience that is ready to accept on God's authority whatever He may reveal, if so be its possessor is placed in a condition where such obedience of faith should be possible to Him. Our Lord had the virtue of faith in

this sense, that in His human will was present everything that is required for the obedience or the merit of faith.

WOMAN'S INDEBTEDNESS TO CHRISTIANITY. By Rev. GEORGE FRANCIS GREENE, Cranford, N.J. (*Christian Thought*).—What is the factor of Christianity in the world-wide process of the emancipation of woman? There can be no doubt that woman possesses a larger freedom in her domestic, social, and legal relations in states of society dominated by the spirit of Christianity than elsewhere; nor that her condition is in process of improvement throughout Christian lands. Buckle seems to ascribe the emancipation of the sex to the growing respect for material wealth. Others ascribe the result to Teutonic influences. Others take this position: "the modern social and legal position of woman, while it owes much to ancient German customs, has been far more influenced by the estimate set upon woman by the Christian doctrine." Which of these views is correct?

We must first secure a true definition of Christianity. The spirit of Christianity is the spirit of Christ. Christianity is what Christ was, and is, and teaches. It is not responsible for the human perversions of the Master's teachings. It is one thing to show that a corrupt Church has at times borne heavily against woman. It is quite another to show that God's Word, the constitution of Christianity, has not always extended to her a helping hand. A second step is to determine the precise teaching of Christianity concerning woman. A third is to determine what the "ethnic religions" teach and require concerning woman. A fourth is to determine the actual condition of woman in un-Christian lands. A fifth is to determine the condition of woman in societies in which Christianity has most largely entered into the life of the people; as in Western Europe and America. The last step is to decide, as precisely as possible, upon the extent to which civil and social conditions in all lands are shaped by their religions. Two principles are laid down which the author regards as unassailable. (1) If it shall appear that the condition of woman in Christian countries is not determined by the religion of those countries, then the latter are an exception to an otherwise universal fact. (2) If it shall appear that in such countries other causes than the doctrines of the Bible have operated toward the liberation of woman, the Christian faith is still to be regarded as *one* of the causes of it, the importance of which is to be measured by the extent and sincerity of Christian belief in those countries.

What is the position of woman in the history and in the ethics of the Bible? The Old Testament account of creation pronounces woman man's helper and companion. The equality of man and woman in the home is demanded in the Decalogue, the soul of the Old Covenant, where equal honour is required for the father and the mother. The normal place of woman in Judaism was that of domestic and social freedom and honour. Judaism was Christianity in the bud. Christianity was the flower and fruit of Judaism. Christ did two things for woman in His teachings. (1) He emphasized the law of monogamy. (2) He gave her a title to equal rights and equal honours with man, on the ground of her humanity. He recognized no sex in discipleship. Throughout New Testament history the women and men who were disciples discharged the same social and religious functions, apparently without a thought anywhere of an inequality, save that the women did not exercise authority. So far as the Christian Church has ever dealt severely with woman, it has been due to a misapprehension of the teachings of the Apostles Peter and Paul. The very heart of Christianity is in Paul's words: "For all the law is fulfilled, even in this, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." But this principle is peculiar to Christianity.

All false systems of religion exalt the love of God above the love due to our fellow-men, and tell us that we may serve God by injuring our fellows. The final outworking of the law, that we must love our neighbours as ourselves, must be the removal everywhere of all unjust restrictions upon the freedom of woman.

Contrast with the ideal freedom of woman, in the view of Biblical history and doctrine, her social condition in all the pagan societies that were contemporaneous with Judaism, or early Christianity, of which we possess any knowledge. Among pre-historic savages the law of conduct was simply the law of brute strength, which involved the enslavement of woman. The picture of woman in early historic pagan societies is gloomy in the extreme. In ancient India women were the slaves of their husbands. In ancient Persia women could be imprisoned at the caprice of their husbands. The religion of the Syrians involved the compulsory sacrifice of woman's honour. The Babylonians were accustomed to sell their marriageable women at auction. The law of the Medes required each man to have seven wives. The Scythian women were slaves, and their widows were slain on the graves of their husbands. In Egypt polygamy was admitted on an almost unlimited scale.

What was the condition of woman in pagan Greece? In the Homeric age women of all classes appear to have been bought and sold as slaves, and to have been utterly at the mercy of man's will and whim. Conjugal affection could have had no reality. In later Greece custom forbade a wife from eating at the same table with her husband. Socrates thanked God daily that he had been born neither a slave nor a woman. In the land of the Cæsars, even at the height of the glory of the Eternal City, womanhood was practically a badge of dishonour and contempt. Before the law woman had no rights independent of her husband. He could divorce her at pleasure. The female portion of the slaves were treated like brutes. "At the close of the Republic the moral licence was frightful." Dr. Storrs says, "Habitual and contemptuous distrust of the sex was in the very life of the governing classes. It ruled custom, shaped statutes, and entered with depraving and dominating force the highest minds."

Confucius does not teach that sacredness attaches to the marriage-relation. He requires the most abject and unreasoning submission of the wife to the will of her husband. Liberty, in or out of the home, is not permitted to her. The women of China, one-third of all living women, are now dwelling in a starless night of ignorance and sorrow. The Koran places peculiar restrictions upon woman, and those restrictions generally exist in real life. It forbids woman to appear in public unveiled; it permits polygamy and female slavery. Mrs. Reichardt says: "It is a cruel wrong to talk of conjugal love, of marriage felicity among Moslems, whose very religion casts the poisoned shade of the upas-tree on the holiest of all ties." The condition of women in Moslem lands, social, intellectual, and moral, is sad in the extreme.

What is the condition of woman in Christian communities? Wherever the Gospel prevailed in the infancy of the Christian Church the sex was treated with an honour that could find expression only among a class that accepted the royal law of love as a Divine rule. A new sacredness came to attach to marriage. A new honour was accorded to motherhood. We need not dwell upon the gradually expanding idea of woman's place and mission under the developing of Christian doctrine throughout the Christian centuries.

Two things should be remembered. (1) We ought not to expect to find woman ideally free and happy in any Christian state. Human conditions forbid, equally to both sexes, an ideal blessedness this side of the grave. (2) Nor is it fair to condemn

Christianity, so far as woman is concerned, if she has not, in a nominally Christian state, obtained her full emancipation. It is a truism that Christianity anywhere is responsible only for those customs and institutions which spring from its own teachings. And, strictly speaking, there is no Christian nation on earth; and there never has been. It is manifestly unfair to blame Christianity for the limitations or defects attaching to any social state which are strictly due to un-Christian causes. The true inquiry is,—So far as the principles of the Gospel prevail in so-called Christian societies, has the result, in its bearing upon woman, been wholesome or otherwise? It needs but a glance at the conditions of European or American society to determine this question.

To summarize. Among all the pagan peoples of history woman has appeared as the slave or plaything of man. Under no heathen civilization, past or present, has she, as a rule, possessed both freedom and virtue. We have concluded that in every state the social order is shaped and coloured primarily by the prevailing religion. In every religion except Christianity ethical precepts approach nearest to the Divine rule at their birth. For example, in Confucianism, while the teachings of its founder involve a sort of philanthropy, the principle finds less and less application as a rule of individual conduct in the course of time. It is not that these religions necessarily lose their influence, but that their moral qualities deteriorate. The plant flowers at its birth and then withers. The system of ethics of the Bible, on the contrary, is a vital spark that ever expands into new forms of strength and beauty with the growth of the race. All the ethnic religions have doubtless shown us all that they can ever accomplish for womanhood. Christianity is far from having yet revealed its completest fruits on any of its branches. Christ aims to lead humanity, as it is prepared to follow, step by step, to the perfect blessedness of the perfect era. "The pagan world did its best, and gave us the women of Rome's Golden Age, and perished. Christianity has not yet wrought its best, is ever mounting upward, but already in place and power a pure womanhood sits enthroned."

THE RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO SOCIAL REFORM. By Mr. DAVID KINLEY, Madison, Wisconsin (*The Bibliotheca Sacra*).—This article is only concerned with the alleged failure of the Church to do her duty in matters of practical concern in the life of society, and the alleged consequent alienation of the masses from her. There is a feeling abroad that, if Christianity be what it claims to be, it should justify its pretensions by bringing about the social regeneration for which the world is working. It is alleged that, in consequence of its failure to do so, it is losing its "hold" on the masses of the people, and that the alienation of the masses from the Church is at once the sign and the expression of the decay of the Christian religion. The German economist, Roscher, has declared that the alienation of the masses from the Church is one of the five main causes of the social discontent, and of the strength and progress of socialistic schemes. The complaint against the Church is really a double one. (1) It is said that the Church as a body, or as an organization, takes but little direct interest, and still less direct action, in the great questions of the methods of elevating the masses, the abolition of poverty, the reformation of the criminal, the suppression of injustice on the part of wealth towards poverty, the protection of the industrially weak, as the factory girl, the shop girl, and children and women employed in our mills. The Church does little, it is asserted, towards the suppression of the spirit of greed which prompts great corporations sometimes to sacrifice the health and life of *employées* for gain; she does not interfere in disputes between labourers and employers to establish justice in their relations, and she is usually

arrayed against the working men in any struggle for their rights, or the betterment of their conditions in life. (2) It is said that, with all her influence, the Church fails to produce in actual life more justice, more purity, more self-sacrifice; she fails to influence conduct, to make the lives of her professors any nobler than those of other people. The church-member is no less unscrupulous in business than the non-church-member.

The usual excuse made on behalf of the Church is that she has concerned herself so much with theology that she has neglected religion: has fixed her attention on a future life, and so failed to take proper interest in this life. The complaints against the Church may be grouped into two classes according to the thoughts underlying them. (1) Those whose underlying thought is that the principles of Christianity have not the power which is claimed for them. Those who believe this logically deny that the Christian religion is the proper force to which to look for social regeneration. (2) Those who say that the Church has too much emphasized faith instead of works; has preached doctrine instead of righteous living: that the great body of Christians has mistaken either the chief need of men, or else the best means of supplying the need; that the spiritual policy of her founders and supporters has been wrong, and that a change should now be made whereby the Church shall pay more attention to the material accessories of a "good life" here than to the spiritual conditions of a good life hereafter. All admit the desirability of improvement in the physical conditions of life; the difference concerns these points,—is it the province of the Church, as such, to concern herself directly with such matters, and, if this is a part of her duty, can it be said that her past and present policy and methods have tended to its performance? Of course it must be understood that the only "hold" the Church in our time has upon the people is that which she can command by the sweetness and purity of her principles. Her hold depends no longer, as it once did, on external power, but on internal influence. The loss of formal authority is not a real loss. We have gained liberty of thought and action, a broader and juster view of life, a higher conception of God, and a better physical and social life, with greater possibilities of progress; for all that is sweetest, and noblest, and purest in civilized life to-day is very largely the result of the action of the Christian Church, which, with all her mistakes, has through the centuries been a purifying and regenerating force in the world's life.

When the Christian Church was founded, the restraining tenets of even the old pagan religions had pretty much lost their force. Lecky says the prevalent philosophy "did much to encourage virtue, but little or nothing to restrain vice!" The philosophical, political, social, and moral influence of the Christian movement was to emphasize the individual, to elevate his character, to ennoble his life. Hence, Christianity, unlike paganism, made moral teaching its main object. It had to influence *the will*: that is, it had to supply motives to the individuals whom it sought to improve. The chief motives came from the doctrine of the future life. The Church's emphasis of doctrine was for the purpose of elevating individual character; and her assertion of the importance of the individual as against society was but a method of improving society. Her action was an unconscious recognition of the great truth, that it is useless to try to construct a faultless social structure out of elements that are themselves faulty. Until the value of his own life was impressed on the individual, until he learned to appreciate virtue, faith, self-sacrifice, from practising them, he could not be expected to regard it as his duty to try to secure these things for others.

The work which the Church has done in social reform may be thus summarized.

She interfered in the labour question, as it *then* existed, by making easier the life of the serf and the slave, and insisting on the observance of justice and brotherhood between master and man; she rendered life more secure by the enforcement of justice generally; and she has, certainly until very recently, every one will admit, been the chief agent in charitable and criminal reform. It is true that these were *indirect* results of her general policy, that they were not her chief aim, but incidental effects of the aim she had in view, and of the policy that she followed. But that very fact is evidence that her aim and methods were chosen wisely for the circumstances of the world's life. Hence it is but fair to conclude that the aim of the Church in the past, namely, the uplifting of individual character, was the true one for the existing situation; that the method, the use of an external motive, was the correct one for attaining her purpose; and that the results of her policy have been justified even by the social reforms which have indirectly sprung from it.

The individual must continue to be the centre of the Church's activity; the development of good character, the promotion of the growth of moral fibre, the preparation, in short, for a higher and better life, must in the future, as in the past, be her chief aim, the object of her most earnest solicitude. It is fair, however, to ask whether the *motive* on which she has hitherto relied can by itself serve her purpose any longer. Whether it may not be replaced or supplemented with some other incentive; and whether, under modern industrial and social conditions, direct and organized participation in social questions, as such, is not desirable, perhaps necessary, for the furtherance of her purpose of saving individuals for a better life. There is no doubt that the motive formerly relied on by the Church has largely lost its power with the masses. The intensity of the desire for physical comforts endangers the higher aspirations of the soul. And, more serious still, even among church-members themselves the preaching of the doctrine of future punishment, as a reason for a good life here, has largely lost its force. The explanation of this is found in the tendency of all organizations to become mechanical and formal. Contentment with the merely doctrinal side of religion is a source of danger to the Church. In order to carry out her plan of the salvation of the individual, the Church of to-day must lay a greater emphasis on duty and brotherly love than she has ever done before. This motive must largely take the place of the incentive of fear. Should not the Church now teach that salvation for each is to be found in the fulfilment of duty to others, and in a life full of beneficence to one's fellow-men? The emphasis of these motives would be but the emphasis of that law of love which Christ taught as only second in the list of commandments. Another reason why Church activity in social reform is necessary to the attainment of its purpose in saving the individual is found in the nature of modern industrial life.

What is the proper position for the Church to take? At what specific reforms should she aim, and what methods can she follow? The first reform is within herself. She should enforce to-day in matters of conduct and life the authoritative standard which she exercised in her early history, and which she has always more or less rigidly enforced in matters of doctrine. And she must get rid of the materialism which so largely affects her, and taints her spiritual life. But we must always keep in mind that the main work of the Church is to feed the spiritual and moral nature of men. It is properly the work of the State to deal with social problems. The Church's mission is primarily spiritual, the development of moral fibre, sweetness, purity, and charity. The *indirect* power of the Church for social improvement is as limitless as the capability of human character for improvement, and as the

duration of the life of man on earth. The *direct* power, on the other hand, is very limited.

Two cautions the Church most observe in her action in social matters. The first is that suffering is sometimes necessary for the development of strength of character, for the sufferer's future highest welfare. The second caution is that the Church must be careful not to let her charity support or promote injustice. The Church has its mission to *all classes*, and must be careful not to set one class against another.

GOLD AND GODLINESS. By Pres. E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS, Brown University, Providence, R.I. (*Christian Thought*).—Our Saviour's teaching in Matt. xxv. 27 is full of interest from an economic point of view. It reads thus:—"Thou oughtest therefore to have put my money to the bankers, and at my coming I should have received back mine own with interest." It was Christ's habit to put lessons into the skeletons and the drapery of His parables; to teach in so adroit a manner that the very incidents of His teaching, instead of misleading, shall be helpful in the ascertainment of truth. We have a right to infer, from Christ's way of framing this parable, that He approves, as morally just, the habit of receiving interest on loaned funds. The servant was wicked because he did not take measures to secure interest on his talents.

But the acceptance of interest was universally condemned throughout the ancient world, by Jew and by Gentile alike, by Moses, by Hebrew prophets, and by Greek philosophers. Aristotle is very emphatic upon the point. Christ was in advance in His teaching concerning economic and social life. If taking interest is right, then wealth in general, if it is rightly used, is a legitimate possession; and the use of money or capital in the way of deposit is a helpful and excellent use. Consider (1) the false views about wealth which those who have little or no wealth cherish. They think wealth is unnecessary, that the world could get on just as well without it, perhaps even better. But civilization is manifestly dependent on wealth. It is absolutely indispensable to any sort of life among human beings that shall be worthy to be lived. Wealth is sometimes spoken of as necessary, but a necessary evil. But if it is strictly necessary to the higher, or even to the lower, life of man, it cannot be intrinsically an evil. Unless you make the owning of money an end, it need not be a sin. Many people abuse themselves with the notion that the wealth of the world, or of any community, is a fixed limited sum, like the shares in a bank, so that if one man gets a dollar more, another man must put up with a dollar less. But in the honest doing of business, it is not true that one man's blessing need be another man's loss. The wealth of any land or neighbourhood is like leavened dough, not like a fixed sum. Divide, and subdivide, and each mass, if rightly used speedily becomes as great as the whole was. In gambling one side or the other must lose; in honest business both may gain, and commonly do. Wealth, in whosoever hands it may be, is humanity's machinery, wherewith to get its living. The more of it, the better living humanity will get.

On the other hand, some, even among the poor, think wealth to be almost the absolute good. They imagine that if they had it they would be lastingly happy. They murmur because riches are so unevenly distributed. But of the alleged inequalities of fortune among human beings, some are real, and some only apparent. All the strictly real ones, those not somehow compensated sooner or later, are due simply to differences of character. Among those equally good, diversities of what is called fortune are purely outward and illusory. This is true; no mere change in a man's external estate will enable him to get one whit more actual net good out of life.

Some are continually affirming, or at least implying, that massed wealth in private hands is of necessity a calamity and a curse. They cannot look upon a very rich man as a good man. It must be admitted that there is a certain danger attaching to the colossal massing of wealth. It is certainly healthier and safer for wealth to be pretty well distributed; but no such ideal state of things is possible without a radical re-organization of human society. One more mistaken notion may be dealt with. We continually hear remarks to the effect that wealth is a good, but that it is only good to do good with, the speaker meaning by this simply that it is good to give away in benevolence. But desirable as the devotion of money in charity may be, it must still be laid down as the rule that, on the whole, the best way to do good to our fellows by means of our wealth is to use our wealth in employing our fellows; that is, to invest our money as capital, so as to support honest, industrious men and women in earning wages. Were not the greater part of the wealth existing at any given time used productively, soon there would be no wealth to use charitably.

Consider (2) certain wrong conceptions held by the rich themselves in relation to wealth. The immense and fatal error about wealth among wealthy people themselves is that their right to it is absolute, against God as against men. They are thus led to waste vast amounts of it in idle luxury, and to ignore the demands of legitimate and proper charity. Idle luxury must be distinguished from luxury that is not idle. Much of the wealth which is invested in needless, to say nothing of positively harmful things, is lost to society as truly as if sunk in the Pacific Ocean. It is because of the immense waste of wealth in idle luxury that men have so little which they can give for charitable purposes, educational purposes, &c. Wealth must not be thought of as an absolute good, it is only a relative good, intended to contribute to interests of all sorts, which are higher and more spiritual than is the mere possession of wealth.

What would come to pass if people, especially wealthy people, understood the true nature of wealth, and acted accordingly? (1) The wealth amassed by human beings would be earned, and not merely gotten. (2) The greater part of poverty would disappear—begging in the streets, and nagging importunity for gifts by representatives of various charity interests and organizations. (3) The healing of most labour troubles, those painful hostilities between the ranks of labourers and the ranks of capitalists which are now so common. The main cause of ill-feeling could be entirely obviated by working people themselves, if they had the spirit of Him who uttered the parable of the man who failed to send his master's money to the banker's.

A proper understanding of the subject would accrue to the betterment of the characters of wealthy people themselves. When any one has amassed great wealth, however honestly, fearful pressure is brought to bear upon the man to regard it too much as an end, and to bend all his energies to the further swelling of the pile, how inordinate soever it may be. Wealth is but a means to an end. Happy is that man who, owning houses and lands, mills and railways, stocks and bonds, is yet bigger than all these, using them, and forbidding them to use him; remembering his God, his Church, his country, and his kind, and so utilizing the opportunities of earth to lay up treasure in heaven. This universe is the richer in all ways for such a man. But equally to be commended is the poor man who is not overcome by the world, who does not envy the rich, or waste his existence in struggling to ape them, or rave at God and society because his lot is what it is, or shut his mind to that blessedness which is higher than what Mammon can bestow. "I never chide the labouring classes for their unrest. Much of it is from God. It is the glory and hope of our

age that the common man is at last astir and vocal, and must be heeded. Nor are men to blame for wanting more of the world's valuables. The appetite for gain, in itself, is no part of our depravity; and the time is coming when, in the case of each honest man, it will be gratified."

THE PRIMITIVE CREED OF MAN. By CONDÉ B. PALLÉN, LL.D. (*The American Catholic Quarterly Review*).—The oft reiterated assertion on the part of modern infidelity, that the loss of religious faith neither necessitates a loss of hope in the future, nor the lack of an incentive to a virtuous life, has its basis in an assumption which may not be passed unchallenged. We are told that we have no reason to despond, even if we do find the creeds of men subject to the same laws of growth and decay which govern all things human. Men's religions, it is said, are, like their temples, builded up only to crumble away under the flight of time and the shocks of change. The reason of their having been, lay in the imperfect apprehension of man's destiny natural to the race in the years of infancy, when the painful riddle of the earth was read in the language of childhood, and the puerile imagination of primitive man construed the mysteries of life into the hobgoblins of the nursery. Such was the origin, it is said, of all creeds; but now we must expect new standards of truth, a more perfect comprehension of man's place in the universe, and a more accurate measure of his moral needs and cravings. We are not, however, to imagine that religion is dead. It has but evolved into a higher form. The past religions of mankind are but empty husks, from which the living creature that once breathed in them has fled for ever. It is but natural, then, to cast them aside as we would our worn-out garments.

There is much that seems to support such ideas. The world's religious history is a scene of darkness and confusion. The dissonant clamours of conflicting creeds strike stridently on the ear. Nations and their creeds rise and fall together. Religion, like all other things human, is in a constant flux, and history seems to write upon its forehead the same legend of mortality. When we first contemplate the varied scheme of man's religions the mesh seems inextricable. Turn to the religious systems of Greece and Rome, our first feeling is one of utter helplessness. On every side we meet the grossest idolatry, so loathsome in its mythology that Professor Max Müller has styled it "a period of temporary insanity through which the human mind had to pass." Their pantheons embraced gods of the most abject type, born, it seems, of every phantasy possible to a defiled imagination. "In Zeus we see magnified force, endowed with all human vices and inflamed with the grossest, human passions—he is cruel, revengeful, lustful, utterly regardless of all moral restraint; Hère is a jealous virago, vindictive and quarrelsome; Athène is merciless; Aphrodite the embodiment of sensuality, and her cult a celestial sanction of rites unmentionable; Priapus typified even lower bestial passions; and Dionysos was the divine embodiment of all dissoluteness; Phœbus Apollo knows no compassion, and Artemis is a passionless counterpart of her brother—both smite their rivals with relentless pleasure. Well might the period of Greek mythology be called an insanity of the human mind."

In spite, however, of the confusion and moral disorder that prevailed in the Olympian hierarchy, we do find a consistent meaning in Greek polytheism if we only look for it in the right direction. The Greeks inherited their pantheon, at least substantially, from a people much older than themselves. All the Indo-European races are descendants of common ancestors, whom we first know as dwellers on the northern slopes of the Hindú-kush range of mountains in Central Asia. Through

the aid of the science of philology the secret of the polytheistic creeds of all Indo-Europeans has been unlocked, and such a flood of light thrown in upon their religious systems as to clear the else utter darkness which had gathered so densely around them. The Greek system is derivatively and fundamentally Aryan. The ancient Aryan religion, we discover from the Vedas, was a nature-worship, with the sun or sky as chief divinity, around which are grouped the defied forms of the lesser powers of nature. Sun, moon, earth, wind, storm, and cloud are woven together in one diversified system, whose elements are as various as the manifold aspects which these phenomena assume during the course of day and night throughout the seasons of the year. Amongst the Aryans this nature was conscious, as the etymology of their divine names show. Thus Dyaus (Zeus) was "the Bright Shining One." With them physical nature, under its thousand and one ever-shifting aspects, was the object of a conscious worship, and as long as it remained conscious their creed enjoyed that unity which is to be found in nature itself. As the Aryan tribes migrated and settled in different new countries, diversity of climate and location by degrees modified and expanded their creed into the divergent systems of mythology, which so perplexed the learned world until the light of philology came to explain them. "The polytheisms of all Aryan-descended peoples may, therefore, be justly reduced to the conscious nature-worship of their ancestors, who, looking out upon the world around them, and finding the need of rendering divine homage in their hearts, fell down and adored the vast and mysterious system of nature. Not knowing, or having lost the knowledge of, nature's God, they worshipped nature itself."

Is there a similar conclusion to be reached by a study of the mythologies of Semitic peoples? Taking the Egyptians as Semitic—they may prove to have been Turanian—the multitude of their divinities at first perplexes the investigator. Divide them how you may, their name is legion. Defined distinctly in the system are three classes of divinities—sun-gods, sky-gods, and earth-gods. Egyptian polytheism was, therefore, principally a sun-worship, and although in the process of time the Egyptians, like the Indo-Europeans, lost all conscious knowledge of the primitive character of their system under the gradual accretions of a popular mythology, their religious system must have originally taken its rise from a conscious nature-worship of the objects personified in the later divinities of its pantheon.

The Chaldean pantheon exhibits the same primitive elements. It is made up of sun, sky, and earth divinities, the first mentioned taking precedence. In the first triad we have Anu, the hidden sun, the ruler of spirits and a far-off city, the lord of darkness, the father of the gods. Next in order is Bil, the midday sun, the emblem of royalty, like the Egyptian Phra. The third member is Hoa, the sun's rays, lord of the abyss, lord of the great deep, the intelligent fish, akin to the Philistine Dagon. In the second triad rank Sin or Urke, the moon-god; San, the disc of the sun; and Vul, the air. Following these are the gods of the five planets, Nebo (Mercury), Ishtar (Venus), Nergal (Mars), Bel-Merodach (Jupiter), Nin (Saturn).

The gods of the Caanite nations (all Semitic peoples other than the Chaldeans, Egyptians, and Jews) show the same characteristics; they are all personifications of the sun or his rays. Moloch, Baal, Chemosh, Baalzebub, are the sun or his rays under fierce and malignant aspects, to whom in propitiation human sacrifices must be offered. Thammuz is the softer and gentler aspect of the great luminary of heaven. Ashtoreth, or Astarte, is the moon goddess. Semitic polytheisms are evidently derived from a primitive conscious nature-worship, with the sun as chief divinity, and in the course of time they degenerated into a mythological system in which the conscious element was entirely lost.

Max Müller says of the Turanian Chinese : " We find an ancient, colourless, and unpoetical religion, a religion we might almost venture to call monosyllabic, consisting of the worship of a host of single spirits, the sun, the storms, the lightning, mountains, rivers, one standing by the other without any mutual attraction, without any higher principle to hold them together. There was a primitive Turanian religion before the race broke up and separated." Is this primitive Turanian religion anything like the primitive Aryan and the primitive Semitic ? The writer examines the Chinese mythology, whose primary figure is *Tien*, which means heaven, and identifies the primitive Turanian religion as also a nature-worship, with the sun as chief divinity.

In process of time the primitive form degenerates into an unconscious nature-worship, and grows finally into a cumbersome mythology. The Greek Zeus was a mythical being, but the Aryan Dyaus was the actual sky or heaven. This decay can be traced in all the systems of religion that have been mentioned. In the process, universal to all polytheisms, we may observe a movement from simplicity to multiplicity, from unity to division. The development is both multiple and analytical. Gods are multiplied, and the same god is divided over and over again. Primarily, then, we have one object of worship, which becomes in the course of time divided into many distinct deities. In this we perceive a loss of simplicity, and a descent from unity. The older grow the polytheisms, the larger the number of their divinities and the wider the divisions. Accompanying these changes is the loss of the consciousness of the real object of worship, and the gradual transfer of the cult from it to a host of mythical beings.

We have seen that in all the pantheons of ancient peoples the sun-god holds the foremost place. But back of the sun-god looms the presence of one greater still. This distant god has no symbol and no altar ; his cult was vague and rare. He was a hidden god, and seems to have been beyond the capacity of the popular imagination. He was regarded as too remote from men to concern himself about them or their affairs, and dwelt in mystery inaccessible to the human mind. Yet he was always present : never too distant not to be at last recognized. The Egyptians called him Ammon, the concealed god. Among the Semitic peoples of Asia, Chaldean, Assyrian, Canaanitic, and for the nomads of the desert, he was Il or El (the Allah of Mahomet). To the older Aryans he was Dyaus, superseded in the popular worship by Indra, the sun-god. In all polytheisms we discover this seemingly contradictory element, a dim conception of a Supreme Being back of the gods of the pantheon, universally acknowledged in spite of his remoteness, and in spite of the firm hold rival gods had upon the popular imagination. We know that the history of the Jews shows their national and political existence to have been one prolonged struggle to maintain their monotheism.

What could have been the religious creed which preceded this sun-worship ? Man could never have begun with the worship of ghosts and stocks and stones, and then risen to a conscious sun-worship. The worship of ghosts and stocks and stones could only have developed *after* man had abandoned his conscious sun-worship, in later ages of degeneration and decay. Ghost-worship and fetichism could never have been the first, but must have been the last, form of man's religious veneration. Looking out upon nature around him, primitive man selected, by an almost invincible choice, the name used for its most enduring, wide-extending, and majestic object (the sun) wherewith to express in human speech his thought of the Eternal, Omnipresent, Omnipotent Being who rules and governs the universe.

Man could never have come to the worship of false gods if he had not once

known the true God. The esoteric meaning of heathenism has but one lesson to teach: it was the human heart's prevailing sense of the existence of a Supreme Being imperfectly endeavouring to express its meaning through the multitudinous forms of error. This is the clue to guide us safely through the snarl of man's religious history, and without it all is inextricable confusion.

IS GOD RESPONSIBLE FOR ORIGINAL SIN? By LEMUEL W. SERRELL, Plainfield, N.J. (*Christian Thought*).—What is law? A rule of conduct made by a competent authority. What is the effect of every law? It shows to those under it that there is an authority to make it. It shows that there is an authority to enforce it. It shows that man cannot do as he likes. It is an instructor to compel a recognition of governmental, as distinguished from individual, responsibility. When the simple law was given to our first parents, "You must not eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil," it is evident that the Lord had a right as Creator to give the command, and that man could obey and disobey. In disobeying, our first parents obtained a new experience. No longer in a condition of implicit obedience, like the rest of creation, they discovered a new power that had not before come into action. In this act they came to a knowledge of good and evil; before they only knew good, now evil is added to their experience. They know now of the power of the Law Maker to punish, and try to hid themselves. They learn that they cannot do as they like; they are instructed in government, and take the first lesson in obedience, and that lesson is enforced by an expulsion from Eden, and a knowledge of sin.

No instruction can be received except by experience, or from others. The knowledge of good and evil had to be learned in order to step into a higher plane of existence than animal instinct. Some one had to fall or disobey to get that knowledge.

What is the difference between law and grace? Law is compulsion and punishment to the disobedient and incorrigible, and grace is a loving, earnest desire to obey, and be in harmony with the Creator: or, as it might be expressed, the law shut men in prison and compelled obedience; grace liberates, and life becomes the manifestation of loving obedience in the inmost soul to the will of God. Is God, then, the author of sin? God is the author of law, and the giver of power to obey or to disobey, and sin is original sin with every person who knows the law and disobeys. Disobedience brings experience, and happy is the man who takes the experience of others and profits by it in striving to leave sin alone. We need not go back to Adam, and lay the fault of sin on him, or on Eve, or on the serpent, or on God; the fault is nearer home, in the voluntary and known disobedience of each one. The entire law, the same as the Sabbath law, was made for man, and not man for the law. Barbarism is substantially no law. Civilization aims at perfect law, and perfect liberty in obedience to law. So Christianity aims at perfection, not by ignoring law, not by being shut up in prison so as not to be able to sin; but it aims at perfect liberty by obedience to the Divine will, written in the heart under an enlightened conscience guided by the Holy Spirit.

Original sin, then, is in ourselves. God is the author of law, not of sin. Experience from disobedience shows the soul its own needs.

THE TENDENCIES OF NATURAL VALUES. By Professor EDWARD A. ROSS (*The Yale Review*).—During its youth political economy was mainly a theory of prosperity. With Ricardo political economy became a theory of values. During the industrial revolution that came between Smith and Ricardo social values had been silently but

swiftly displacing the private values of the earlier economy. Whence come these values that prevail over such wide areas, and govern the exchanges of such vast quantities of wealth? Whose will lies behind them? How are they fixed? In what way are values determined by men's production? In what way do they determine men's economic rewards? The distribution of wealth which they effect, is it just or unjust? Thus the origin, constitution, laws, and tendencies of values become the characteristic problem of economics. Arising at the place where wants and goods mutually intercept each other, value can be mastered only by tracing the determinants of each. It involves production, seeing production shapes itself with reference to securing maximum value. It involves consumption, seeing consumption shapes itself with reference to expending minimum value. It is distribution, seeing that a value is always somebody's reward. With individual production, the producer's reward varies with the value of his product. With social production, it varies with the value of the intermediate goods or services furnished by the co-operator. Values are an order of phenomena strictly social.

The first conclusion concerning market values was that they play about certain natural values, and that these natural values are *equal to* costs of production. It was next held that these natural or normal values are *in proportion to* respective quantities of labour and uses of capital required, or, in other words, to cost of production. Articles with the same cost of production have the same value. But no sooner had a law been reached than exceptions became necessary. Group after group of actual values had to be excluded from the compass of normal or natural values. The first step, preliminary to the widening of doctrine, was to show that labour, admittedly the typical constituent of cost, is not the basis, cause, or essence of value. Jevons studied consumption, and discovered the declension of utility, and the identity of marginal utility with subjective, individual, or private value. Then the Austrians analysed the market, and found that objective, social, or market value lies between the valuations of the marginal pairs of buyers and sellers; is, in brief, practically identical with the marginal utility of the article to the marginal buyer (or consumer). With this the great enigma was explained. The earlier thinkers had sought in vain to root value in utility. But the difficulty was to say which among many utilities. The new economists said that of the marginal consumer. The marginal utility to the marginal consumer—that is, in brief, the value of a consumption good in the market. That mysterious, all-prevailing value that governs the estimations and exchanges of a million measures of a commodity offered in a hundred communicating markets, rests on a pivot; and that pivot is its putative, subjective value to the marginal buyer. This becomes the social value, and supersedes all other private values. Society determines values, but her agent is the marginal buyer. He is the price-fixer, the valuer. As supply grows, a weaker buyer fixes values; as supply shrinks, the valuation of a stronger buyer becomes the standard.

But what locates the margin on the scale of utilities? The answer has been to treat supply as demand has been treated, to endow the sellers with a scale of subjective valuations as well as the buyers. It is then easy to point out that supply is broken off when the valuation of the strongest excluded seller exceeds that of the strongest excluded buyer. But this explanation breaks down in the presence of actual conditions. The supply of the moment depends upon sellers' reserve valuations. But these, in turn, depend not, as some suppose, upon utility estimates, but on the probable course of future supply, *i.e.*, *dynamic supply*. Dynamic supply is partly fixed by the influences that determine what portion of the free productive powers of the community shall be devoted to the production of the article in question. So, if the

philosophy of demand requires the doctrine of utilities, the philosophy of supply reintroduces the doctrine of costs. Recent thinkers do not derive value directly from labour or cost, for only indirectly can cost affect labour. The thought is that with freedom of competition, perfect omniscience and mobility being supposed, human beings under the spur of self-interest will so direct their productive powers as to secure the largest possible surplus above subjective cost. The normal value of goods, freely producible, must be in proportion to the cost of the most expensive portions of their necessary and regular supply.

The upshot of all this is, that only the marginal portions of the supply of freely produced goods can any longer be held to tend toward a value proportionate to their cost. The universal conformity of values to costs, which many have supposed to hold true of all goods and services, proves to be a myth. What, then, has been and is the course of development of actual values? What has been the influence of progress upon the relation of values to costs? The competitive system has been insensibly creeping upon us for centuries, but only within the past six score years has it hastened to display its true tendencies. In this time there has been a great industrial revolution; the joint initial causes of which were the cheapening of transportation, and the introduction of the factory system, in connection with power-machinery and the division of labour, and an increase in the density of the population. The first effect of the changes was the delocalization of demand. With easy transport, effective demand is no longer domiciled with the consumer. Lower the fare, and demand travels. The effect of the delocalization of demand is to extend competition. The local producer is no longer assured of his home market. The wall that protected him from outside competition is down, his easy monopoly of supply is for ever gone. He is forced to battle with strange competitors. With the growing *extent* of competition comes a deepening *intensity*. The feasibility of production on a large scale lends a new significance to the formation of an aggregate mobile demand. In many lines it becomes possible for a single manufacturer of extraordinary talent to capture the whole field, and bar out all rivals.

The result, then, of the industrial revolution cannot be other than the exaggeration of differences. The competitive system even more critically selects, and mercilessly discriminates. The once equal it distinguishes. The once alike are sundered. The system emphasizes and exaggerates differences in advantage by ever-increasing differences in reward. This law applies to differences of advantage in nature, and differences of advantage in men, in inventive and technical ability, and in professional and artistic skill.

Our conclusion, stated broadly and without due qualifications, is, that under the present regime, men's efficiencies, and consequently their rewards, are more unequal than their exertions. Translated into the terms of value theory, this means that the disproportion between economic rewards and subjective industrial costs is steadily increasing. The course of economic theory is parallel to the course of actual values, and the common direction of both doubly justifies my conclusion that the tendency of natural value is toward slighter and ever slighter conformity to the subjective cost of the goods or services valued.

KANT'S THEORY OF CAUSATION. By Rev. C. R. BURDICK, M.A., of Oconto, Wis. (*Christian Thought*).—Kant's obscurity of style and seemingly shifting views make it difficult to ascertain exactly what his theory is. Sometimes he makes the law of causation purely subjective; at other times he makes it objective. Sometimes it is the understanding which dictates the law to nature, and again it seems to be nature

that teaches the law to the understanding: To Kant space is an affection of our subjectivity in which our intelligence compels us to locate all phenomena; time is a succession of our internal states, and measured by them. If there be no external space that we can know as such, there can be no external world that we can know, no things in themselves. If space be ideal, there can be only a world of appearances to fill space. Kant teaches that space and time have no existence independent of a self-conscious intelligence to know them; the existence of all things is contingent upon mind to know them.

Perhaps we might agree with Green that Kant's error consisted in not grasping the whole truth. If he had made the existence of the objective world dependent upon mind as the originating and motive power, if he had said it could not be without a competent mind to know, we should hardly demur from the assertion. But making the existence of the objective world dependent upon our finite minds to know it, as Kant certainly seems to do, is quite another thing. While defining time and space as ideal and subjective affections, he treats of them, much of the time, as they exist in common apprehension, for he tells us that space exists in three dimensions, and time only in one, just as the common mind apprehends them. He projects his science of mathematics into space, as if space had real objectivity. He treats of physical law as if body or substance was real and cognizable, while claiming that the world, as we know it, is but a phenomenal world. Kant's statement of the law of causation really amounts to this, that every shadow in our subjective world is caused by some pre-existing shadow. But when he admits the possibility of mathematical science, he practically repudiates his theory of space. If he had been consistent, and confined himself to the subjective world, little hurt would have been done, and little would it have booted philosophy to attempt to confute his theories. But it is a different thing when he carries his theories abroad into the objective world, and would govern the universe as a real thing in itself, which can be known, with laws issuing from the human understanding—when reason, in spite of his wondrous speculations, scorns the limit which his theory sets to her sphere; as when treating of space and time he speaks of them as real verities independent of the subjectivity; or when descanting upon the laws of nature he speaks of nature as a bundle of realities, known as things in themselves so far as known at all, and thus incontinently projects the contradictions engendered among the shadows of his phenomenal world, which environ his theory of space and time, and of the relativity and representative character of knowledge, among the eternal verities of the objective universe.

According to Kant, causation is a law promulgated by the understanding from within, creating the phenomena which it cognizes, compelling the machinery of the phenomenal world, and therefore of all that it knows as the universe, to move at its behests, or if it cannot so move, to retire to the shades of nescience as a penalty. If things in themselves cannot be brought under the law, why then their appearances must be, thus making the universe to be, not merely geocentric, but egocentric, for all the vast fabric of nature must at least appear to obey our mental dicta, even if the whole objective world be merged in the shadows of nescience.

Kant states the law of the persistence of substance very much as one would who believes that it is something in itself, the law of which can be known. From this point of persistence he affirms *a priori* that every change in the accidents of substance, every event which is the result of change, every effect must have a cause. We may learn what the cause is from experience. We are made certain of the repetition of the event by the law of the persistence of substance. That substance will remain unchanged, or that it will persist, when there is nothing outside of it to

change it, is *a priori* certain from the axiom that substance cannot change without a cause. This forms what Kant calls the regressus of cause and effect, and we know, *a priori*, that the regress must run back to infinity, or to the creative act, or Power, which set and keeps the mechanism of the universe in motion. The persistence of substance is a necessary law, without which the phenomenal world would be reduced to chaos, and Kant is undoubtedly right in putting it among the axioms of the pure reason. The trouble is, that if he has succeeded in convicting the reason of contradiction in his antinomies, he casts discredit on this and every *a priori* deduction of reason. His antinomy of causality he states thus—"The dynamic law of the persistence of substance compels us to seek for the cause of change in some other change that has gone before, and for the cause of this antecedent change in some other, and so on to infinity." This is to affirm that there is no scientific explanation of any phenomenon, except in an infinite regress of causes. This must exclude a *first cause*, and it declares that science cannot admit such a cause.

The inadequacy of this so-called law may be seen (1) in the assumption that we are compelled by scientific truth to predicate all changes in phenomena as the product of material forces. (2) In that this necessitates the conclusion that there is no other force that can operate on substance. (3) In that it denies the power of self-determination to any of the causes of phenomena.

EDUCATION IN ANCIENT BABYLONIA, PHENICIA, AND JUDÆA. By CHARLES G. HERBERMANN, LL.D. (*The American Catholic Quarterly Review*).—No part of the globe has more ancient and more memorable records than the strip of Asia that stretches from the Ægean Sea to the Gulf of Persia. None has so profoundly influenced the fortunes of mankind. For centuries before the advent of Christianity the culture and civilization of Western Asia influenced the culture and civilization of the most progressive nations of Europe, and even to-day our daily life is profoundly influenced by the races that dwelt in far remote ages between the Tigris and the Ægean. If, then, there be a vital connection between a people's civilization and its education, the learning and schools of the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Hebrews, and the Phœnicians must powerfully interest the serious student of history and philosophy.

The excavations of Layard, Botta, Rassam, George Smith, and De Sarzec, and the decipherment of the cuneiform writing by Rawlinson, Hincks, and Oppert, have revealed to us the life story of two great empires, Babylonian and Assyrian, and laid open to our astonished gaze one of the oldest, if not the oldest, civilizations of the world. The Babylonians and Assyrians, as well as the later Chaldeans, were of Semitic extraction. Their language was closely akin to the Hebrew, and their portraits suggest their relationship to the Jews. They were not, however, the original inhabitants of the country of the two rivers. Before Babylon became the capital of a great Semitic empire, the kingdoms of Sumir and Accad had flourished and passed away. Who these Sumerians were is not precisely known. Their language was agglutinative, *i.e.*, it appended to an unchangeable stem one or more transparent suffixes. Before the Semites appeared in the Euphrates Valley these Sumerians had built up a culture, had laid the foundation of the arts and sciences, of sculpture and architecture, of arithmetic and astronomy; they had collected a code of laws; they had invented and developed a system of writing. The Semitic Babylonians were illiterate, and borrowed their art, their science, their system of writing, and, to some extent, their ideas of the gods and their mythology. It is impossible, with the materials at present at command, to fix the date of the Semitic

immigration. It is clear that the Babylonians, Assyrians, and Chaldeans were three Semitic nations, each of which was at one time the ruling people of Western Asia. The first two overlapped each other both in time and space. The earliest was the Babylonian, which became an empire (perhaps) 2250 B.C., when Hammurabi, sixth king of the Zabu dynasty, conquered Iri-Aku, the Elamite king of Larsa. The earliest sovereigns of Assur call themselves *Patesi*, or priest-kings. The earliest known is Samsi-Rammon, about 1800 B.C. With the destruction of *Ninive*, 605 B.C., ends Assyria, and begins Chaldæa, founded by Nabopolassar. This empire lasted only until 539 B.C.

In the reign of Hammurabi well-developed institutions of learning must have flourished, for not only were deeds of sale and contracts of importance recorded on clay tablets, but also numerous translations were made from the Sumerian into the Babylonian language. As we descend the ages proofs of the existence of schools multiply, and also of the existence of extensive libraries, which imply readers. Assur-bani-pal (668-626 B.C.) made a collection of 80,000 clay tablets. The copying implied an army of scribes, who must have been educated in schools. Schools were plentiful in the Chaldean period. Daniel and his companions attended a school in the king's palace along with the children of the Chaldean nobles. How far education was diffused generally among the people it is not easy to say. There are facts which seem to imply a wide diffusion of the art of writing. But contracts are always drawn up by a *dupsar*, or scribe. The signatures of the contracting parties are replaced by the seal of the signer in the case of the rich and noble, or by the certified nail-mark of the less wealthy. Maspéro thinks that the common people read the simpler astrological calendars. In Sayce's opinion, some of the Babylonian libraries were for general use. Tiele thinks they were for the exclusive use of the king, his scribes and sages, for the instruction of his sons, and of the future magistrates of his empire; they also served as state archives. The extreme complication of the cuneiform system of writing makes it unlikely that it was generally known. Mastering it involved years of study. From the eighth century we find business men writing, but not in the cuneiform characters.

What, then, was the character of the temple and palace schools of Babylonia and Assyria? In the temple-school at Larsa mathematics was specially cultivated. Astrology was the favourite subject at Agade; and the Izdubar epics were chiefly studied at Uruk. The Assyrian scholar found learning to read and write a formidable task. Instead of twenty-six letters, the cuneiform has upwards of six hundred signs; and the sign sometimes stands for an idea, sometimes for a word, sometimes for a syllable, and sometimes it is not pronounced at all, but indicates that the word before which it is placed belongs to a certain class (determinatives). This complexity also made writing very difficult. Clay tablets were used, these were placed on the scholar's knees, a coating of soft clay was laid over, and on this the writing was done with a stylus having a triangular point. When the writing was done, the tablet was hardened by baking.

The school-books included fables, similar to those which we know as *Æsop's*. For riper scholars, there were the Babylonian epics, such as the legend of Ishtar's descent to hell, and the Izdubar or Nimrod epic. In most literatures poetry precedes prose. Then there were annals and chronicles. There was some attempt at geography and natural history, but under utilitarian limitations. Only such knowledge in these matters was sought as the exigencies of the complex empire demanded. Arithmetic seems to have been cultivated diligently and successfully. In geometry the progress of the Chaldeans was very moderate. Their astronomy was really

astrology. They did not think of it as a science, it was the hand-maid of divination. And yet Chaldean astrology was the mother of astronomy. They divided the year into lunar months, intercalating two months every eighth year; and they divided the week into seven days, sacred to their seven great heavenly bodies. Besides the five great planets, Jupiter's four moons seem to have been known; and they distinguished between planets, fixed stars, comets and meteors. Many groups of fixed stars were named by them, and most of the signs of the zodiac, as well as our names for them, can be traced back to the stargazers of Babylon and the land of Sumir. Architecture, jurisprudence, and, of course, religion, were also taught in the temple-schools. The documents, unfortunately, give us no glimpse of the inner life of a Babylonian school. They were probably entirely state creations.

To the old Canaanites of Tyre and Sidon we are indebted for the basis of our own education—our alphabet. The Phœnicians spread Chaldean astronomical lore, and applied it to navigation, which they taught to the Greeks and Romans. To the Tyrians and Sidonians Greece owed its first knowledge of Egyptian and Assyrian art, which the Hellenes so ennobled and perfected. These intelligent and enterprising merchants having by their adaptation, whether of the Egyptian demotic, or of the cuneiform, reduced the written symbols to twenty-two signs, made reading and writing so easy that their education could be largely devoted to the cultivation of literature and science. But a cruel doom has well-nigh obliterated all Phœnician culture. The oldest extant piece of Phœnician writing goes back to the eleventh century before Christ; but no Orientalist doubts that the art of writing was known in Tyre and Sidon long before Solomon. Some fragments translated or adapted from the Phœnician historian Sanchoniathon by Philo of Byblos, and the Greek translation of the work of the Carthaginian navigator Hanno, giving an account of his voyage along the west coast of Africa, are the chief remnants of a literature which, at one time, must have been rich in books. As we have no remains of their school-books, all we can know of their education are inferences from their culture as far as known to us. When we bring home to our minds how much intelligence was needed, and how much knowledge must have been treasured up and made common property among the Tyrians and Sidonians to achieve such results, we may without difficulty reconstruct a rude picture of the activity of the Phœnician schools.

The literature of the Jews has become the possession of the world; its sacred books, as a part of the Christian Scriptures, the guides of mankind. Jewish education is co-eval with the establishment of Israel as a nation in the land of promise. Moses, its leader and legislator, was also its historian, and the founder of its literature. The oldest monument written in the Hebrew language that has yet come to light is the inscription on the tablet in the tunnel at Jerusalem; but it was engraved centuries after the days of Moses. The Tell-el-Amarna correspondence proves, however, that the tribes which in the fifteenth century ruled Jerusalem, and other cities of Palestine, practised the art of writing. They corresponded with the Pharaoh (Amenhotep IV.) in cuneiform writing, on clay tablets, and in the Assyrian tongue. The more recent discoveries at Lachish conclusively prove that even before Moses letter-writing was practised in the Holy Land.

The Jews must have had schools almost from their entrance into Palestine. Samuel established prophet-schools. Alongside of these there were probably sacerdotal schools. The schools of the prophets gradually disappeared. Priest-schools continued to exist to the Babylonian captivity, for Daniel and his companions had been instructed in the science of their own people before they were taught Chaldean learning. To Esdras the Talmud ascribes a law enacting that as many

schoolmasters as chose should be allowed to settle in any place. Under the Maccabees education became more and more organized, and schools were connected with the synagogues. Every place counting 125 Jewish families was bound to appoint a teacher. Twenty-five boys constituted a class. If the number of pupils reached forty, the teacher was bidden to secure an assistant; if they reached fifty, the synagogue must appoint two teachers. Girls seem to have been excluded from Hebrew education. The range of studies was Scriptural; but there must have been instruction in arithmetic. The prohibition to make images was so understood that sculpture and painting were neglected, and architecture little heeded.

Two features impress us in Jewish education. In the first place, its spirit was in direct contrast to the ideas that ruled the Egyptian and Babylonian schools. In the latter utilitarianism was the Alpha and Omega of the system. The Jewish schools were built upon one idea—to rear up a chosen people for God, and to divide it from the Gentiles. In the second place, it is remarkable that this people, when its sceptre had departed from Judah, should have imposed schooling on its children as an obligation.

CURRENT GERMAN THOUGHT.

THE GOSPEL OF PETER. By Dr. THEOD. ZAHN, Erlangen (*Neue Kirchl. Zeitschrift*, 1898. Nos. 2, 3).—Dr. Zahn's paper is an exhaustive study of the newly discovered fragment. After an account of the discovery, Dr. Zahn discusses Serapion's account of the Gospel, gives the original text and a careful German translation with notes and references to other writers, and then proceeds to discuss the document as a whole under different heads. The conclusions of so eminent an authority are worth knowing.

1. The Spirit and Tone of the Book. Four striking differences from the canonical Gospels at once emerge, in the use by the writer of the first person in referring to himself, the language, a peculiar view of the relation of the public authorities to Christ's death, and a view of His person and nature which gives quite a different meaning to His death and resurrection from that of the four Evangelists. (a) Neither of the four Evangelists uses "I" or "we" in his narrative. Luke uses "I" in his preface, and John "we" in his prologue. John afterwards speaks of himself in the third person. "We" appears in certain passages of the Acts; but here no "I" occurs, nor is any name given. In the present fragment the "I" occurs twice, and "we" as often. The former is identified as Simon Peter, and the second denotes the Apostles. It is scarcely to be doubted that the complete work bore the name of Peter in its title. Of non-canonical writings, the Gospel of Marcion resembled the canonical Gospels in this respect, and probably the Gospel of the Hebrews. The Gospel of the Twelve, which probably arose about 170 A.D. in Ebionite circles of Palestine, resembles the Peter fragment in this respect. (b) Language and phraseology. In the four Gospels Jesus is ordinarily called by this personal name. He is very seldom called Lord, in Matthew and Mark never, in John also not in narrative. Luke, who had not such close personal connection with Christ's life, uses Lord occasionally. The Peter fragment never uses the name Jesus, and uses the term Lord thirteen times. It also uses Lord's (Day) of the first day of the week,

which is never done in the Gospels (*ἡ κυριακή* without *ἡμέρα*), see Rev. i. 10. The new designation begins to appear in the first decades of the second century. "The language of the Peter Gospel is not that of the first, but of the second century." There are other signs that the writer did not understand Biblical phrases. He makes Herod say before Jesus is taken away to Golgotha, "Since also the Sabbath is dawning"; this ought to mean what yet it cannot mean: "for to-morrow is the Sabbath." He occasionally substitutes classical words for those used in the Bible. The order of events is also careless. (c) According to all the canonical Gospels, Pilate takes the leading part in the condemnation of Christ. The Jews were the real authors of His death, but they worked through Pilate. No other course was possible in the political circumstances of the country. On the contrary, in Peter's Gospel, the Jews, with Herod at their head, play the chief part. Pilate takes a second place. Herod says to the soldiers, "What I have ordered you to do to him, do." Pilate washed his hands, but the opening of the fragment says, "None of the Jews washed his hands; and when some Jews wished to do so, Pilate rose up." All this is evidence of a writer with anti-Jewish feeling, and writing at a later date. (d) The fragment confirms the statement of Serapion, that it was the work of the Docetic school. It states that when the Lord was crucified, He was silent as one who felt no pain. Zahn thinks the word used (*ἥσυχος*) to have been suggested by the Septuagint of Isa. liii. 7. This contradicts the canonical accounts, where the bitter cry and the exclamation, "I thirst," testify the opposite. The fragment represents this drink as offered by the Jews, not to give ease, but to aggravate pain and hasten death. The bitter cry becomes, "Thou hast forsaken Me," the preface being, "My power, O power." The omission of the pronoun in the repetition will be noted; the Syriac version omits it altogether. As to the rendering "power," it may have arisen from a remembrance of the fact that the Hebrew word *El* (God) has also the meaning strength, strong one. Aquila translates Ps. xxii. 1 by *ισχυρὲ μου, ισχυρὲ μου*. The word used by the Syriac also probably means, "Help, help." The fragment continues, "and having said this, He was taken up," went straight to heaven. It is true we read afterwards of a resurrection and ascension; but this is because the writer seems to have two Christs in his thoughts, a heavenly and an earthly one. The heavenly one seems to be identical with the "power." The Christ still remaining on earth is called "the Lord." His body, placed on the earth, causes the earthquake. His head towers above heaven; and yet He is so weak that He needs to be supported by the angels. A voice from heaven asks, "Hast Thou preached to the sleepers?" And the answer comes from the cross (!) "Yes." It is thus the Lord, whom the "power" has forsaken, who is laid in the grave, and who afterwards rises and ascends. Whether a union again takes place between the two Christs is not said.

2. Its Sources. These are our four Gospels. There is no trace of any reference to a primitive Gospel, or any such narrative as is referred to in Luke i. 1. "The sole sources from which the Peter Gospel drew its material are our four Gospels, and indeed in a text which already had a history. Therein lies its great importance." Harnack doubts the correctness of this position, because the author is frequently in conflict with our Gospels. "But how could it be otherwise? Only on the supposition of deep dissatisfaction with the existing Gospels could a man take up the idea of writing a Gospel under the assumed name of Peter. He wished to oppose the other Gospels under the authority of the first of the Apostles, and, in place of the traditional history, to put a narrative fashioned to his own taste. The very idea of his work excludes the thought of a faithful imitation of our Gospels. Nothing but necessity and policy led this 'Peter' to follow in their track. Policy required this; for he

would have spoilt the success of his book unless his matter and words had reminded of the older Gospels. Above all, necessity compelled such a course. This poor 'Peter' knew nothing but what he had learnt from our Gospels, and he knew nothing of the historical circumstances in which Jesus had lived. Whence could he get the material for his fiction but from our Gospels? In this respect he was in the same position as Marcion, with whose Gospel the Peter Gospel was, perhaps, contemporaneous." Marcion constructed his new Gospel by bold transpositions and interpolations out of the canonical ones, especially Luke's. The apocryphal Acts bears a similar relation to the canonical Acts. So, the relation of the Peter Gospel to our Gospels is one of "slavish, beggarly dependence," while thoroughly opposed in spirit and letter. This is illustrated in detail by examples from each of the four Gospels

8. Origin and Date. "The Peter Gospel arose in Antioch about 140 or 150 A.D., some time before the beginning of the sect of the Docetæ, founded by Cassian about 170 A.D., in a circle either identical with or akin to the oriental school of Valentinus. Whereas the occidental school of Valentinus, along with the four Gospels, which they did not cease to use and comment on, combined diverse secret traditions, after their master's death, into a Gospel, the oriental Valentinians, or those akin to them, in Antioch, composed a fifth Gospel, whose author they called Peter, the 'first Bishop of Antioch.' Certainly, their intention was to destroy the supremacy of the four Gospels: they did not hesitate, in many things, flatly to contradict these Gospels. But that they meant, like Marcion about the same time, entirely to abolish them is not to be supposed. . . . The historical importance of the Peter Gospel consists above all in this, that it proves the supremacy of the four canonical Gospels to have been already established about 150 A.D. It confirms in this respect the testimony to the fact we already have in the gospel and antitheses of Marcion, the statements of Justin, the Diatessaron of Tatian, and the Acts of Leucius. But the Gospel of Peter has peculiar value, because it proves more plainly than other witnesses the existence of John's Gospel, including chap. xxi., and of Mark's Gospel, ending at chap. xvi. 8."

THE PETER GOSPEL AND THE CANONICAL GOSPELS. By Dr. H. VON SODEN (*Zeitschr. f. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1893. No. 1).—Dr. Soden, in his careful and elaborate essay, arrives at very different conclusions from Dr. Zahn. The Peter fragment, he points out, consists of two parts, which are very different in style and substance (vers. 2-24, and vers. 25-60). Examining the second part first, and comparing it with the canonical Gospels, he then tests the results arrived at by a similar examination of the first part, and finds that the two agree. His general conclusion is that the author of the Peter fragment knew Mark's Gospel, but not the three others. The coincidences with the other three are best explained on the supposition that all drew from common traditions. We give his statement of the results suggested by the examination of the second part, which treats of Christ's resurrection. "1. Peter's Gospel uses a written document, which is identical with Mark xvi. 1-8, or shorter by a few items. 2. The three other canonical Gospels are unknown to him. There are no literary relations at all between Luke and Peter. Even the oral traditions, from which both draw, touch only at certain secondary points. . . . Peter shares with John the tradition of an appearance of Jesus at the Sea of Gennesaret, &c. . . . The points of contact with Matthew are more various. But even these can only be explained by supposing that Matthew and Peter have a tradition at command, which is influenced by similar interests. . . . 3. The Gospel uses a series of traditions peculiar to it, which must be judged on their merits. 4. There are also references to other primitive Christian documents.

After a minute examination of the first part, Dr. Soden finds his conclusions confirmed. "The author cannot have had Luke or Matthew or John before him when he wrote his Gospel. On the other hand, he knew Mark, or more probably, Mark's foundation-document." The date of the Gospel is supposed to be the first quarter of the second century. Some of the peculiarities pointed out are the prominence given to the resurrection in comparison with the death of Christ, the supplanting of the name Jesus by "Lord," the identifying in time of the ascension with the death, the preaching to the "sleepers." The drift of the essay is to put the fragment on the same level as the canonical Gospels. "It owes its origin," the writer says, "to the same process as those four, and is to be judged by the same rule, although the course of development in the Catholic Church refused it a place in its canon." Several reasons are suggested for this, but they fail to explain how a Gospel, bearing the great name of Peter, should suffer this fate, if it had really been regarded as genuine.

Hilgenfeld devotes a great part of his long article in the *Zeitschr. f. wissenschaft. Theol.* (1898. No. 2) to controverting most of Zahn's positions in the article referred to above, agreeing for the most part with von Soden. There is evidently room for further investigation of the relation of the fragment to the four Gospels. Adolphe Lods, the French editor, thinks the author used at least the first two Gospels, and perhaps the third, but did not know the fourth. Hilgenfeld concludes his examination thus: "It is clearly evident that the Peter Gospel is not a wretched compilation from the canonical Gospels, but belongs to the living stream of Gospel-formation. Nor did it arise at the earliest about 180 A.D., but was much used, as I think, already in the Barnabas Epistle (about 97) and in any case by Justin Martyr." Harnack is on the same side as von Soden and Hilgenfeld.

THE BIBLE ACCOUNT OF CREATION. By Lic. Theol. STEUDE, Dresden (*Neue Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.*, 1898. No. 8).—The object of the essay is to show that the creation narrative is not to be taken literally or "historically," but as a prophetic picture, which necessarily made use of the ideas of nature current in the writer's days. Not only would an account of the world, framed according to the true Copernican theory, have been unintelligible at the time, but the anachronism would have been a powerful argument in the mouth of objectors now. The writer's chief strength is spent on the critical portion of his work, in which he is more successful than in the positive portion. In this section some of the points emphasized are as follows:—Scripture itself does not adhere strictly to the letter of the account. In Gen. ii. we have a second account differing not inconsiderably from the former one. Again, the great majority even of those who profess to accept the literal rendering really do not. The account of Gen. i. is part of a view of the world as a whole which has long been abandoned. The fixed firmament, the waters below and above, are examples of what is meant. The various hypotheses adopted in order to reconcile the account with modern science are examined in detail and with much acuteness—the deluge-hypothesis, the restitution-hypothesis, the harmonistic-hypothesis, &c. The writer thinks all the arguments used to interpret the days as periods altogether artificial. He has no doubt that the writer in Genesis meant days of ordinary length. The sole aim and value of the Scripture account is to be found in its religious teaching, and here its greatness is unquestionable. We quote some of the positive constructive teaching:—

"In no cosmogony of the ancients, as in Gen. i., is the thought worked out with such clearness and definiteness that the earth has received its present form out of a

chaotic state in a series of creative epochs and in gradual progression; and in regard to the gradation of organic life we can find anticipated in the Biblical account the main thought of the modern history of creation. Add to this the hints of the co-operation of already existing forces and germs in the creation of plants and animals, of an inner connection between the element which serves as the dwelling-place of the different classes of living beings, and their lower or higher organization in keeping with it, and of laws of development according to which already existing things are used in every further formation and are stirred up to independent activity. Further, it should be observed how Gen. i. makes progress from formless matter to more and more perfect forms to be effected by differentiation, *i.e.*, by continuous division of the different functions of the whole among the several parts. And, finally, the circumstance that man appears as the last creature, after all the rest of nature has been made, a circumstance in full accord with the most recent theories of science.

"These ideas are so striking that they have carried away modern scientists with lively admiration of the Biblical account. Thus von Baer, one of the most competent scientific authorities, speaks to this effect: 'If one will not take the Mosaic story in the strict letter, but only in its substance, one must confess that no more lofty one has come down to us from early days or can be given.' Haeckel says: 'Two great and weighty thoughts stand out before us in this account of Moses with surprising clearness and simplicity, the thought of separation or differentiating, and that of continuous development or perfecting.'" Haeckel pays a tribute of admiration to the astonishing knowledge displayed in Genesis, while refusing to acknowledge the hand of revelation in it because of two accompanying errors, the geocentric and anthropocentric ideas. Dillmann says more justly: "If the attempt were made to outline the mystery of the course of creation for man's faculty of conception, no more lofty and worthy one could be made. Rightly is this adduced as a proof of the revelation-character of this narrative; only where God was revealed in His true nature could it be composed; it is a work of the Spirit of revelation." The only question left is how this revelation, on which the Biblical account of creation depends, is to be conceived. Some have suggested a vision as the means, but there is nothing in the story to suggest this. Others ascribe the story to indirect revelation, *i.e.*, to the Divine Spirit using and perfecting traditional matter; but there seems to be much more than this. Everything seems to point to an inspired prophet as the author.

The author holds that his view of the creation-story relieves Christianity of a heavy and needless burden. The Christian apologist no longer has the task of defending an obsolete view of nature. "Christianity and the Christian are only fully set free from this yoke when it is seen that the creation-account, like the whole Bible, has its true value as a religious record. Then we may boldly say: 'Let geologists claim for the forming of the world, instead of six days, many thousands, nay, millions of years; let them suppose other and more divisions of these; let them establish another order of the separate creations, or at least put co-ordination instead of the Biblical succession; let them adopt quite other fundamental lines;—the religious truths of the Biblical account of creation are unaffected by all this. Even the question so earnestly discussed to-day, whether the distinction of classes, genus, and species in the plant and animal world came into existence at once, or formed itself in the course of time from a small number of primitive forms, or even from a single one, remains an open one, and may be left to the decision of science.'"

Another gain would be the neutralizing of many objections against the Christian

religion and the religious view of the world. "A glance into the materialist and monistic controversies shows that most of the objections against faith in a Creator start from the contradiction of a single element in the Biblical history of creation. Because one cannot acknowledge its account of nature, and because one believes that its historical character is part of Christianity, the Christian faith in the Almighty Creator of heaven and earth is rejected at the same time."

THE METHOD OF THE BIBLICAL THEOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By G. A. DREISSMANN (*Zeitschr. f. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1898. No. 2).—A student in this field may either identify primitive Christianity with the Christianity of the New Testament canon, or take into account all other early Christian writings as well. Whether he takes one or the other course makes little practical difference. If he takes the first, he will be constantly drawing illustration from extra-canonical sources; if the second, he will soon learn the transcendent superiority of the canonical sources of information. The two questions of method in discussing the subject are the pre-conditions of primitive Christianity and the extent and arrangement of the matter. Three subjects of investigation cover the whole field: (1) The moral and religious ideas of the age in which Christianity arose, and to which its Gospel was addressed; (2) the peculiar forms of primitive Christian thought; (3) its character as a whole.

1. Christianity grew out of the soil of Judaism, but soon passed into the larger field of the Greek and Roman world. Hence we need, first of all, to know the state of religious thought in both these fields. The better we know this, the better we shall understand the rise of Christianity. Perhaps some may be led to the study of these questions by the hope of being able finally to explain Christianity itself without the help of revelation. But there is no danger of such a result. "We have full confidence in the intrinsic power of New Testament ideas that the impression of their original greatness will be the result of their simple, dispassionate reproduction." Our sources of knowledge are the literature both of Judaism and of Greece and Rome down to the middle of the second century. First of all, we need to know the teaching of the Old Testament as it was understood in the first century. If we could get at the thought of a Philo, we should have about what we want. Moreover, the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, the Pseudepigrapha, and Philo and Josephus must not be neglected. The duty of studying in this respect Greek and Roman literature follows from the fact that "the literary representatives of primitive Christianity, as well as most of those to whom the Gospel was preached, lived in contact with Hellenic culture. And if it were only the one idea of the Logos, which meets us both in Greek and New Testament thought, it would be a reason for not only regarding Jewish literature, and especially the Old Testament, as the historical pre-condition of the New Testament, but for putting Plato beside Moses in the larger style of Justin and Clement. But we have an entire series of ideas, which are found as the common property of the ancients, both in the popular literature of heathenism and in the New Testament; we think of the doctrine of Providence, spirits and demons, eschatology, sacrifice, and especially the great variety of ethical ideas. That Christianity will not suffer by the proof of analogous ideas in both fields is certain. Rather it will be made plain, that the ancient world, when it offered many points of contact to the new message, entered into its *pleroma*. And we borrow this thought from the Apostle Paul. As we need to be on our guard against taking as our basis the Old Testament interpreted by the exegesis of the present, so also we should chiefly take into view those writings of ancient literature which stand nearest to the average popular thought of imperial days, especially those of the later Stoa, but not

in the first instance Plato and Aristotle. At the time, when sacred scholars were also philologists and philologists were not without sacred learning, there arose valuable works on our subject, which are forgotten or neglected. It would be worth while to revive the old, wider interest of theology in the ancient world, even from regard to the dogmatic development of the Church. We believe that history knows not merely a Hellenizing of Christianity, but also a Christianizing of Hellenism."

2. As to the peculiar forms of primitive Christian thought, three of course stand out with unmistakable evidence, the Synoptic teaching of Jesus, Pauline Christianity and Johannine. A difficulty arises as to the smaller books, *e.g.*, Peter, James, Hebrews. Is each of these to be treated as a system, as belonging to a distinct line of doctrine? We think not. "Most of the sayings of the epistles are occasional; they are meant to comfort, exhort, reprove. Even such instructive parts as that of Paul about the law cannot hide their practical character; they are not theological paragraphs, but confessions of a soul contending against the religious particularism and mechanism of its day, and on this account, though the problems perplexing us are so different, speak to us in such human, familiar tones. That the first Christian theologian had a system of doctrine cannot be denied; but from the few leaves of his preserved to us, in which he discussed the practical questions of a complex life, no theological system can be extracted. How much less from such small writings as the Catholic epistles!"

Another question is, Have we in the writings of the New Testament "the record of a theological science or of a moral and religious spirit"? No dogmatic answer can be given to this question. Both elements are present. "There is theology in the New Testament, in the Synoptical books as well as in Paul and the rest, but no theological system." "Hence it is one duty of a New Testament theologian to make clear the distinction between purely religious or ethical statements and theological. In the case of Paul, *e.g.*, it should be shown what is the gnosis of the divine and what the faith of the child of God. His attitude to Holy Writ, therefore hermeneutics and exegesis, his method of theological speculation, therefore the way in which he seeks to explain the value of the facts of redemption by the help of ideas current in the religious, legal, and moral circles of his day—this would belong to theology. In many points in his case and the rest there would be doubt where the theological interest ends and the religious begins. By such a statement of the question Paul or any one else would not be split into two; but the Pauline thought of the treasure in earthen vessels would here become a methodical principle." Many of the arguments against the genuineness of some of the Pauline writings spring from the assumption that Paul must in every case have been a dogmatist, whose statements must everywhere fit into the paragraphs of a well-articulated system. "Granted that the Apostle was also a theologian, who will tell us that an inconsequence or antinomy was impossible to him, a limit which even Dutch theologians have not yet been able to pass? To discover contradictions in a writer regarded as a doctrinaire is a small thing. But Paul is no doctrinaire, not even as a theologian, still less as a Christian."

Another distinction to be made is that between the forms of a simple, popular piety, and those of more educated leaders. "The Acts belongs partly to the monuments of the oldest popular piety, which may, perhaps, be best made plain by comparing its sayings about the 'Spirit' with those of a Paul or John; there we see plain delight in the sensibly imposing, here a refined feeling for the invisible powers of the moral." The smaller writings should be treated, not independently, but as appendices to the larger ones. "James, when it was written, had a certain inner

affinity with synoptical Christianity, the letters of Peter with Paul's, some thoughts of the Hebrews with John. By this arrangement, indeed, completeness will not be reached, such as is conceivable on the supposition that all the literary documents of early Christendom are to be viewed as the record of a gradual development of Synoptical Christianity through the Pauline Christianity to the Johannine. But this supposition is an error, which speedily becomes evident when an attempt is made to apply it in detail."

"The right arranging of individual statements will always be matter of historical tact. The most natural course is, disclaiming all dogmatic category, to seek to fix certain simple points of view, which should be taken from Scripture itself. In the Synoptists we are led at once to the thought of the kingdom of God; in Paul, and perhaps also in John, to that of the exalted Christ. To view the New Testament records as mainly practical products of moral and religion feeling will guard against the attempt to systematize in hair-splitting fashion; the more paragraphs, the more subjects on which the thoughts of the New Testament are buried alive. To hunt after the minute and mysterious is the custom of Rabbinism in synagogue and church; but the evangelical inquirer ought not to treat the New Testament as the men of New Testament days did the Old Testament."

8. The summing up of primitive Christian faith, as a whole, is assigned by some to Biblical dogmatics in distinction from Biblical theology, the former being regarded as "systematic," the latter as "historical." But what is the value of dogmatics that is not historical? There is unity, harmony, connection in the doctrines of the early faith. But this unity is not to be sought, and will not be found, by insisting on any sort of outward authority, but in the nature of the doctrines themselves. "Thus we believe we are right in asserting a unity to exist in the variety of the classical records of primitive Christianity. Certainly not uniformity! This conviction is just as much a protest against the effort to comprehend those several forms of thought by the scheme of conflicting antagonism as against all harmonizing of actual differences. It seeks to take, so to speak, a middle path."

"The work of the carpenter's saw will show no uniformity. We see pith, wood, sap, and protecting rind, and again in the wood the gradually growing annual rings, and yet we see unity. Certainly this part of the work requires much self-denial. Where we wish to unite things, we can oft only compare; where we would affirm confidently, we can oft only suggest. The main methodical difficulty is perhaps the selection of points of view by which to judge. We shall be compelled to adopt the simplest, such as God, man, sin, Christ, salvation. And yet the task is not hopeless. Although the forms of the purely religious consciousness in their great diversity present difficult problems, it will be all the easier to understand the more ethical ideas in their comparative uniform character. There needs no proof that this comprehensive statement is the crown of the whole. Such a statement will make perhaps the impression of incompleteness; and those only ought to attempt it whom Schleiermacher calls the 'virtuosos of a subject.' Perhaps one of the marks of a virtuoso is, that the more one learns history, the more difficult it becomes to teach history. We conceive that in dealing with the matter of the New Testament lies an occasion for self-judgment, and find ourselves thrown on a problem, since our subject is one of method, without the solution of which no other method avails. We mean *the personal attitude of the New Testament theologian to his matter*. We are very far from joining in the cry of those who in their zeal call the modest dulness of every sincere seeker godlessness, and extol suppression of judgment as the highest degree of humility. But we demand that a man stand in personal relation to that which he has to expound.

The New Testament theologian has not to solve chronological, diplomatic, and archaeological problems; but to inquire what men, *ὑποκρίθεις* with himself, believed and knew, loved and hoped. Therefore his science, free from prejudgment as it is, has one prejudgment: the inquirer must be capable of understanding moral and religious life in history."

CURRENT DUTCH THOUGHT.

NOTES ON ERNEST RENAN. By Dr. M. A. N. ROVERS (*Bibliotheek van moderne Theologie en Letterkunde*, 13^{de} dl. 8^{te} st., 1898).—Seldom has a man been so variously judged after his death as the man whose name stands at the head of this article. Reviled by some, he has been idolized by others. Former companions in the faith called him an apostate, an atheist, Antichrist in proper person, while in the eyes of certain freethinkers he was a sacred and wise being whose departure ought to be deplored by the whole of mankind. On one point, however, all were agreed: as a stylist Renan is unexcelled; in the art of writing he was the great master. Highly favourable was the sentence pronounced upon him in a few English liberal journals. His *History of the Origins of Christianity* was called a drama of human life that irresistibly fascinates the reader. The first part of it should be looked into every year in holiday time; some passages cannot be read too often; those, for instance, in which the Gospel is recommended as a *sursum corda*, as the best antidote to the monotony of everyday life. Renan was compared to Balaam: engaged to curse by his philosophy, but quickened to bless by the impulse of his generous heart.

No one will deny that Renan has worked as few have done. Study was already the passion of his youth. The superior of one of the seminaries which he attended, seeing that he far outshone all the others, gave him permission to sit up later than his fellow-students. Renan was a philologist, a philosopher, and a historian. He is best known by his *History of the Origins of Christianity*, in seven volumes, published between 1868 and 1882, which was followed by his *History of the People of Israel*. With the correction of the proofs of the last part of the latter work he was busy quite shortly before his death. It was his ideal to be able to complete these two works upon which he had laboured for nearly thirty years. Then, like the aged Simeon, he could take leave of life with a *Nunc dimittis*.

Many will recollect the astonishing success of the *Vie de Jésus*. What a commotion! In the Senate it was fruitlessly contended that the circulation of such a godless book should be forbidden. Many copies were burned in the Papal gardens. Hundreds of pamphlets saw the light, for the most part directed against this product of unbelief. Fifteen times was it reprinted, while a popular issue ran through twenty-one editions. In the following parts of the *Origins* the great public showed little interest. None of these six books was ever reprinted. Perhaps one of the causes of this was, as has been asserted by some, that the second and third parts ("The Apostles" and "St. Paul") were the least satisfactory of the whole.

It is an entire mistake to call Renan a radical critic. Among the sources of his *Vie de Jésus* he included also the fourth Gospel. Although at a later period he did not ascribe this Gospel to John, it nevertheless, according to him, had arisen under the influence of the dialogues which the Apostle held with his followers at Ephesus. As regards the chronology of the events of the life of Jesus, it stands higher in

Renan's eyes than do the Synoptics. He regarded Luke as the author of the third Gospel and of the Acts, and he held the first Epistle of Peter to be genuine, written in the year before the martyrdom of this Apostle at Rome in the year 64.

Renan calls the critical method followed by him *la méthode intermédiaire*, in contradistinction to the overdriven scepticism of the liberal Protestant school. If he shrinks from the criticism which employs all its resources to defend texts long ago discredited, he regards as not less dangerous the exaggerated scepticism which rejects *en bloc* and *a priori* all that Christianity has to tell as to its first beginnings. In the writings of Renan such expressions are frequently to be met with as "it is possible," "it may be," "it appears." But apart from all cavilling, the *History of the Origins of Christianity* is a work that testifies to much study and to pre-eminent gifts. Although it must be confessed that he has frequently given free scope to his imagination, and allowed himself to be too much led by his likes and dislikes, still it is wrong to refuse, as some have done, to give Renan a place among historians.

In the opinion of Renan, Paul in the last years of his life had become a mystic and a speculative theologian. He calls him one of the most dangerous enemies of civilization. When the human mind, however, obtains the upper hand Paul will vanish—that which will be the triumph of Jesus will be the death of Paul. Renan's character sketches display the hand of a master. Witness, for instance, his picture of Domitian in *The Gospels*, chap. xii. If Domitian was the worst, in Renan's eyes Marcus Aurelius was the most righteous, the most perfect of all men. Renan predicts that the emperor's work will maintain its freshness for ever. In his *Thoughts* there lies embodied an eternal gospel. His religion is the absolute religion, which belongs to no sea or land. No revolution, no progress shall ever be able to alter it one whit. It is as if this emperor had read Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*! It is hard to say sometimes whether Renan writes in earnest or in jest.

The *History of the People of Israel* has not been favourably reviewed either in Holland or in Germany. Renan's extolling of the "primitive Elohimism" is, according to Kuenen, fantastic, and the use he has made of the sources is arbitrary. Professor Siegfried thinks that Renan is entitled to nothing more than the applause of the *schellenlauten Thoren* who write in the Parisian newspapers. Comparisons such as these: Hosea is a pamphleteer, Amos an uncompromising journalist, Ezekiel a Victor Hugo, and such like, show, in the opinion of the Jena professor, that Renan had not taken up his task in earnest. If his second book had been written first it would have had more success. But Renan's *History of Israel* is cast into the shade by the *Origins*, which preceded it.

Starting with the midnight cry *Je doute*, Renan became by degrees a sceptic—a sceptical believer, it may be, or a believing sceptic. With the old Preacher of Israel, the sceptic *par excellence*, he was quite enraptured. The Preacher is, according to him, the only person among the Jews who has written a *livre aimable*. On the day when in doubt he exclaimed "all is vanity," he was indeed wise.

In his last book, entitled *Feuilles détachées* (1892), he puts the question: Is there a central conscience, a soul of the universe? And he answers that its existence cannot be proved, but that just as little can the contrary. Of the eternal we know nothing. The universe that we do know is not governed by a living, working God; but does He not exist beyond? So far as we know, the laws of nature are never abandoned, but it does not follow from that that this will never take place. It is as foolhardy to deny as it is to affirm the existence of a God who does not reveal Himself in our universe. If God exists, He must be good, and He will end in being righteous.

The two great postulates of human life—God and the immortality of the soul—are perhaps true *à la limite de l'infini*. What counsel does Renan give to the thinker? "The most logical attitude with regard to religion is to act as if it were true. It is necessary to behave as if God and the soul existed." After such like expressions one would certainly not have expected Renan to address a prayer to the heavenly Father, whom he thanks for the beautiful life with which He had favoured him.

At the close of his *Origins* Renan cast a glance into the future, and he forecasts that without doubt Jesus will occupy a great place therein. The Sermon on the Mount remains the perfect law-book in the kingdom of God. Christianity will continue in all ages to show the way how to protect the weak. And there must always be an institution to give nourishment, comfort, and counsel to the soul. Otherwise, and especially to women, life would not be worth living.

From his latest work it also appears that the future of science is assured. Mistakes are only temporary. But there are, nevertheless, evil days in store. It is certain that morality will decline, that self-sacrifice will almost disappear in order to make room for egoism. But all the same science will go on with its revelations in a way that will astonish humanity.

The consciousness of sin was wholly unknown to Renan. As he cast a backward look upon the life that lay behind him, he felt contented with himself. Although not perfect, he had always been a "*très honnête homme*," and life had afforded him much pleasure. As to the judgment of posterity, Renan believed that five centuries hence justice will be done to his memory. And as to his own future abode, having been threatened with hell, he preferred that to annihilation, but nevertheless he saw a way of escape from it. More than anywhere else, Renan felt himself attracted to purgatory—a melancholy and enchanting place. For him paradise had no attractions, being a monotonous place where he would of necessity be wearied.

Can Renan lay claim to the name of an earnest writer? We would prefer to give no definite answer to this question. Here and there we perceive the language of the mocker, the worldling, the sensualist—most of all in his later works. "Two souls, alas! dwell in my breast"—to no one was this saying, perhaps, more applicable than to Renan. Of this we have from himself the following testimonies:—"I am a tissue of contradictions"; "In me the one half seems to be busy eating up the other"; "One part of me sometimes laughs while the other cries"; "As there are two beings in me, one of them is always satisfied." His fickleness, vanity, and mockery offend us, while in other respects he irresistibly attracts us. When doubt became too powerful for him he left the seminary where he had received his training for the priesthood. But long after he had broken with the Church he continued to speak reverently of the teachers of his youth.

At his grave Renan's colleagues in the *Collège de France* spoke of his uprightness, disinterestedness, and equity. Noteworthy too is the praise accorded to him by the Rev. Etienne Coquerel in *Le Protestant*, in whose opinion Renan has transferred religion from the shadow of the sacristy to the study of the learned, and thereby rendered incomparable service to France, for which he merits the sincere thanks of every religious person.

In the history of the civilization of the latter half of this century a prominent place will certainly be allotted to Ernest Renan.

THE APOSTLESHIP OF PETER. By Prof. N. J. HOFMEIJER (*Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede*, June, 1898).—We cannot name Peter without also thinking of the Twelve. He belonged to their number. They were destined to be the twelve patriarchs of the Israel

which was to be renewed by the Spirit of God. The number twelve was an indication of this calling, which Jesus Himself most plainly expressed when He sent them as preachers of the Gospel to the Palestinian Jews, with the strict injunction to go neither to the Samaritans nor to the heathen. In all His works God has a fixed course, a holy order. First of all must Israel obtain entrance to the kingdom of heaven established upon earth by Jesus Christ: thereafter, through Israel, the Samaritans and the heathen. And before Israel could embrace Jesus Christ as its Lord, it was necessary that the Twelve should have personal intercourse with Him, and by baptism of the Holy Ghost become participators of the new life that He came to impart to humanity. The choice of the Twelve was one of the most important acts of the Lord. It testifies of the Divine wisdom that was impressed upon all that He did in the days of His flesh. Not from among the priests or the learned, but from among the simple, pious people did Jesus choose His disciples. They received no artificial training, but in a childlike way, and little by little, they took on the impression of Jesus' personality. At the same time each remained an original and independent character. Although belonging to the lower and uneducated classes, they were all men of good parts. They were the quiet ones in the land, with whom the future of Israel, and indeed of the world, was bound up.

Peter was by nature the chief man among the Twelve. In every society that is called upon to take united action there will always be one who, by his peculiar character and gifts, will become the leader among the brethren. Such a leader was Peter. He was ardent of spirit, and could not wait behind others, when in the name of all a word was to be spoken or a deed to be accomplished. He had an open mind and a clear view, and knew—especially after the baptism of the Spirit—under the impression of the moment, the right word to speak and the right act to perform. He it was who, in the name of all, first confessed that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the living God; who, on the day of Pentecost, at once proclaimed Jesus Christ to the people; and who, against the Jewish council, maintained the rights of conscience. There must have been something in his tone and bearing which gained him the respect of opponents and the trust of friends. He was just such a man as the circle of the Apostles had need of—ready and resolute, courageous and persevering. Peter had, however, just through his ready and ardent character, made so many mistakes that his fellow Apostles would not have trusted themselves to his leading if they had not noticed the change that took place in him after his deep fall. That he was now led by the Holy Spirit to a more intimate fellowship with Jesus Christ, and had become the rock upon which others might venture to trust themselves in stormy days. He was not looked up to as a leader of the flock out of obedience to a command of the Lord; but he was followed as the result of the free recognition of the gifts which fitted him above the others to be the leader of an inexperienced community. And Peter himself did not seek to lord it over his brethren, but he sought to serve them in love.

We have alluded in a word to the calling of the Twelve. It was in a special manner the calling of Peter, and therefore the Scripture calls him the Apostle of circumcision. According to the testimony of Scripture, Israel was the field in which Peter was called to labour. His apostolic career begins at Jerusalem, and ends at Babylon, a town in which foreign Judaism flourished greatly. Just as Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, moved gradually westwards, until at last he reached Rome where he laboured without hindrance for two years; so Peter, the Apostle of the Jews, felt attracted towards the east, until he took up his abode in Babylon. The Gospel that Peter preached to Israel was very simple. It was born of his own experience. It was the testimony that the Crucified One had risen from the dead, and is

set down at God's right hand as Israel's Lord, and that whosoever believes in Him receives forgiveness of sins and the gift of the Holy Ghost. If the people would only embrace Jesus Christ as their Lord, then the happy days would dawn of which the prophets had foretold. All that distinguished the believing Israelites from their fellow-countrymen was baptism and the Lord's Supper. As genuine Israelites, they were exemplary in the observance of the Israelitish religion.

When the leaders of Israel refused to believe in Jesus Christ, condemned Stephen to death, and persecuted the Church at Jerusalem, Peter might think that for the present at least the Apostleship of the Twelve was not likely to reach its great aim or to fulfil its high destiny. He resolves, however, hoping against hope, to remain at his post; his loving heart will endeavour to the utmost to preserve Israel. It was for Israel a melancholy sign that the Gospel which was cast out from Jerusalem, in the person of Stephen, obtained great success in Samaria, where Philip, the companion of Stephen, laboured. Samaria was the bridge between Israel and the Gentiles. God's glory began to pale at Jerusalem and to transfer itself in the direction of the heathen. Peter and John, following the pillar of cloud, went to the Samaritans in order to complete what Philip had left unfinished. But they soon returned to Jerusalem. They durst not leave the beloved city until the Lord had given them an unmistakable signal to do so. This signal was not long delayed. When James was beheaded, and Peter only escaped the same fate by the intervention of an angel, he perceived that Jerusalem was no longer a place for the Apostleship of the Twelve, so he departed, and left the Church there in the hands of James, the brother of the Lord. Is, then, the calling of the Twelve as Israel's Apostles a failure? It appears so; but so also did the work of Jesus appear to have been idle when His people put Him to death, and yet the glorious revelation of His Kingship commenced immediately after His resurrection from the dead. Be that as it may, the centre of gravity of the history of God's kingdom, at any rate for a time, was transplanted from Jerusalem to Rome. While Paul binds together his rich sheaves from among the heathen, Peter is content to gather a few ears from among the Israelites. He does not envy Paul, but with Christian magnanimity applies himself to the communities in his vicinity which had been founded by Paul and his followers, and endeavours to confirm them in the grace in which they stand.

This brings us to speak of Peter in his relation to the heathen. It was a sad moment for Peter when instead of leading Jerusalem to embrace Christ he was obliged to flee from it for his life. He was himself essentially an Israelite, and did not see how the heathen could embrace Christ except by way of circumcision and the law—thus becoming one with Israel and abandoning their own nationality. It was in opposition to these deep-rooted Israelitish thoughts that Peter was called upon to preach to the heathen. And when under this preaching the Holy Spirit was imparted to the uncircumcised Cornelius, God, by this very fact, cast down the wall of separation which for centuries had stood between Israel and the heathen. This event was brought about not less for Israel's sake than for that of the heathen. God wished the Israelitish community to learn not to hinder the heathen from accepting Christ without being circumcised and without subjecting themselves to the law of Moses. Therefore this Divine revelation happened to Peter, the most appropriate man in the whole Israelitish community. And yet the faithful Jews at Jerusalem disputed with him because he had eaten with Cornelius, and so had wiped out the distinction between Jew and Gentile. Not Apostles or believers from Jerusalem, but foreign Jews, were the founders of the first Christian community from among the heathen at Antioch.

Peter continued to work among the Israelites. He remained the Apostle of the circumcision. He did not share the prejudices of the faithful Jews against the Gentile Christians, but he never felt altogether at home among the Gentiles. It was natural that the twelve Apostles who had associated with Christ upon earth should think of Him principally in His relation to Israel—as Israel's Lord. Paul, on the contrary, had seen Jesus as the Lord of glory, and thought of Him in His relation to the whole creation. As the firstborn of all creatures, Jesus Christ was not less the head of the nations than of Israel. Paul saw farther than Peter or James. He saw the Israelitish community declining, and the community from among the Gentiles taking its place. The salvation of the world, even the future salvation of Israel, depended upon the Gentile Church. Therefore he glories in being the Apostle of the Gentiles, and cheerfully devotes his life, under all sorts of dangers, to them. However, although Peter had neither the calling nor the gift to see into things so deeply as Paul did, he nevertheless defended the freedom of the Gentile Christians, and extended the hand of a brother to Paul with magnanimous recognition of his superior attainments. In his first Epistle he is not ashamed to use many expressions which he had borrowed from the writings of Paul. It is noticeable that as Peter felt himself more and more drawn to the Church of the Gentiles, so the disciples of Paul readily cultivated friendship with him. When he wrote his first Epistle Sylvanus was by his side. His Epistles are a call from the ever-lessening, faithful Israel to the Gentile Church to continue to stand on the foundation upon which God, through their Apostle, had established them.

The old Catholic Church did not understand this call. It did not even know that Paul, and not Peter, is the Apostle of the Gentile Church. While in the Scriptures we last hear of Peter at Babylon in the east, the old Church fables of a year's work by Peter at Rome even call him the founder and first bishop of this Church. This does not surprise us. From the Epistles of Peter and other apostolical writings it appears that after the self-righteous Pharisaism had, under the influence of Paul, been banished from the Gentile Church, its freedom ran the risk of degenerating into licentiousness. Instead of being led on account of that and other dangers to a deeper conception of the doctrine of grace as preached by Paul, the Church gradually returned, after the death of the Apostles, to the first principles of the Old Testament. It sought its support in legal definitions, in official authority, and in a fixed and restricted church-order. The outward authority by which bondmen are ruled took the place of the power of the Holy Spirit by which free sons are led. But Paul and his followers were far ahead of their time. It was necessary for the Church to be educated for centuries before the doctrine of free grace came to be recognized as its basis, and expressed and adopted in confessions and formulas.

Peter was not a theologian, but in the best sense of the word a hierarch. His destiny was not to press through to the principles which explain the movements of practical life, but courageously to lead the Church onward in the early days of its existence. And yet we cannot dispense with Peter. Just as Paul teaches us the importance of holding fast by just principles, Peter reminds us that the confession of these principles must be accompanied by an orderly and holy life. What a difference there is between the two men! Paul felt it necessary first of all to prepare the soil in which practical life takes root: Peter is through and through, from beginning to end, practical. In Paul one recognizes the expert pupil of Gamaliel; in Peter the knowing fisherman of Galilee. Paul reasons, Peter acts. Paul is governed by his enlightened understanding, Peter by his warm heart. And yet they were not mutually antagonistic. The Holy Spirit interferes with no one's idiosyncrasies, but

rather sanctifies them. The Church has need of deep thinkers as well as of practical workers. Only one thing is indispensable: that every one, in fellowship with Christ, should learn to seek not their own good, but the good of their neighbour and the honour of God.

CURRENT SCANDINAVIAN THOUGHT.

THE SALT OF THE EARTH AND THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD. By MORTEN PONTOPPIDAN. —Under the title of *Frit Vidnesbyrd* the Director of Copenhagen High School has started a small fortnightly periodical of which, in the meantime at least, he purposes being both author and editor. Hr. Pontoppidan feels that he has a message to deliver to his countrymen, and this appears to him to be the only possible means of reaching them. From the sort of manifesto which occupies the first number the following paragraphs are taken.

There has not been transmitted to us a single written line from the hand of Jesus. What He wished to impress upon men's hearts He did not lay down in books, but wrote it deeply in His disciples' souls. He knew that this was the surest and best way of securing the spread of His message among men and its transmission to later generations. If Jesus had laid weight upon the transmission of a definitely formulated creed, it would have been expedient for Him to have propounded this creed Himself in writing. But it does not seem as if He sought to exercise the slightest influence upon which and how many of His words and thoughts should be committed to writing. No, He wrote upon the fleshly tables of the heart, and in this way He wrote best, not only for all who were then living, but also for their posterity. He wrote upon tables of flesh—spoke fresh and warm words to the heart, there sowed His seed, scattering it abroad with both His hands, let it grow as it would, and trusted that it would return again and even multiply.

In this way there came, as the result, something better than books. There came men—men whose development was the fruit of His word, men of His own stamp, men who themselves could speak and work in His spirit, men in whom He Himself lived on. It was an absolute good that Jesus did not spend His time in writing. If He had done so He would have left behind Him His collected works, but He would not have left Peter and Andrew, James and John, and all the rest. These men would have died unheard of as fishermen in Bethsaida. They certainly would not have been what they now are: in a sense they would never have existed, and the world would have been the poorer without them. As a recompense there would have been a book written by Jesus' own hand and containing His teaching—a book which without doubt would have been found in every library and been greatly admired among students; but its contents would have been classed by the generality of mankind among the learned and curious matters with which only a few can occupy themselves.

If all the Apostles had become authors of the school of Christ, and had further developed His teaching in book after book, it is possible that the world would have possessed a literature that would have far outshone our poor New Testament, which only offers us crumbs from the rich table spread by these great spirits for their con-

temporaries. It would, perhaps, have been possible to point to this row of works, and say: "Truly, light is burning there." But one might also have had to add: "It burns, however, under a bushel." For it is not by any means books, it is not thought-out systems of doctrines, let them be ever so perfect, that are the light of the world. No; men, persons, characters, types—these are the light of the world. That which shall lighten humanity, so that it shall find its way, must take shape in flesh and blood. It must be a bit of humanity itself, and not a bit of theology.

In the history of the world the great and the little stars, and the milky way of shining spots, have not in any degree been made up of learned theologians, or of mighty prelates; but rather of the poor in spirit, the mourning, the humble, the hungering and thirsting after righteousness, the merciful, the pure in heart, the peace-makers, the persecuted for righteousness' sake, those who are mocked and spoken ill of falsely. It is such as these who have been the salt of the earth and the light of the world.

Twelve new types of humanity was the legacy left by Jesus on the earth, types mutually different, but all formed after His own original pattern. It was in this way that He was to become the new Adam, the fundamental type for coming generations of men, through century after century, until our own days. But some say that this is all past and gone, that the results which flowed from His person have now almost ceased, that the story of Jesus Christ is in reality out of date. I think, on the contrary, that if ever the moment arrives when Jesus Christ ceases to stand forth as the sustaining type of renewed human life, when He steps back and is superseded by a greater, that moment, to say the least, lies beyond the horizon of the present generation, and belongs to the economy of another time of which we have no conception. Nineteen centuries are nothing. Even now we merely stand on the threshold, and still come far short of a full knowledge of this Son of Man and of His importance for the race.

The notion that the story of Jesus has been told out rests upon a complete misunderstanding. The prospects of ecclesiastical orthodoxy are dark: that may be readily conceded. But the question how far the person of Christ continues to be a living power, the question whether the influence of His presence continues to be felt in the midst of humanity, cannot be answered by statements as to the number of men who believe or accept specific articles of doctrine. No, the question is: Where are people of the type of Jesus to be found, men in whose life and work the influence of Jesus is the moving force, men who live upon what He has said and are drawn by His example, men in whom His idea as to a kingdom of God lives and seeks to become flesh and blood? Those who are of Jesus' spirit, they are His. They make up the number of His disciples for the time being—let them in other respects believe what they will. Their yea or nay to one or another fixed dogma is not what decides the matter. It may be said that a man's theology is un-Christian, but I say that the man himself may be thoroughly Christian for all that. Take him and tear him into a hundred pieces, or grind him to powder in a mortar, and you will probably find that every atom of him is a fragment of a Christian. I say again that if the question is whether or not Jesus has still disciples in the present day, it cannot be answered by a statistical report as to how many adhere to a confession of faith, but it will be decided by the fact whether or not there is sufficient salt in the world to prevent it from becoming wholly and utterly corrupt.

There is need for salt, and so much has lost its strength and taste in these days that salt should not lose it. The testimony as to God, whether in word or work, must not be allowed to lose its force. The testimony from our national pulpits is far from satisfactory. I regret that the pulpit of the Danish National Church—the

pulpit of Mynster, Grundtvig, Martensen, and Hostrup—is apparently on the point of losing its ancient prestige. People of a certain sordid lay-preacher type are almost the only ones who in the main obtain a hearing. This is the simple and necessary consequence of the fact that in the pulpit the testimony is not free. Ten years ago there were hundreds of Danish priests who called out for freedom as a necessary condition of existence. Since then there has been silence. The power seems to have gone out of the movement as out of so much else in our time. I who stand in the open market-place and preach, salute my brethren under the rafters and ask: Have you gone to rest and no longer desire a little freedom, or will you try again? Are you merely waiting for an opportunity to demand the untying of your bonds? I cannot refrain from hoping that the latter is the case; but whether this hope is disappointed or not, happen what may to the ancient and venerable pulpit, one thing I dare say, and that is: The testimony as to God shall not be withheld from the Danish people. Either in one way or in another, either through one witness or through another, it will find its way and become a light that does not burn under a bushel, but one that is set upon a candlestick and so gives light to all.

FIRE AS A SYMBOL. By Rev. Dr. R. VOLF (*Theologisk Tidsskrift for den danske Folkekirke*, vol. ix., pt. 3, 1893).—As the most active of the four elements, fire has from time immemorial been looked upon as one of the fundamental forces of existence. In the cosmogony of Heraclitus fire plays the chief part as the fundamental force of all things. From fire springs water and earth, and these return again to fire in an unceasing rise and fall. In Persian culture fire also plays a chief part, along with magical words and songs, in the driving out of wicked spirits, and the cleansing of men from their infection. But while fire is thus in heathendom regarded as an independent power, creating or upholding, it is seen in Israel as an expression of the being of the living God, and therefore as a symbol of Him. As everything that exists is created by God, so must everything, as a whole, bear witness of Him. God is a Spirit, and the nature of this Spirit is expressed in these two definitions: "God is light," and "God is love." Therefore God creates the light as well in the world of mind as in that of matter; and the light becomes also fire which warms, dissolves, and consumes, whether it proceeds directly from the sun or is united with the other elements. While fire is seen as a symbol of God's being, the various activities of fire indicate the different manners in which God's being is made manifest to men.

The first trace of the revelation of God by fire is in Genesis iii. 24, where the sword which, along with the cherubim, prevents entrance to paradise, is called a flame, and so a fire. The glory of the Lord is as a fire which keeps all that is unholy at a distance from it. A similar spectacle meets us in Ezekiel i. 18, in the lamp-like fire that went up and down among the cherubim and sent forth lightning. God surrounds Himself with creatures who gather to themselves nature's mightiest forces, and serve Him with them. Of this fire which surrounds the throne of God, Ezekiel tells that the man clothed with linen was commanded to take a handful and scatter it over the city. This is the symbol of the fire of judgment: the fire and brimstone that rains upon the ungodly.

God is not only surrounded by a fire, but the glory of His Divinity—*doğa*—shows itself in the form of fire. The symbol of this is the altar in the heavens. Like as the altar in the sanctuary upon earth is the symbol of God's nearness to those who worship Him, so does its prototype in the heavens signify that God is holy, and therefore will cleanse all by the glow of His spirit. Consequently we read in Isaiah of

seraphim taking a live coal from the altar in the heavens in order therewith to cleanse the lips of the prophet.

Even the manifestation of God is often accompanied with fire. So in Gen. xv. 17, "a smoking furnace and a lamp of fire," a symbol that it is God who walks between the pieces of the offering, to show to Abraham that He will be for His people a light in the darkness of adversity. But if God is surrounded by a fire that excludes all that is unholy, this fire must become a fire of judgment to His enemies. "Fire is kindled in mine anger" (Deut. xxxii. 22). "The light of Israel shall be for a fire, and his holy one for a flame; and it shall burn and devour his thorns and his briars in one day" (Isa. x. 17).

The great typical symbol of the fire of judgment is Mount Sinai; for as this mountain at the giving of the law shows itself to the people as smoking with fire, so the God who gives the law reveals Himself as a consuming fire as regards all who refuse to keep this law. But while God's fire in this way becomes the fire of judgment upon all that is unholy, it becomes a protecting fire for all that is holy, and therefore for His people. And so the Lord's angel followed Israel in its wanderings through the desert encompassed with a luminous cloud which lightened up the darkness of the night, and enabled the people to move onward both by night and by day. And the new Jerusalem is seen to be surrounded with a wall of fire as a symbol that nothing that is profane will be able to force its way into it.

On the other hand, it is stated in 1 Kings xix. 22 that the Lord was not in the fire. It is hereby meant that this revelation is only temporary, and that it is not the final revelation, which is accomplished by the still small voice of the Gospel. Fire can only pave the way, it cannot create life. No one through fire alone can see God. God is not only the consuming fire of holiness; but the other side of his *ðæða* is the fire of love in His heart. Love, too, is a fire—a flame which many waters cannot quench.

Our prayers and thankofferings have their origin in the burnt offering and the offering of reconciliation. This is the thought that lies at the basis of every offering that men bring to God. Only through the fire that sanctifies can the sinner approach to God, "for every one shall be salted with fire." This fire of God He now also wishes to kindle in men's hearts. Being created in God's image, man, from his very nature, carries a spark of this fire within him. It burns as the fire of zeal in the human breast, or as the fire of anger, or as the fire of lust. The tongue also is a fire, lit either from the fire of hell or from the fire of God's altar. The means whereby this fire of God is transferred to men is the Spirit. It was the Holy Ghost who at Pentecost gave the Apostles tongues as of fire. From this it may be seen that it was a fire from heaven that glowed in their hearts, and thus a fire that burns up that which is wood and stubble, but purifies that which is gold and silver.

It is a question what the Baptist meant by the words, "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." Is it an explanatory addition, so that the fire and the Spirit are one, or is the fire something different from the Spirit? In the latter case the thought is this: He who will not permit himself to be baptized of the Spirit will be baptized with fire—namely, the fire of tribulation and judgment. This is the sense in which the matter is understood by Keil, Weiss, Grimm, and others. In support of this exegesis Matthew xx. 22 is quoted, where the baptism spoken of must be the baptism of fire. But the thought of a baptism of suffering must also be admitted, as Matthew xx. 22 cannot refer to the fire of judgment. And with what right is the expression "baptized" identified with the more natural phrase, "cast into the fire," that so often occurs? It appears to be quite unnatural to translate *æl*

as "either—or." Godet points out that *ἐν* must have been repeated before *πυρ*. He even looks upon spirit and fire as two sides of the same thing. Kübel draws attention to the fact that *ἐν πυρ* is wanting in Mark and John. It is probable that fire stands as a supplemental observation to *πνεῦμα*, while the fire represents the spirit's double-sidedness—the purifying, and thereby *eo ipso* the condemning fire. The man who is baptized with the Holy Ghost is so baptized in order that he may be purified by this Spirit. That a man who grieves the Holy Spirit thereby condemns himself to the fire of judgment is the necessary consequence of his action; for the tree that will not bear good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire.

Of a kindred nature is Luke xii. 49: "I am come to send fire on the earth, and what will I if it be already kindled?" This passage is often applied in sermons to the fire of the Spirit, as if the Lord referred to the miracle of Pentecost. This, however, He does not do directly. Preachers should be on their guard against reading into a text what it does not itself contain, since otherwise poor service is rendered to the truth and a weapon is placed in the hands of its opponents. Passages of Scripture cannot be too carefully studied in relation to their contents and context before they are applied. This practical consideration will also involve the conscientious writing out of every sermon, for who is so completely master of the Scripture that he can extemporize an exposition and be certain that he has apprehended the thought of his text clearly and fully in all its aspects? A word such as the one under discussion gives special occasion for these observations, for if a man lets himself be misled by hasty thinking into mistaking the fire for the fire of the Spirit, he misses the profound significance of the whole passage. Godet looks upon fire here as a fire of conflict. To designate anger and the consequent strife as a fire is indeed common; and, in fact, the Lord is thinking of a strife that will spring up upon the earth. But how does the thought of conflict fit into the context? In what precedes the Lord has warned His disciples to be faithful in their service as against the thought of His coming again and the day of reckoning. He foresees that in this day He will find both faithful and unfaithful servants. And now He becomes dismayed at the thought of the fire that will arise in all directions wherever He calls men to His service and to the preparation for His coming. The fire is thus a fire of tribulation, through which His kingdom is to be built up and completed. When Dr. Skat Rørdam reminds us that this fire began to be lighted at Pentecost he is perhaps right, but not in the sense that the fire was directly the fire of the Spirit, but in the sense that the outpouring of the Spirit is the condition thereof. At the same time that the fire of God's love is kindled in the human heart, there is also kindled the fire which chastens, and the fire which is the fire of conflict.

THE BOOK CRITIC.

PRIMARY CONVICTIONS. By the BISHOP OF DERRY. Osgood, McIlvaine & Co. 1898.

THIS book is chiefly made up of the lectures and addresses delivered in America by the Bishop of Derry in 1892. In chapters i., ii., iii., v., vi., ix., we have a report of the lectures on Christian Evidences given under the auspices of Columbia College, New York. Chap. iv. contains the substance of two addresses delivered at Harvard;

chap. x. is the Ramsden Sermon, preached at Cambridge in 1892; and chap. viii. is a reprint, with large additions, of an Oxford Prize Essay (1850), by the Bishop on the Divinity of our Lord. In chap. vii. we have a short sermon on the same topic, but the occasion of its delivery is not mentioned.

The intention of the volume is to present the main *credenda* of Christianity in a simple and positive form, side issues and unnecessary controversy being avoided. A sharp distinction is drawn between *opinions* and *convictions*, it being most concisely given on p. xiv.: "a mere inclination towards the theory of the *mode* of a Divine fact is an *opinion*, while an assent to the Divine *fact* is a *conviction*." And in the first chapter the importance of this distinction is emphasised, and the same line is taken as that which was adopted by the late Bishop of Carlisle in his treatise on *The Foundations of the Creed*. Both Bishops deprecate the unwisdom of insisting that partial explanations of the great facts of Christianity shall be deemed binding on the consciences of the faithful equally with the loyal acceptance of the facts themselves. And in the volume before us the leading articles of the Creed are expounded with that eloquence and suggestiveness which we are accustomed to associate with the name of Bishop Alexander.

The author points out that the book does not profess to be a complete treatise on the Creed; "there are," he says, "two large gaps in this volume—'The Church' and 'The Forgiveness of Sins.'" An appendix to chap. i. does indeed contain many valuable thoughts on the Mystery of the Atonement, but the Bishop does not regard it as an exhaustive discussion. A more serious objection seems to us to be that the title and table of contents are somewhat misleading. To speak of "nine primary convictions," and to devote a chapter to each, suggest that nine distinct and fundamental truths are to be discussed, and that thus (with the exception of the specified omissions) the whole ground covered by the Apostles' Creed is to be traversed. How far this is from being the case will be seen from the following list. Chap. ii. deals with Belief in God, chap. iii. with the Incarnation, and chap. iv. with the Resurrection of Christ. Chap. v. treats of Future Judgment, chap. vi. of Holy Scripture, chaps. vii. and viii. of our Lord's Divinity, chap. ix. of the Resurrection of the Body, while chap. x., a sermon on Church Extension in the Colonies, is based on a consideration of the Office and Work of the Holy Spirit. In the first place we have not here *nine* primary convictions, and in the next place the subjects treated are not (as it would seem) on the same doctrinal level. The discussion of such subjects as Eternal Punishment and the Inspiration of the Bible in a book like this appears to be a departure from its avowed plan; though for what the Bishop does give us on these topics every reader will be grateful.

There are many indications that the volume is made up of separate pieces, written for different occasions (as indeed the author expressly tells us); and it is therefore unreasonable to object to meet with the same thoughts twice repeated. And yet we do not think (if we may say so with unfeigned respect) that it is desirable to print the same anecdotes (see pp. 77, 258 and pp. 78, 275), the same quotation from Plato (pp. 67, 109), the same epigrammatic rendering of a phrase in Isaiah (pp. 74, 126) more than once in a small volume like this—good though they all may be. We are sorry that the book was not more carefully revised for press, as the number of wrong references and misprints is considerable, though none of them are very important. Thus "Kantzech" and "Hengelfeldt" meet us on p. 62; on p. 27, the references Heb. iv. 14; 1 Peter ii. 14, do not appear to be right; on p. 28, at the end of the first paragraph, a pair of references are given twice; the last book of the New Testament is sometimes referred to as "Apoc," sometimes as "Rev.,"; on p. 42 "note A at the

end of this discussion" is mentioned, but we cannot find it anywhere, as the note on p. 59 deals with a quite different matter; and two pages seem to have been added somewhere after the rest were in type, as the wrong references on pp. 70 n., 122 n., 166 n. testify. These are small matters, but they disturb the reader in his enjoyment of the Bishop's brilliant epigrams, of which we venture to quote one or two. "No Christian age, perhaps, has been so contemptuous of dogma as this, or, perhaps, so ignorant of it" (p. 195). "If we walk with the two disciples we shall not learn Christ from the Old Testament, but the Old Testament from Christ" (p. 97). The English Church "does not exaggerate *minutiae* of ritual; but, as in the book of Numbers, the 'law of fringes' is less than the 'law of holiness'" (p. 820). "Dogma reposes in the Nicene Creed like the couchant lion, who rests in the attitude from which he can spring with its maximum of power" (p. 8). This last sentence appears to us to be striking, rather than felicitous. To say, again, that "in a few sentences" our Lord "comprises the whole spirit of Hellenic culture," however true, is hardly justified by the references given, viz., Matt. vi. 82, and John xii. 20, 25.

The Bishop defends in an interesting manner the opinion of Theophylact that St. Luke was the unnamed disciple to whom, in company with Cleopas, our Lord appeared on the road to Emmaus (p. 100); and he also repeats the suggestion, which he has elsewhere ably expounded, that the third evangelist was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (p. 128). He says (p. 252 n.) that he is "entirely unconvinced" of the propriety of adopting the reading *λεάδλκα* in St. John vi. 63; but considering that the MS. authority for this reading is so overwhelming, it is much to be desired that some reasons should have been assigned by the author for this judgment.

It did not come within the Bishop's design to express his views on the recent criticism of the Old Testament; but occasionally and in parenthesis, as it were, his opinions are disclosed. Thus (pp. 59 *seqq.*) he seems to hold (though we are not sure that we interpret him correctly here) that the variation in the use of the Divine names in Genesis may be accounted for, without supposing that the book is made up from different documents; while again he declares himself positively on the question of the composite character of the Book of Isaiah. Speaking of the date of the 58rd chapter, he says that "the answer of all candid criticism is that it must have been written between B.C. 549 and B.C. 538" (p. 168). It is the office of a reviewer to criticise small details; but no review of this volume would be complete which did not bear grateful testimony to its forceful, eloquent, and truly catholic treatment of the greatest truths of religion.

J. H. BERNARD, D.D.

AGONIÆ CHRISTI. By WILLIAM LEFFROY, D.D., Dean of Norwich. *Preachers of the Age.* Sampson Low & Co.

We are disappointed with this volume of sermons by the Dean of Norwich; perhaps because we placed our expectations too high. It belongs to the *Preachers of the Age* series; and consists of sermons, eleven in number, preached chiefly in St. Andrew's, Liverpool, and in Norwich Cathedral. The sermons deal, as the title indicates, with the sufferings and the work of Christ; such aspects of the Passion being treated as, "The Agony in the Garden," "The Agony of Betrayal," "The Agony of Denial," "The Agony of Injustice." The subjects of two of them, "The Divine Womanliness of Jesus" and "The Divine Manliness of Jesus," at once suggest comparison with the famous sermons of F. W. Robertson on the same theme; and as a preacher who, in this century, can stand beside F. W. Robertson?

The fault of these sermons is that they are dull; they need the voice and personality of the preacher to galvanize them into life. And no one will venture to deny that they are long! We wish that Dr. Lefroy had chosen subjects bearing more on the practical duties and difficulties of daily life; as these sermons are not wanting in indication of the Dean's powers in that direction. We will take, as an illustration in point, the following graphic passage on the curse of drunkenness: "It is that vice which enlarges our workhouses, crowds our hospitals, rears our lunatic asylums, fills our goals, and extends our cemeteries. It is the devil of modern life, and the hastener of a decaying civilization. It unites in man, made in the image God, the foulest passions of the brute and the fiercest frenzies of the fiend. It robs man of his reason, woman of her virtue, and children of their innocence. It plays havoc with intellectual pre-eminence, social advancement, and commercial success. Wherein drunkenness prevails, there is an end of domestic bliss; and in its wildest exhibition it is not too much to say, there is an anticipation of hell upon earth."

It is worthy of notice that Dean Lefroy takes the merciful view of the conduct of Judas in the dark tragedy of the betrayal. He thinks, with many high authorities, that Judas hoped, by his action with the Sanhedrim, to "force Christ to declare Himself"; and that when he awoke to the "enormity of his audacious gambling with the mission of his master," he was driven by remorse to "seek flight from himself in the grave of a self-murderer."

JOHN VAUGHAN.

CANONICAL AND UNCANONICAL GOSPELS. With a Translation of the Recently Discovered Fragment of the Gospel of Peter, and a Selection from the Sayings of Our Lord not found in the Four Gospels. By W. E. BARNES, B.D., Fellow of Peterhouse, and Theological Lecturer at Clare College, Cambridge. Longmans. 1893.

THIS little book merits a hearty recommendation. Those to whom it tells nothing which they did not know before will experience real pleasure in having their knowledge gathered together in so telling and interesting a form; while those (and they are many) to whom it will give a great deal of information could not easily find that information in a smaller compass or in a more attractive and useful shape. The volume is little more than an extended lecture, and may be read through in a couple of hours; and (to use a rather trite phrase) there is not a dull page from cover to cover. And, what is more to the point, there is not an irrelevant page, nor one which does not keep within the bounds of fair and reasonable argument. Any intelligent layman, without knowledge of Greek or other foreign language, may read the book with pleasure and advantage; to clergy, and to those who are preparing to become clergymen, this summary of the evidence on a very important matter of controversy cannot fail to be still more useful.

The question discussed is the authority of the Four Gospels, not as sources of spiritual truth, but as historical documents. The difficult problem of their inspiration is left untouched: it is their canonicity that is examined. The early Christians based their belief upon documents which they regarded as possessing sufficient and unique authority respecting the birth, teaching, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Do we, or do we not, still possess these documents? In other words, is the Life of Christ received by us substantially the same as the Life of Christ received by them, and have we got the same evidence for it as they possessed? In answering this question the author confines himself to the external evidence; partly because he considers that the internal evidence is best discussed after the

external; partly perhaps (although this is not stated) because many of those who utterly dispute the sufficiency of the external evidence are willing to admit that the Gospels have the stamps of candour and honesty. Many critics allow that the Evangelists are evidently truth-loving writers who wish to state correctly what they believe to be true; but they contend that they are uncritical writers who cannot appreciate evidence and who have an inadequate standard of literary accuracy.

Mr. Barnes takes the ordinary course of beginning at the close of the second century, when the evidence is full and indisputable, and working backwards, from Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, and Irenæus of Lyons, through Tatian, Justin Martyr, Hermas, and Papias, to the Apostolic Fathers and the four great Epistles of St. Paul. There is a very useful introductory section on the character of the second century as a period of Consolidation, Persecution, Apology, and Heresy; and an equally useful supplementary section on the contrast between the Canonical and the Apocryphal Gospels. This last is an argument which is not quite sufficiently urged. It is a very convincing argument when it is appreciated; and it is an argument which persons of quite ordinary mental power and fairness can appreciate. One good result of the attention which the recovered fragment of the Gospel of Peter has received is, that it will increase the number of those who have some knowledge of the other Apocryphal Gospels. To read a few pages of these is to feel, if one cannot analyse and state the cause of the feeling, that from almost every point of view, literary and historical as well as moral and spiritual, these attempts at Gospels belong to an immeasurably lower sphere of production, and have rightly been rejected by Christendom as void of authority.

A few specimens of the style of the book may be given in conclusion. Tertullian could not well be hit off better in so few lines as these:—

"If Tertullian sounds too bitter now, as we read him in our armchairs, it is well to remember that oppression drives even wise men mad. And Tertullian, though great, was hardly wise. Eloquent, illogical, fiercely right and splendidly wrong, he is one of a type of men not yet extinct, whose hearts are greater than their heads."

On the same page (16) is this remark on the Gnostics:—

"The majority of them might be described as bankrupt philosophers, who refloated their philosophy on Christian credit. Such men were philosophers first and Christians only in the second place; but the fact that they used the Name of Christ at all is a significant proof that heathenism was dying. They engrafted on the living tree of Christianity shoots cut from the dying trunk of heathenism. . . . Yet Gnosticism had its work. When the fever of its excesses was past, it left the Church more spiritual than it found it."

Here again is a judicious estimate of the Father of Ecclesiastical History:—

"Eusebius was in many ways the Bishop Lightfoot of the fourth century. His knowledge of early Christian literature was immense. He was no mean linguist, for he knew Hebrew, Syriac, and Greek; and if he stumbled in translating the knotty Latin epigrams of Tertullian, he was not the last man to do so. Further, he was a real critic. Nothing makes him more angry than a foolish story found in any of his authorities. He can tell the difference between a fact and an inference from a fact in the writers he uses, and in some notable instances he draws his own inferences, differing from those writers.

"Again, he is fair, though he sometimes gets impatient. His style is straightforward, though a little difficult; and if he becomes turgid when he describes the sufferings of the martyrs, Christians living in the comfortable nineteenth century may forgive overstrained eloquence in a man who went to prison for Christ" (p. 36).

The book contains a useful map of the countries round the Mediterranean Sea, showing the direct testimony to the Four Gospels in different parts of Christendom about A.D. 200.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

PSEUDEPIGRAPHIA: AN ACCOUNT OF CERTAIN APOCRYPHAL SACRED WRITINGS OF THE JEWS AND EARLY CHRISTIANS. By the Rev. WILLIAM J. DEANE, M.A., Rector of Ashen, Essex. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1891. Pp. vii., 844.

It is too late to give a welcome to a book which has been before the public for two years, but we gladly commend it to the notice of those among our readers who have not yet seen it. The writer was already known as a worker in the field from which he here brings much valuable material. He is the author of *The Book of Wisdom, with Prolegomena and Commentary*, which was published some twelve years ago by the Clarendon Press; and most of the contents of this volume have appeared elsewhere in various theological and religious periodicals. It was worth while to collect, correct, and add to these essays and articles. Few readers, probably, had read all of them; and many, no doubt, had seen none of them. They form a compact and fairly homogeneous whole; and the collection will be permanently useful both for reading and for reference.

The large mass of educated Englishmen, including, it may be feared, not a few of the clergy, know strangely little about even that portion of Jewish Apocrypha which is contained in a comparatively small minority of English Bibles. This is specially true of those English churchmen who are not old enough to have been familiar with the Old Lectionary, according to which about twice as much of these Deutero-canonical books was read year by year in the daily lessons as is now heard in our services. The fact that the Revised Version has been published without the Apocrypha has tended greatly to stereotype this prevalent neglect and ignorance. And it is much to be regretted that the Revised Apocrypha, much of which already exists in type, has never been completed and published; for it would probably be no exaggeration to say that both with regard to text and to translation no part of the sacred writings which are included in the Authorized Version was more seriously in need of revision. Mr. C. J. Ball has done a good deal to stop the gap with his edition of the Apocrypha for the Queen's Printers; but nothing less than the whole Apocrypha, published in its proper place between the Old and New Testaments according to the Revised Version, will give us what is needed.

Meanwhile, every work which tends to remind students of the Bible of the existing importance of this collection, and of the fact that it is a very imperfect collection, is doing good service. The extraordinary error of John Lightfoot, that "the wretched Apocrypha doth thrust in between" and prevent the two Testaments from "sweetly and nearly" joining together, is not quite extinct. Two centuries and more of additional research have done much; and we no longer are so closely under the influence of the Council of Trent as to be ever protesting against its action in making these Books equal to those of the Old and New Testaments. Nevertheless, the feeling that, in order to do due honour to the latter, we must exhibit a certain amount of contempt for the Apocrypha, still lingers in some minds and needs to be eradicated. And the way to eradicate it is to show, as Mr. Deane does in the volume before us, the true value of all these writings, whether included in our Bibles or not. A huge chasm, both in time and in thought, separates the latest Books in the Old Testament from the earliest Books in the New, and these Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical Books are among the best materials which we possess for bridging this chasm. They show us how Old Testament expressions acquired new meaning, and how ideas and expressions which are found there either not at all or only in germ, gradually came into existence and developed. They teach us how the Judaism, which was partly fostered and partly denounced by the prophets, became the

strangely different Judaism which was partly fostered and partly denounced by Jesus Christ and the disciples. It is not too much to say that there is much both in the language and thought of the New Testament which cannot be rightly understood without acquaintance with this preparatory and intermediate literature. To quote Mr. Deane's own words:—

“The value of these writings is considerable, and this for many reasons; but that which chiefly concerns us is the light which they throw upon Jewish belief at the most important era. Those which are plainly antecedent to Christian times have their own special utility; while the later productions, which belong to the first Christian centuries, show the influence of new ideas even on those who retained their affection for the old religion. And both series are necessary for every study of the religious history of the Jews. It is perhaps true that this apocalyptic literature was regarded with little favour by the Rabbinic schools, and no dogmatic authority was attributed to it; but it can be used as indicating current thought, just as we refer to any contemporary document to denote popular opinion, though it be not stamped with the authority of a teaching body. The number of these writings which are still extant, and the many more of which the titles only have remained to our times, prove the wide prevalence of the feelings which are embodied in them, and the profound impression which such thoughts had made on the hearts of the people” (pp. 4, 5).

And what he says of the Book of Enoch is true of other apocryphal writings:—

“With all its faults and shortcomings, it is of great value as introducing us to the views and feelings of Jews, their hopes and convictions, at the period immediately preceding the Christian era, and helping us to estimate the moral, religious, and political atmosphere in which Christ lived. Hence the work is to be regarded, not as a mere literary curiosity, but as offering a substantial aid to the understanding of the most important period of the world's history” (pp. 94, 95).

The Books discussed in the volume are the *Psalter of Solomon*, the *Book of Enoch*, the *Assumption of Moses*, the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the *Book of Jubilees*, the *Ascension of Isaiah*, and the *Sibylline Oracles*. The essay on the *Psalter of Solomon* labours under the disadvantage of having been written before the admirable edition of these Psalms, with notes and commentary by Ryle and James, was published by the Cambridge University Press. Those which will probably be found most interesting, if only because of their connexion with the Epistle of Jude and 2 Peter, are the dissertations on the *Book of Enoch* and the *Assumption of Moses*. Of the former it is rather amusingly stated that there have not been wanting “some good people in our own times, with more credulity than critical ability, who have freely accepted the antediluvian authorship and endeavoured to prove that the writer was inspired to predict events down to modern times. I have seen some passages in our book distorted even to enunciate the claims and operations of the British and Foreign Bible Society and the sinister actions of Russian politics” (p. 72).

But perhaps the most instructive chapter is the last, on that perplexing collection of spurious prophecies known as the *Sibylline Oracles*. And even these have found at least one advocate in modern times. In 1718 Sir John Floyer published a prose translation of the first seven of the fourteen books, with a portion of the eighth, being fully persuaded that he was dealing with genuine prophecies, which he regarded as heathen testimony of a wonderful kind to the truth of Divine revelation. “As an instance of human credulity few books are more curious than that of this simple and uncritical knight-errant” (p. 285). The collection, as we

have it, is as tangled and confused as the Talmud. The compositions of heathen, Jewish, and Christian writers are mixed up together, each book being a hap-hazard arrangement of inharmonious elements. Moreover, many of the separate pieces are mosaics, the original writing having been interpolated and remodelled two or three times at different periods. The prologue of the first book and parts of the third are certainly prior to the Christian era, and of these most were written about a.c. 140 and the rest about a century later. Other portions *may* be pre-Christian. Others range from about a.d. 80 to 280. These Oracles, therefore, are an index as to the beliefs and aspirations of a large number of persons during the two centuries which preceded the birth of Christ and the first three centuries of the Christian era. The interest of such evidence is manifest.

Numerous passages marked for special notice up and down the volume must be passed over, in order to keep this review within bounds. It remains to point out one or two features in these pseudepigraphical writings to which attention is very rightly directed. One of the first questions which would occur to an investigator is, What view do they take of the Messiah? Distinctly a low one. Such expressions as "Son of God" and "Son of Man" occur, but His Divinity is nowhere asserted. He is an ideal being, a perfect man, but apparently a mere creature. He is an immortal king, but it is an earthly kingdom over which He is to rule, and it lasts until the final judgment. Sometimes this Messiah is Judge of men and angels, but by the appointment of Jchovah, to whom He is subordinate. As to the doctrine of a future life, it is plainly insisted upon or assumed in these writings. A resurrection of the righteous is intimated, but there is no clear evidence of a belief in the resurrection of the body: angelic, incorporeal existence appears to be implied. Opinion was very indefinite as to the punishment of the wicked. The terrible destruction which comes upon them appears in some cases to mean annihilation; while in others torment, at any rate for a long time, is clearly stated. The *Apocalypse of Baruch* rather takes a line of its own in these matters. It assumes that at least some of the heathen will be saved. On the other hand, only those Jews will enter the Messiah's earthly kingdom who are alive on the earth when He appears. The wicked are to witness the bliss of these favoured ones, and then are to be led away into eternal fire.

The volume is furnished with an index, which is better than nothing; but for students of this important branch of theological literature something very much more full is required. A second edition will be an opportunity for remedying this defect; and one hopes that it will both occur soon and be used.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

PRESENT-DAY THEOLOGY. A Popular Discussion of Leading Doctrines of the Christian Faith. By LEWIS FRENCH STEARNS, late Professor of Christian Theology in Bangor Theological Seminary. With a Biographical Sketch by George L. Prentiss, Professor in Union Seminary. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893. 8vo, pp. xxiv., 568, \$2.50.

"Present-Day Theology" is the apt title selected for the posthumous work on Systematic Theology by the late Professor Stearns. Though published more recently than "The Evidence of Christian Experience" and the "Life of Henry Boynton Smith," this book antedates the others, having been written several years before the death of the lamented author. Compared with the other works, this popular compendium of theology will be found equal in breadth of view and clearness of thought, and even superior in originality and symmetry of treatment. This volume will define more fully and satisfactorily Professor Stearns's unique position as the mediating theologian of Congregationalism.

Twenty-seven of the major topics of theology are treated of in the series of essays. These were originally cast in sermonic form. The references in the opening of many of the chapters to special Scripture passages, the clear subdivisions, and the earnest application, show this original plan, and add to the unity and force of each chapter.

A remarkable power of condensed statement is seen in the rapid and impartial treatment of so many important themes in the narrow limitations of space. There is evidenced the author's familiarity with all the current theological questions, although controversialists may be disappointed at the self-restraint in discussing certain "burning questions," which are treated fairly, courageously, but in a due historic proportion, which is alien to the polemic heart. Notwithstanding the evenness of composition, there will be found marked variations in the values of different portions of the work. The first chapter traverses the well-worn ground of natural theology, presenting the accumulative proof of the being of God. The second chapter gives prominence to the central thought of the volume in the frequently reiterated phrase, "Redemptive Revelation," Professor Stearns's excellent key-word for the Christian system. The fourth chapter, on "Miracles," reveals most favorably the author's originality, progressiveness, and power as an apologete. While he accepts fully the interpretation of miracles as the

revelation and proof of a personal Divine power, he brings into emphasis the moral bearing of miracles, wherein the anti-deistic definitions failed.

A miracle, according to Professor Stearns, is not so much a suspension of natural laws as a return to the original divinely appointed laws of natural life, which have been transgressed by sin. A miracle is "a Divine restoration of the true order of nature." Hence a miracle, while it is an interposition of Divine power, is the act of restoring, not violating the true law of nature, containing in its beneficent operation the promise also of the final complete redemption of the natural world. This view of miracles clearly avoids the scientific objections based on a definition asserting miracles to be suspensions of nature's laws. A new difficulty, however, is encountered in the use of the term nature, which must be given a breadth and ideality that is unusual.

In Professor Stearns's view nature represents the conditions of life which were divinely planned, and have been violated by man's transgressions; hence he holds that even death is unnatural. Death "is the one unnatural, utterly unnatural experience of the world" (p. 61). This view of miracles throws new and suggestive light on the doctrine; it connects the subject vitally with doctrines of sin, God's plan, and the kingdom of heaven, and, open as the position is to criticism, yet it marks an advance in English apologetics over even the later work of Professor Bruce.

The discussion on inspiration reveals the scholarly candor, reverence of spirit, and judiciousness of expression of the author. With Dorner, against the traditionalists, he holds that the doctrine can only have its appropriate place within the system, and cannot be the verification of all the positions of the system. With frank acknowledgment of critical difficulties he holds to the authority and supremacy of the Word of God, without feeling the need of fleeing to unproved *a priori* assumptions for defence. On Christ's testimony to the authorship of the Pentateuch, he asserts, "I do not mean that when Jesus speaks of Moses as the author of the Law, he settled the difficult questions respecting the authorship of the Pentateuch. In such matters he may have merely reflected the opinion of his contemporaries" (p. 82). Professor Stearns rejects the doctrines of verbal inspiration and of inerrancy.

The author's general position may be defined as that of mediating liberalism. There is abundant recognition of the value of conservative forms, too deep a historic insight to permit iconoclasm, but the spirit of the work is essentially progressive, tempered with the intelligent charity which

recognizes the validity of positions and processes different from its own. Inclining to the New School of the New England Free Will controversies, regarding consistent Calvinism as necessarily deterministic in its metaphysics, he reveals, especially in the chapter on "The Plan of God," his full agreement with the doctrine of Divine sovereignty. His failure to accept Calvinism as a final system arose from no superficial exaggeration of free will, but from the conscientious and scholarly belief that the Scriptures do not represent the majority of the human race as outside the pale of Divine mercy and redemption. Professor Stearns has erred in classing his teacher, Henry B. Smith, as a philosophical determinist. Stearns defines determinism fairly enough as the holding that the motives and not the man himself are the efficient cause of action (p. 309). Henry B. Smith ("System," p. 247) distinctly rejects this position which Stearns defines as deterministic, by asserting that "the agent, the mind choosing, is the efficient cause;" "motive is not that which causes the choice." Professor Stearns is, however, by no means a "New Theology" man. There is no trace in his writings of that indifference, actual or assumed, toward historical phrases and moulds of thought; there is none of the strained effort after "larger" thought which now expresses itself in the search for the "larger Christ." There is not so much of the subjective methods of Schleiermacher and Francke as was traceable in "The Evidence of Christian Experience."

While valuing the Christocentric bearing of the future probation hypothesis, he deems it unnecessary, from the belief that the operations of the Spirit are so universal in this life as to give opportunity for repentance for all. He holds to the view that there will be development, education, even discipline in the heavenly state. "The motive for missions is not the doctrine of eternal punishment and not the 'larger hope,' but the establishment of the kingdom of heaven."

The work is prefaced by a biographical sketch by Professor Stearns's uncle, Professor Prentiss, written with the affection and appreciation of a kindred heart and spirit. The well-known London address, read before the Congregational Council in 1891, which brought Professor Stearns prominently before the international theological world, is fittingly added to the volume.

The methodical conscientiousness of the author, and his loving, enthusiastic devotion to his high calling, find their proof in this work. It will stand as a fit memorial to a consecrated, white souled, Christian scholar.

HENRY GOODWIN SMITH.

Freehold, N. J.

THE PSALMS. By A. MACLAREN, D.D.
Volume I. Psalms i.-xxxviii. New
York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1893.

This volume belongs to the series known as the "Expositor's Bible." Dr. Maclaren regards himself as absolved by this fact from the obligation to offer work in the department of critical introduction. He simply gives a fresh translation of each psalm, followed by comment. Generally, the comment touches but lightly upon questions of authorship and other critical questions, and confines itself to the attempt to bring out the meaning. The style is homiletic. It seldom lets itself down to the level of mere simple statement. But for its genuine grace and vivacity it would be open to the charge of being stilted. Every psalm awakens enthusiasm in the author, and he is not content unless he can impart something of his own feeling to his readers.

In his treatment he displays reasonably wide reading, keen linguistic and exegetical insight, fine poetical appreciation, a wealth of imagery for illustrating the great thoughts he finds, sustained freshness and vigor, strong spiritual feeling. He is lacking in that kind of thoroughness which is requisite in order that exegetical work may be throughout self-consistent and self-tested. He is not superficial. Perhaps the lack of critical thoroughness is not altogether a fault, for such thoroughness is sometimes achieved at the cost of dulness; and Dr. Maclaren is at least never dull.

None of the psalms treated illustrate this better than those which come first in order. In Ps. i. 1 he translates, "Happy the man" (not "blessed," as in the English versions), and all reasons from derivation, meaning, and usage justify his translation. But in the exposition he uses mainly the word "blessed;" and in Ps. ii. 12 he translates the word by "blessed."

His knowledge of the Hebrew tenses leads him to translate by the English perfect in the first verse—"has not walked," for example, instead of the familiar "walketh not." The English present here would denote a habit, while the Hebrew denotes not a habit, but a fact. But the difference thus recognized has little or no effect when it comes to the exposition.

He very happily insists upon the importance of the negative statements found in this verse. The lesson of guarding against all participation in evil is of vital value, as well as the positive lesson of the next verse: "Goodness will avoid the smallest conformity with evil, as knowing that if the hem of the dress or the tips of the hair be caught in the cruel wheels, the whole body will be drawn in" (p. 8). The book is rich in forcible, picturesque illustrations, of which this may serve as a specimen.

In the exposition on page 4 he apparently recognizes the fact that verses 2b and 3d connect the psalm with Josh. i. 8 and its context, and he comments upon it accordingly. But this fact, important as it is, is not commonly recognized; and Dr. Maclaren gives no statement of it that will render the matter intelligible to most of his readers.

Both in the translation and in the exposition he makes the picture in the third verse to be that of a tree on irrigated ground. This is correct, though often ignored. But, being correct, it requires some stress to be laid on the advantages that belong to an irrigated tree as compared with a tree left to the vicissitudes of the seasons. Such advantages has the man who draws his spiritual supplies from God's revealed law. There is a significant hiatus between the third and fourth verses. The wicked are not compared to a tree without irrigation, as one might logically expect, but to a product that no longer has any root in the soil. In all this the points that are central to the idea of irrigation are not so prominent in Dr. Maclaren's treatment.

In the English of Ps. ii. 7a Dr. Maclaren happily omits the article. There is the same reason for omitting it in verses 1, 2, 8, 10, namely, that it is not in the Hebrew, that there is no need of supplying it, and that supplying it changes the meaning. In these verses, however, Dr. Maclaren not only inserts it, but actually (perhaps not consciously) bases upon it his argument against a Davidic historical situation for the psalm. Leave out "the" from his argument, and its force vanishes. Dr. Maclaren happily traces the dependence of this psalm on the promise made to David (2 Sam. vii.), but regards all conjectures as to its historical basis as "unsatisfactory," and says: "Authorship and date must be left undetermined." The apostles, however, held that the psalm was given "by the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of our father David, thy servant" (Acts iv. 25). And when we notice that it speaks not of "the nations," but of "nations," and not of "the kings of the earth," but of "kings of earth," every objection vanishes to a supposable historical situation in the later years of David.

Once more, it would be a pity to eliminate any of these unevennesses from Dr. Maclaren's work, if it must be done at the cost of any diminution of their vivacity and fire. But it is probable that, in some future edition, improvements can be made in the one respect without loss in the other.

In the matter of traditional orthodoxy Dr. Maclaren reverses the prevalent habit of conservative scholars. Their habit is to claim everything in the general statements they make; and then, when they come to

details, to give away a good deal of what they have claimed. Dr. Maclaren, on the contrary, in his general statements claims almost nothing—is so confident of his ground that he is willing to start out on the smallest bit of standing place that his extremest opponent is willing to concede; but, having once started, he wins back in detail all that he has provisionally waived.

This is well illustrated in his treatment of Ps. iii. In his half page of Preface, at the beginning of the book, he speaks of his leaving "questions of date and authorship all but untouched," and adds: "I venture to think that the deepest and most precious elements in the Psalms are very slightly affected by the answers to these questions." This is a tremendous concession to make, when we notice that Dr. Maclaren has prominently in mind Dr. Cheyne's view that substantially all the psalms were written either during the Greek period, or during the century preceding that period, and that they are historically much more closely connected with the throne of the Ptolemies than with the throne of David. Apparently by way of carrying out this idea, he omits all the inscriptions to the psalms (an omission which, for reasons of convenience, is a serious mistake). But when he comes to Ps. iii., though he thinks it not worth while to print the title, which ascribes the psalm to the time when David fled from Absalom, he yet in some detail, and conclusively, vindicates the fitness of the title to the contents of the psalm. He adopts a similar course with several other psalms. In fine, he belongs to that wise class of conservative scholars who speak kindly of all reverent differences of opinion, and who, in the interests of orthodoxy take pains to prove more than they claim rather than claim more than they can prove.

The Bible has been subjected, in the present generation, to careful and critical study by large numbers of students to an extent far beyond what has ever before occurred. If the Bible is indeed the Word of God, the fruit of all this study should by this time begin to appear in expositions of the Bible, that are at once more intelligent and more nourishing than those of previous generations. Dr. Maclaren's book is one of several books recently published, which show that fruit of this sort is actually ripening and available for use.

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THE LIFE OF THOMAS PAINE, with a history of his literary, political, and religious career in America, France, and England. By MONCURE DANIEL CONWAY. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1892. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. xviii., 380; ii., 489, \$5.

The time has come for justice to be done to Thomas Paine. That he has been dreadfully slandered should be frankly admitted. The religious public, which has hounded his memory and racked its brains to find epithets picturesque enough to describe his alleged fate, should make confession that it did these things ignorantly. Mr. Conway has done much to hasten the revolution of sentiment which has been silently taking place for some time back. Witness Mr. John Habbertou's article upon Thomas Paine in Appleton's "Dictionary of American Biography." Ten years ago I wrote the article upon him in the "Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia," after reading all the biographies of Paine mentioned in the literature appended to the article. Ever since I have been interested in him, so being in London in 1888 I availed myself of the facilities of the British Museum Library of Printed Books to make studies preliminary to a life of Paine, but I was unable to do as much as I wished at the time, and since then I have been absorbed by other literary work.

I have read Mr. Conway's volumes with close attention. They are well done. For the first time we have a life of Paine worthy of the name. Mr. Conway has not been noted for thoroughness of research, while his religious views have prejudiced him in the eyes of those who walk in the old paths. But in the present volumes he has shown the patience, intelligence, and zeal of a first class historical student. He has succeeded in dispelling many lingering suspicions about Paine. Paine was through life singularly generous, unselfish, and affectionate. He held his views tenaciously and defended them valiantly; but he treated his enemies mercifully when he had it in his power to injure them, and he won golden opinions from the many whom he had befriended. His splendid courage in trying to save the life of Louis XVI. was only a specimen of what he could do, and his prior services in the cause of American freedom entitle him to deathless fame. It is plain as any thing could be that if he had not published "The Age of Reason," he would to-day be in the National Walhalla by the side of Washington; and yet that book in its audacity and its bravery was evidence of the devotion he all along evinced to what he considered the best interests of man.

Mr. Conway treats "The Age of Reason" rather gingerly. It evidently does not suit his style of unbelief; but it was Paine's greatest achievement. It is a masterpiece. Strange that he should ever have been called an atheist. Why, his theology is the most naïve deism; and the book has outlived all its attacks and is still circulated as unanswerable. The power of the work is in its statement of the belief of the

natural man. Its objections to revealed religion are superficial, but these are precisely the hardest to refute. Paine was really incapable of belief in Christianity, because the things of the spirit are spiritually discerned, and he was anything but spiritually minded; but then this lack is precisely that of the unconverted, and therefore they find "The Age of Reason" exactly to their taste.

The faults of Mr. Conway's book are patent. He is a thoroughgoing partisan. Paine is his ideal man. He sees no fault in him; and he claims for him nearly everything good in modern civilization. According to him Paine was the real author of the Declaration of Independence, the backbone of the American cause in the Revolutionary War, the negotiator of the French loan, and the first advocate of most of our modern schemes for social advance. For Washington Mr. Conway has great dislike apparently, and soundly rates him for neglecting Paine; for that wretch, Gouverneur Morris, he has no words too strong. Morris was Paine's persistent and powerful enemy. It was entirely Morris's fault that Paine languished in the Luxembourg prison; but Mr. Conway seems to overstate his case, and the reader suspends his judgment.

The attempt to make a saint out of Paine is a failure. Granting everything that Mr. Conway has to say in praise of him, he remains a very defective creature; but if he was so that is no reason why we should make him out worse than he was. Let us pay him the tribute of praise for great and permanent services, and let us be silent upon those bodily and mental failings which alienated all his friends.

Mr. Conway reprints at the close of his biography the valuable sketch of Paine, written by William Cobbett, hitherto unpublished. Volume I. has as a frontispiece the picture of Paine, by Jarvis, taken when he was sixty-seven; Volume II., the portrait from Paine's seal, cut when he was thirty-five. The volumes are fully indexed. They have passed into their second edition. Mr. Conway is now engaged in collecting the works of Paine, which he will issue in a complete form.

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THE SCHISM BETWEEN THE ORIENTAL AND WESTERN CHURCHES, with special reference to the addition of the *Misique* to the Creed. By the Rev. GEORGE BROADLEY HOWARD, B.A., Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. vi., 118.

Mr. Howard has given us in his work a very careful and valuable study on a neglected but most important subject.

While of course there is little really new to be said about the great schism between the East and West, yet we do not know where there is to be found, in English at least, so clear and thorough a sketch of it.

It does seem unreasonable and extraordinary that a vast body of Christians having all the four points laid down as essential by the Anglican communion, including within their borders sees which can trace back their bishops to apostles, should not be generally recognized as a perfectly legitimate part of the Church Catholic.

Minor discords are really things irrelevant to intercommunion. If we of the West may justly complain of their dulia of angels and saints and reverence of icons, no doubt the East might retort upon us as equally offensive to them, pews in churches, unbaptized vestrymen, and delegates to law-making synods who were not communicants. Well is the schism characterized by Dr. Pusey: "Miserable in its origin and issue. A quarrel begun by two Christian patriarchs about authority over a province newly recovered to the Christian faith, strengthened subsequently by offensive answers to an offensive writing, and anathema answered by anathema" ("Eirenicon," p. 63).

Our author just alludes to the blots on the Eastern Church, and refers to the difference in the mode of baptism, likely, we fear, to prove a more formidable obstacle to reunion than is generally supposed, and passes on to more serious matters.

He rightly thinks that the addition of the word *Filioque* to the Creed, as set forth by the Œcumenical Council of Constantinople in A.D. 381, is the greatest cause of separation at present.

He takes no notice of Dean Stanley's denial (Ch. Institutions, ch. 16) that the latter clauses of the Creed were added at the Council, and with good reason, for the synodal epistle stating that "they pronounced some short definitions ratifying the faith of the Nicene fathers, and anathematizing the heretics which have sprung up contrary to it," seem sufficiently explicit as to the fact. He accepts the explanation of Mark of Ephesus, at Ferrara, that the symbols of Nice and Constantinople were really one.

Our author thinks that the prohibition at Chalcedon against composing "another creed" refers to "any meddling with any term of the Creed by bishop, pope, or provincial council" (p. 87). In this he differs from the very learned Dr. Pusey, who construes "another" in the sense of different, in which view he was anticipated by Abelard and many Westerns.

Mr. Howard gives a good *résumé* of the opinions of the Greek and Latin fathers, among which are quotations from St. Am-

brose, which Neale seems justly to question (Gen. Intr., p. 1123).

All reasonable men must admit that, whether true or false, the *Filioque* clause was not added to the Creed in a due ecclesiastical manner. The clause first appears definitely at the third Council of Toledo, in Spain, A.D. 589. It was first discussed between East and West in the Council of Gentilly in 787.

Paulinus, Metropolitan of Aquileia, argues for the double procession at the Council of Friuli in 794. A legation from the Council of Aquisgranum was sent to Pope Leo III. in 809. He did not object to the doctrine, but would not allow its insertion in the Creed.

Mr. Howard gives an interesting account of this conference. He gives, too, a good abstract of the discussions at the councils of Ferrara and Florence. He shows conclusively (pp. 80 and 63) that the question at issue was the eternal procession of the Spirit, not the temporal mission which began at Pentecost.

Many of the Western saints and doctors maintain the eternal procession of the Spirit from both Father and Son, and this evidence persuaded the Greeks to yield the point at the Council of Florence. Even Bishop Pearson, who wished the removal of the *Filioque* from the Creed, appears to teach the double procession, where he says, "Therefore the Son hath the same right of mission with the Father, and, consequently, must be acknowledged to have communicated the same essence" (Pearson on Creed, Art. 8).

The writer shows how the charge of the Greeks, that this involved two beginnings or causes, was met where the language of John of Lombardy, at Florence, is quoted (p. 77), "One Spiration of two Persons, not two Spirators or two Causes." "Per" signifies a mediate cause. So it may be expected too much to look for agreement on a mysterious question on which no precise revelation has been made.

Another important point noted by the author is the fact that for a century and a half after the issue was first raised East and West remained in communion. What was done then could be done again; but the disputed words, wrongly inserted in the Creed, ought to be removed. But the writer, who is a member of the Church of England, perhaps goes too far in asking their removal from the other parts of the Prayer-Book. These need not be endorsed by Easterns, and the words are perfectly capable of a sense all allow.

In a brief Appendix Mr. Howard refers to all attempts to restore intercommunion between the Eastern and Anglican churches.

He does not mention, however, the mission of the venerable Bishop Horatio Southgate (still living) to Constantinople in 1844,

and the still earlier missions of the Rev. Drs. Hill and Robertson from the American Episcopal Church to Greece and Syria. The only fruit of all these recent efforts, so far as known, has been an increase of friendly feeling and many interesting publications.

W. ALLEN JOHNSON.

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ELEMENTS OF MORAL THEOLOGY, based on the *Summa Theologiae* of St. Thomas Aquinas. By JOHN J. ELMENDORF, S.T.D., Lecturer in Moral Theology in Western Theological Seminary, and sometime Professor of Mental Philosophy in Racine College. New York: James Pott & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. xxii., 655.

It was a very laudable undertaking for the compiler and author of this book to reproduce the moral system of Thomas Aquinas, which is here very faithfully and intelligently done. The utterances of a thinker so profound and exhaustive, and ordinarily so clear, may subserve in these days several useful purposes, not only by correcting, as they do, the extreme and superstitious notions of popular Roman Catholicism, but by furnishing for Protestants another contribution to a hitherto too much neglected study, here called "moral theology."

While there is, probably, no mistake as to its meaning, we regard this title as unfortunate and incorrect, and as, probably, carelessly bestowed in the beginning. The order of the words should be precisely reversed. It is a system of practical ethics that is intended to be taught, but ethics as modified and readjusted by Christian dogmatics. The other title means simply theology, so far as it is moral, which is not pure theology at all.

To be sure, we have the treatises of Jeremy Taylor and Bishop Sanderson, and the more recent ones of Harless and Martensen on Christian ethics, the latter of whom probes more deeply the fundamental problems of the science than does Aquinas; but in the work of the latter we have the science as viewed from the Roman Catholic standpoint, and the questions of philosophic ethics as modified by its distinctive theology. To be adopted, *in toto*, by any Protestants whatever would require a previous examination and approval of that theology.

Nevertheless, the fundamental propositions are for the most part in common. So far as the psychology and formal ethics are concerned the conclusions of Aquinas are identical with the results in statement of the best more recent modern thought. Indeed, they may have filtered down through the generations and aided in determining the latter; but the modern thought is none the less independent on that account.

This book is not intended for popular reading. Indeed, for the ordinary Christian it ought not to be prescribed. The danger would be to hamper the conscience by an arithmetical or quantitative method, to torture him with needless doubts, and make an adviser more constantly needful. But for the confessor, or the pastor, or the studious and thoughtful layman it would be a useful manual. Yet Aquinas sees very clearly and acknowledges that the science he is discussing is not and cannot be exhaustive—that all prescribed rules may need modification with new circumstances and changing social and political conditions. Thus he aims to bring all such into the sphere of rationality, and no author is freer from bigotry or superstition. It is not difficult to detect a large charity beneath his treatment, though formally his deductions often seem severe. In difficult cases of conscience the resort is to the confessor for light and advice—ideally a wise resort, yet not without its dangers. It is a permission very apt to induce sloth and to quiet the conscience of the inquirer; and, on the other hand, it is a power easily abused by those confessors who are not pure-minded or who have ulterior purposes to serve. Some simpler method of solving these questions, which does not absolve the individual conscience from its obligation, is here needed.

Aquinas's view of *faith* is truer and profounder than that often taught in his own church. He never loses sight of the subjective element or relation, and sees that it necessarily implies the possibility of doubt—that it is something other than an "infused" virtue, the subject being passive. Yet he does not go profoundly into the genesis of faith.

Of course we have the ordinary Roman Catholic *petitio principii* that the Church is infallible, and her teaching necessarily the absolute truth and not provisional truth. This is only defensible on the philosophy that the organ declarative of the truth need have no ethical nor properly religious conditions, which is the very essence of superstition.

He makes very clear the distinction between venial and mortal sin, which is not far other than that between wilful sin and sin of infirmity. In this his treatment is quite distinct from that found in much of the literature of his own church, where sins are classified by objective distinctions merely.

We confess that we can find no meaning in the distinction between "counsels of perfection" and what is "of absolute obligation." The possible fallacy is so obvious here that we have little doubt that, if Aquinas could be questioned, he would not be chargeable with it.

His view of moral *evil* seems to us su-

premely rational. He regards pure evil as possible and its natural penalty to be *possesse damni*. There is no utterance which makes God vindictive.

Aquinas is none the less a speculative philosopher by being also a devout and submissive Christian. He lays a rational ground for his deductions, yet shows, as the work progresses, how Christian doctrine must modify the question of duty, as decided by pure ethics, at every turn, and that by it the whole life-plan must be changed.

Some criticisms have occurred to us as we have read the work which we should not care to utter did we not think that to be of fullest use the language might now and then be put in more modern form and adapted to modern thought by the use of improved modes of expression; e.g., there is a seeming contradiction when Aquinas speaks of "sins of the reason," by which word "reason" he must here mean the entire mental consciousness as focused in the will. He has used "reason" to determine the very ground of his system. If reason can sin, the validity of this foundation may be suspected. Indeed, in our way of thinking, the sophistication which accompanies and seeks to excuse a contemplated sin is not the work of *reason*. It is, rather, a neglect of reason, and comes from the tempting understanding and imagination, judging and deciding from a wilfully limited induction. To hold true to the *dictum* of pure reason in spite of these temptations astray is part of the province of that natural faith on which all morality whatever is based.

Again, we may ask, Does reason "confess its own want of insight when it acknowledges a divine law as superadded and life-giving"? Has it not perceived this by its own insight, even though that insight have been divinely aided? and if the divine truths thus revealed have any signification for the mind, does not their very acceptance imply that they are recognized as rational?

Again, in the book we find a certain ambiguity, not difficult to clear up, in the distinction between "gifts of nature" and "gifts of grace." *Natural powers* are what God has given to man to realize His idea. The sum of these may be said to constitute his "nature." But as he is a progressive being, there is involved in this the need of further "gifts," adapted to his progressive development. These, when bestowed, modify his nature and constitute it afresh. Thus his "nature" is something constantly enlarging its own definition. But when, in consequence of the misuse of his moral freedom and the dereliction of sin, this, his nature, becomes disorganized and virtually at a standstill, indeed, rendering a retrograding movement possi-

ble, then the flow of Divine gifts is suspended. In theological language, the Holy Spirit retires so far as man's moral or religious advancement is concerned; and this is what is meant by the "loss of original righteousness." The ideal subjective relation can only be restored by a new activity of the Holy Spirit, for which the redemptive work of Christ was needful. This now is called a "gift of grace," is *sui generis*, and by Christ's prescription is bestowed in Christian baptism. And yet another gift of the Holy Spirit becomes possible to be bestowed when man gives the religious response. Yet these very "gifts" determine and are required to constitute the new "nature." A doctrine of providential selection here emerges, which is also a procedure of grace or favor on God's part; and the question is suggested whether those left out of it are neglected—i.e., whether the Divine love can be declared as limited. Though we can assert nothing positively here as matter of revelation, yet we are not warranted to assert anything negatively. Indeed, we might ask if one does so, and thus limits the Divine love, whether he is not guilty of the sin of "blasphemy" as defined by Aquinas on page 173 of this present book.

There is another ambiguous phrase here and elsewhere commonly used, which ought to be changed in all theologic discussion—i.e., when "love" or any other virtue is said to be "infused." It is an illogical mode of expression. Faith, love, etc., are subjective virtues, predicates of human character. What is "infused" is the Divine influence of the Holy Spirit upon man's spiritual soul, rendering them possible. Through this the nature is readjusted, and new virtues are possible, among them what the author calls "the theologic virtues."

In the "supplement" the compiler states many moral questions rife in these days, to some of which he replies, yet others of which he does not attempt to solve. Some principle which may be of use in such cases is still a *desideratum* of the science.

The theology, as given in the supplement, is self-consistent from a certain viewpoint. Very many, however, would take exception to the statement, frequently made, yet never established by full discussion, that in the Holy Eucharist the consecration of the elements alone completes the sacrament. This seems to read into the scriptural narrative more than can be read out of it. It is a large warrant to take to pieces the whole institution as given by Jesus Christ, and predicate results and relations, so new and marvellous, of its several parts. It seems a speculative intrusion, and may have come simply from the propensity to over-systematization. It is a procedure which does not exalt the view nor deepen the doctrine of the Eu-

charist, and which historically has been a fruitful source of superstition.

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MERCY: ITS PLACE IN THE DIVINE GOVERNMENT. By JOHN M. ARMOUR.
Boston: Bradley & Woodruff. 12mo, pp. 244.

The aim of the author in this interesting and instructive treatise is to bring out in fuller light the doctrine of the Divine mercy, especially as revealed in the dealings of God with sinners under a moral system. He seeks to show that God is in Himself intrinsically merciful. "All the elements of a perfect character, combined and in utmost activity, result in the white light of pure mercy." Being thus merciful in Himself, God makes this central quality in His real character manifest to all His moral creatures in all His dealings with them. Mercy lies as truly as justice at the foundation of His moral government over men, and is exhibited throughout His moral as well as providential administration. The essence of the atonement lies in the mercy of Christ, inducing Him to make full satisfaction to law on our behalf; His redemption consists in His bringing us through such satisfaction into a state of loving conformity to law. "Mercy—as manifest in the Gospel—consists in delivering from condemnation, and at the same time restoring to a state of righteousness, or of perfect conformity to law." And the result of such manifestation of mercy, when men yield freely to its holy influence and freely conform to its demands, is a character essentially like God—a character in which mercy such as dwells in Him becomes the controlling principle, the vitalizing and sanctifying power.

In the unfolding of these propositions the author has occasion to correct some popular misapprehensions. He shows, for example, what mercy can and cannot do in the matter of our spiritual restoration. The fallacy of the universalistic proposition that, inasmuch as God is love, all men will be saved, is made very manifest. Love can save only where the recipient becomes conscious of such love, responds to it, and is himself restored to a state of love rather than rebellion. "Efficacious grace is efficacious only because he who experiences it *acts*, and acts in a way which God commands and commends and rewards." Emphasis is laid, in other words, on the interior, subjective side of salvation as a restoration of the soul to love. So, again, redemption is described not merely as an exchange of condition or estate, but primarily as a renewal of character, to be followed by such exterior change. Legal satisfaction is indeed an intrinsic part of

redemption, but legal satisfaction to justice finds its ground in the Divine mercy which provides it. Justice and mercy are not antagonized in the atonement; they are rather conjoined and unified.

The chapters on mercy in actual administration contain many suggestive statements, specially in regard to the nature of human responsibility under an administration of mercy. The chapter on providence and prayer contains some valuable thoughts as to the relation of prayer to the mercy of God, and to the manner in which God mercifully answers the prayers of those who rest in His love. All in all, the volume is well worth a thoughtful perusal, as a practical contribution to a great theme which has not been as fully treated as it deserves either in dogmatic theology or in pulpit discourse. E. D. MORRIS.

Lane Seminary, Cincinnati.

LEHRBUCH DER PRACTISCHEN THEOLOGIE,
von Dr. ALFRED KRAUSS, weil. Ord.
Professor der Theologie zu Strassburg.
Zweiter Band: Katechetik, Pastoraltheorie. Freiburg i.-B.: J. C. Mohr: New York: Steckert, 1893. 8vo, pp. x., 461, 9 marks.

The first volume of this excellent work was issued in 1890, and was noticed in *The Magazine of Christian Literature* in December of the same year. Before the author could finish his labor he was called away (May 31st, 1892), and the present volume was prepared for the press by his fellow-professor, H. Holtzmann, who has prefixed to it a short outline of Dr. Krauss's life. Born at St. Gall, in Switzerland, in 1836, he passed through the gymnasium there, and then pursued his studies in Heidelberg, in Halle, and in Zurich, but was most influenced by Tholuck at Halle. In 1859 he became a pastor at Stettfurt in Thurgau, where, while active in ministerial duties, he found leisure to publish several important theological works which brought him a doctor's degree from Basle, and in 1870 a call as extraordinary professor at Marburg. In 1873 he was appointed professor at Strassburg, where he continued for nearly twenty years, lecturing on both systematic and practical theology. He was an adept in the history and faith of the Reformed Church, yet was neither narrow nor bigoted. Only fifty pages of the present volume were prepared by him for the press. All the rest was taken from his *Collegienhefte*, and is given unaltered save in the requisite changes from an address to students to a work for the public, and in the transposition of some paragraphs. Professor Holtzmann bears cordial testimony to the ability and varied culture of Dr. Krauss, and prays for the same beneficent influence to follow from

what he has written that attended the oral delivery of his lectures.

The two subjects of the volume are treated with thoroughness and force. On Catechetics he first lays the basis for the service by setting forth its origin, its relation to baptism and confirmation, and the requisites for the catechist, who, he properly thinks, should be the pastor. In the second part he discusses the *materielle Katechetik* as to its compass and its contents. The former he makes to include all knowledge which can help to the understanding of Scripture, the Confessions, Church history, worship and song; the latter consists of the study of the Bible and the doctrines of the Church. In the third part *Formelle Katechetik* is considered. Here he gives pre-eminence to the Scripture itself, which, however, so far from excluding other sources of instruction, demands them; treats of various catechisms; discusses the methods of teaching; and sets forth the personal relations of catechist and catechumen. But this meagre outline gives hardly an idea of the richness and clearness of the treatment.

The second subject, which some call poimenics, but is generally known in America as pastoral theology, occupies the greater part of the volume. Dr. Krauss considers the pastor first in his *ecclesiastical* relations, as to his official duties, his care of the church, and his attitude to other societies; secondly, in his *civic* relations—to the family, the school, the congregation, and the State; and, thirdly, in the *social* sphere—his personal relations, his attention to different classes and conditions, the management of his own house, dress, recreations, etc. The treatment here is minute and full, yet marked with good sense and sound judgment, though obviously adapted to the circumstances that prevail in the author's own country.

The volume is a very complete treatise on the matters it embraces, and is pervaded by an evangelical spirit. Its references to other works on the same subject are fair, and the author occasionally recognizes writers of the English speaking race, as he quotes from Baxter, Bunyan, Kingsley, Spurgeon, and Beecher. Throughout he manifests great reverence for the Scripture, upon which he often makes incisive observations. Thus, urging activity, he quotes the saying, "Ye are the salt of the earth," but adds that the salt is of no use unless applied, and so believers are of no use as salt unless they serve the community (p. 215). Speaking of the pastor as a defender of the faith, he says, "The best apologetic is the Christian life itself" (p. 279). Referring to books of practical edification, he does justice to Thomas à Kempis, yet properly takes exception to some of his monkish views, as, for example, the

saying that "the greatest saints shun where they can the society of men in order to live in quiet converse with God," or this, "All worldly joys are base or vain" (p. 287). He asserts the minister's liberty as to amusements, but maintains that it should be used so as not to give needless offence.

The whole work is characterized by insight, fervor, and practical wisdom, and will long remain a memorial of the ability and piety of its lamented author. A distinguished man in our country once remarked that he read every book on ministerial duties that came in his way, and always found his account in it. No wonder, for every such work has some excellence, and it is good even for the most faithful of the Lord's servants to have before him even for a time the ideal of what constitutes the true preacher and pastor.

T. W. CHAMBERS.

New York.

THE MIRACLES OF OUR LORD, EXPOSITORY AND HOMILETIC. By JOHN LAIDLAW, D.D., Professor of Theology, New College, Edinburgh. New York and Toronto: Funk & Wagnalls Co. 12mo, pp. 384.

This work of Professor Laidlaw is just what it claims to be—nothing more, nothing less—an "expository and homiletic" treatise on the miracles of our Lord. Assuming the "historicity"—a favorite word with the author—of the Gospel narrative, that it gives us a plain and credible account of what actually occurred, and leaving the discussion of the apologetic value of the Christian miracle to others, "the author's aim is entirely expository and didactic" (p. 8).

The author's idea of the proper homiletic use of our Lord's miracles is well shadowed forth in his words: "Human maladies, in all their sad variety, are at root effects of sin, and are therefore symbolically related to moral evil, so that their removal by Jesus has certain distinct teachings as to the multiplex virtues and effects of His saving grace. This kind of symbolism has been most frequently illustrated by reference to His cleansing of the lepers. There is no reason why it should not be more generally and broadly construed. If leprosy specially represents the defilement of sin and the isolation from God and good which it entails, blindness and deafness may represent the corresponding loss of man's spiritual perceptions; paralysis, the deadening of the moral nature under sin—our spiritual inability to serve God or to attain salvation. Possession is a terrible allegory of the bondage of the sinner in the grasp of Satan; and physical death, of the last

dread fruitage which sin brings forth when it is finished. Indeed, this line of thought leads beyond mere analogy. It brings us to the real import of the healing ministry of Jesus as a revelation of redemption. These works must be regarded not as mere evidences of His power and commission to redeem, nor as mere figures or emblems of redemption; they were themselves an integral part of His redemptive work. When He cared for poor, sick people and restored their bodily health, when He relieved the lunatic and maniac from their mental tortures and recalled them to quietness and sanity, when He set the possessed free from the yoke of demons, He was setting His seal on man's entire nature, body, mind, and spirit, as precious to Him. He was claiming it for God, and He was doing in it a part of the same redeeming work which He completed when He drew men from their sinful life into pardon and peace" (pp. 23-25).

As a fair illustration of our author's homiletic treatment of a particular miracle record we may take his remarks on the words, "Bring them hither to Me," in Matthew's account of His feeding the five thousand. "The blessing of Jesus was that which converted a handful of provision into a plenteous feast. Need it be said that it is ever so with the Gospel. The servant, the worker, the preacher does his best if he is in earnest; and then if he is wise, he counts it nothing and less than nothing without the Master's blessing. The most elaborate human effort is utterly useless and powerless in Divine things, simply as human effort. Eminently does this apply to the labor of the Gospel ministry. If we were asked to select from literature the *acme* of effort in that kind, we should without hesitation fix upon the court-preaching of Louis XIV.'s time in France. In that depraved court, amid intense professions of religion, there were such preachers (Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Massillon) as have never since the days of the apostles been surpassed for impassioned vehemence and power of oratory. The preachers were pious, evangelical, intensely in earnest. Admiring crowds gathered round them. The result in France, in Paris, in those royal and noble circles, was nothing. It was, perhaps, the most useless and ineffectual preaching that ever dropped from human lips. For us all, both that speak and hear, the prime requisite is to comply with the injunction of our Lord about the loaves, 'Bring them hither to Me.' Let us get our spiritual provision passed under the Master's blessing hand. Let us neither give nor take what has not first gone round by the head of the table. If all our utterances only went from the study to the pulpit, to the class-room, to the teacher's desk by way

of the mercy-throne, and then came from us to the pew through another cloud of the incense of the hearer's prayers, we should doubtless have Pentecostal days of the Gospel's power" (pp. 82, 83).

Lack of space forbids further extracts in illustration of Professor Laidlaw's treatment of our Lord's miracles. The treatise before us cannot and was not intended to take the place of Trench's excellent work on the miracles, which has found a place in every minister's library, but rather to supplement that work, especially in the direction of a homiletic study of the subject; and for this purpose it is admirably adapted. Dr. Laidlaw's expositions are evidently the result of a careful study of the original text; not in the light of the pretentious scholarship of what is known as the "higher criticism" of our day, but in that of the sound and reverent scholarship of our fathers. His homiletic notes will be found instructive and particularly suggestive to ministers of the Gospel, Sabbath-school teachers, and all who in any way are engaged in explaining the "Word of God" to the people.

GEORGE D. ARMSTRONG.

Norfolk, Va.

THE IDEAL HUMANITY, AND OTHER PARISH SERMONS. A memorial volume. By Rev. WILLIAM T. WILSON. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1892. 8vo, pp. xv., 352, \$2.

It seems passing strange that such sermons as these should have been pronounced weekly during more than twenty years, in a suburb of the great metropolis, and yet have failed to bring the preacher into public notice. They certainly did fail in this regard. No doubt a few of his friends knew of him. This is evidenced by the earnest and appreciative words of the Bishop of New York, introducing the volume; but he was not generally discovered. During the time that he was preaching these sermons to his obscure parish half a hundred preachers have successively occupied the public attention, and, presumably, influenced the public mind and conscience. These sermons contain matter to furnish forth them all, and half a hundred more; and the form is equal to the matter. He reminds one of Bushnell, and also of Newman, and also of Robertson; but the man is himself. His clear sight of truth has been reached by his own agony. His style has evidently been attained to by his own independent scholarship.

I shall not attempt to analyze or epitomize the sermons. No really good sermon can bear this process. The general title of the volume sets forth his dominant motive. "The Ideal Humanity"—this is the

expression which sets forth not only his conception of the Master's person, but also his notion of the Master's purpose: to bring humanity up to its own ideal—an ideal often obscured and often distorted, but never lost. He discusses with a seer's eyes the path to be travelled toward this consummation. He sees the obstacles in the form of misapprehension and mistake and moral reluctance which are to be removed. He points these out in a way so striking, and with such a wealth of hopefulness, as make the reader grateful to him with a sort of personal affection. Of course he misses the mark sometimes; but we have here a volume which will find a welcome from an audience, fit though they may be few, of that growing company who would "love the Lord their God with all their heart, their soul, and their *mind*."

S. D. McCONNELL.

Philadelphia.

INSTITUTES OF EDUCATION. Comprising an Introduction to Rational Psychology. By S. S. LAURIE. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1892. 12mo, pp. ix., 272, \$1.

Professor Laurie, of the University of Edinburgh, is well known as one of our best authorities in matters of education. The present work was begun as a full and connected syllabus for the use of his students, but grew into something less than a treatise. Some of the lectures are given as little more than heads for treatment and investigation. In others, the points are argued out at length. There is sufficient connection running through the work to give the effect of an articulated system. For the practised reader who wants results, and for the student who does not want everything done for him, the method has marked attraction and advantage. In addition, the author adds notes to some of the lectures and an appendix to the whole work, as he says, chiefly for his own satisfaction, to justify and supplement the text. These are among the best things in the book.

The leading subjects treated of are the end of education, the philosophy of intelligence, methodology, and the art of intellectual education, ethical education, and the art of ethical education. The end of education is stated as "right judgment and a habit of good action under a sense of duty, accompanied by a comprehension of the spiritual significance of nature and man." The ethical element is continually emphasized. Intellectual training is for the sake of better living. There can be no philosophy of education which does not rest upon some ideal of the meaning of human life.

In treating of intelligence, the author

first discusses the animal mind and then the human mind. The former he finds to be essentially of the reflex and mechanical type. The human mind has for its specific endowment and distinguishing mark *will*. Will is the centre of reason itself. It is not a bare force apart from reason, but is rather "the root, possibility, and essence" of reason. This view is held to give unity to the whole conception of man as a being to be educated, whether we regard his intellectual or his moral relations. The educational deduction is this: "The education of mind as reason is the training and discipline of will as a *power*; and, secondly, the training and discipline of the will-movement as a *process* whereby the conscious subject takes the world to itself as knowledge." Intellectual discipline, rightly conceived, is itself a form of moral discipline. The treatment of moral training abounds in practical wisdom. In short, the entire work may be commended to the attention of teachers and others interested in education. We know of no other work in which so much good sense and helpful suggestion are given so brief a compass.

BORDEN P. BOWNE.

Boston University.

THE CHURCH AT WORK IN THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL. A Hand-book for Pastors and Sunday-school Workers. By A. R. TAYLOR, Ph.D., President, State Normal School, Emporia, Kan. Nashville, Tenn.: Cumberland Presbyterian Publishing House, 1892. 12mo, pp. 189.

This is a clear, brief, and helpful exposition of the relationship of Church and Sunday-school, and of the proper working of the latter, so that its utmost possibilities may be reached. The author is himself a teacher in secular branches, and consequently is well posted in the best methods of secular instruction, all of which should have a larger place in the methods adopted by advanced Sunday-school workers. The chapters on "The Management of the Pupils" and "The Way to the Pupil's Heart" are admirable, and should be carefully studied by every teacher who wants to work in the most effective way, while that on "Some Principles" might well be commended to all who labor among the young, whether in the Sunday-school or in Y. P. S. C. E. work, in the Church. The fact is, that a book like this should be in the hands of every teacher, and the officers of our churches could not do better than to make their Sunday-school teachers all and single a present of a volume similar to this by Dr. Taylor. The result would be seen in more effective work for the Master in such school, and eventually in the churches of which they are members. It is largely for lack of knowledge that our

teaching force is so open to criticism, and books such as this one are calculated to prepare the worker for his work, so that his force may be well directed and made more effective. A. F. SCHAUFFLER.

New York.

KOREA FROM ITS CAPITAL. By Rev. GEORGE W. GILMORE, A.M. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1892, 12mo, pp. 328, \$1.25.

To hear about Korea from one who has been inside of the once hermit kingdom is very agreeable. All the more interesting is the narrative when pleasantly and smoothly told. The Rev. George W. Gilmore, A.M., was one of a trio of American young men who went out a few years ago as educators of the young men of Korea. Three years were spent in the capital, which city appears on old maps as "King-tao," and on most new ones as "Seoul." Like the old term "Miaco," on maps of Japan, the word is really a common noun, meaning "the capital." Nevertheless, as "Seoul" is now better known than any other name, it will probably remain, with the occasional variant and fruit of systematic orthography. "Soöl," and indeed the royal city on the Han River is the *soul* of the country. From this central point of view Mr. Gilmore studied the peninsula and its inhabitants.

This neatly printed, illustrated, and indexed volume will well repay perusal by all intelligently interested in the country or in the Far East. Set in the Sunday-school library, it will be good seed and leaven, extending and intensifying interest in the great work of Christian missions. This book ought to raise up at least twenty missionaries whose hearts' cry shall be "Korea for Christ!"

Besides writing luminously of the country, government, capital city, language, and people in general, the author brightens his narrative by good stories, anecdotes, and occasional pages torn from the book of personal experience. For example, he tells us about Korean persimmons. These are not the thousand-wrinkle power puckerers which the average small boy of New England remembers, nor even the toothsome delicacies of Pennsylvania after Jack Frost has touched them, but the gorgeous beauties and the epicure's delight of *Asia extremis*. Mr. Gilmore has even the temerity to say that Korean persimmons excel those of Japan. Then they must be fine.

The chapters on domestic life, attire and adornment, and woman and her work are very attractively presented. Evidently the noble art of starching reaches its acme among the white-robed hermits. The one sound that perpetually breaks the silence of night in the great city is the continual

"rat-tat" of the starching irons. Instead of our oval or triangular-shaped flat-irons with looped handle, the Korean women use a tool not so very unlike a tinman's soldering-iron, but very smooth. By skill and application a very fine gloss is given to the robes of the gentlemen. Big hats, suggesting Puritan days, and ghost-like or pure white flowing robes on the body, and baggy coverings on the legs, with hair done up in a ball and held with a long pin, with the inevitable long pipe constitute the costume of a native gentleman. The women's dress is more like European female costume in general effect than is either the Chinese or Japanese. Even more than the Chinese the native women of Korea keep covered as to the face—hardly so as to the bosom—and remain more in the house. The Japanese freedom is unknown.

Eloquent in itself alone is the fact that "Amenities and Solemnities" receives twenty-seven pages of treatment at Mr. Gilmore's hands, while "Religion" gets but fourteen. There is a volume of suggestion in this; and yet the author is correct in statement, and does but observe true proportion. For while at marriage, funerals, mourning, and on the thousand occasions of formal etiquette the Korean is time wasteful and the victim of over-politeness—more careful of the dead than of the living—he has little in the way of religion except superstition, which everywhere abounds. It puzzles even long residents to know just how far these peninsulars are Buddhists, while Confucianism can hardly be called a religion in any true sense of the term as understood by us. How the "Heavenly Dog" is scared away from his fell purpose of swallowing the sun or moon; how the refuse of even foreign importations in the way of rags, labels, paste-board bits, fragments of kerosene tins are utilized to propitiate the spirits that populate the air, earth, and water has been noticed by many foreigners. Instead of our elaborate weather bureau and telegraphed "probabilities," the Korean farmer puts twelve beans in a piece of split bamboo and buries the whole lightly for the dew or rain to moisten. The beans which swell most represent the months in which there will be the greatest rainfall! A picture based on a photograph represents the grotesque village idols in which the dualistic philosophy, old Chinese earth worship and local superstition are blended. In a few parts of the country these take the form of colossal figures of granite hewn centuries ago out of the living rock, and looking at a distance like lighthouses.

The last five chapters of the fifteen sum up Korea's resources, tell of her progress toward (the preposition is suggestive, not *in*, but only toward) civilization, show the anomalous status of foreign relations, pic-

ture foreign life in Korea, and give pretty fully the story of missionary work. Here is an inviting field for women as well as men filled with the spirit of Christ.

Our first impressions of Korea and the Koreans after reading this book are but confirmed. Politically the country is situated most unfortunately between three or four strong nations—China, Russia, Japan, and Great Britain in the East. China and Japan are naturally jealous and usually hostile. Russia and Great Britain would both like to possess the unfrozen seaports of the little country. The Koreans are polite, intelligent, interesting, but with few of the qualities necessary for the making and keeping alive of a modern state. To the Christian worker the field is most inviting, and Mr. Gilmore deserves our thanks for so interesting a presentation of it.

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIN.

Boston.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Ballantine, William G. Job: *Jehovah's Champion*. New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., pp. 40, 25 cts.

Beet, Joseph Agar, D.D. *Through Christ to God. A study in scientific theology*. New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1893, 8vo, pp. xx., 37s.

Breed, David R., D.D. *A History of the Preparation of the World for Christ*. New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., pp. 478, \$2.00.

Brooks, Phillips. *Year Book* by H. L. S. and L. H. S. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., pp. 366, \$1.25.

Coryell, John Russell. *Diccon the Bold: A Story of the Days of Columbus*. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, pp. 279, \$1.25.

Crooker, Joseph H. *The New Bible and its New Uses*. Boston: Ellis, pp. 293, \$1.00.

Davidson, Thain, D.D. *Thoroughness: Talks to Young Men*. New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 12mo, pp. 92, 50 cts.

DeWitt, John, D.D., LL.D. *What is Inspiration?* New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co., pp. 187, \$1.00.

Dix, Morgan, S.T.D., D.C.L. *The Sacramental System considered as the extension of the Incarnation. The Bishop Paddock Lectures, 1892*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1893, 8vo, pp. xx., 23s.

Everett, Charles Carroll, Professor of Theology in Harvard University. *The Gospel of Paul*. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1893, 8vo, pp. xiii., 307, \$1.50.

Gladden, Washington. *Tools and the Man. Property and Industry under the Christian Law*. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1893, 12mo, pp. vi., 308, \$1.25.

Gordon, A. J., D.D. *The Holy Spirit in Missions. Six lectures*. New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1893, 12mo, pp. 241, \$1.25.

Hall, Newman, LL.B., D.D. *Atonement the Fundamental Fact of Christianity*. New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., pp. 159, 75 cts.

Haydn, Hiram C. *Brightening the World*. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co., pp. 184, 35 cts.

McCauley, W. F. How. *A Handbook of Christian Endeavor Methods*. Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Co., 50 cts.

Meyer, F. B., B.A. *Joshua and the Land of Promise*. New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., pp. 210, \$1.00.

Morrell, Charles B., M.D. *Bible Lamps for Little Feet*. Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Co., pp. 286, \$2.00.

Müller, F. Max, K. M. *Theosophy or Psychological Religion. The Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1892*. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1893, 8vo, pp. xxiii., 56s.

Robinson, C. H., M.A. *The Church and Her Teaching*. New York and London: Longmans, Green & Co., pp. 69, 75 cts.

The King and the Kingdom: A Study of the Four Gospels. New York: Putnam; London: Williams & Norgate, 3 vols., pp. 331, each \$1.40.

Tuck, Robert, B.A. *Revelation by Character*. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham, pp. 308, \$2.00.

Ward, Lt. Col. the Hon. C. J., C. M. G. *World's Fair, Jamaica at Chicago*. New York: William J. Pell, pp. 95.

THE OCTOBER MAGAZINES.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE for October contains: "The Camel Caravan by Moonlight," frontispiece; "From the Black Sea to the Persian Gulf by Caravan," Edwin Lord Weeks; "Our National Game-bird," Charles D. Lanier; "The Handsome Humes," William Black; "Death, Who art Thou?" Annie Fields; "A French Town in Summer," Elizabeth Robins Pennell; "Secrets," Nina Frances Layard; "The Anchored Dories," Mary Thacher Higginson; "The Childhood of Jesus," Henry Van Dyke; "A Pirate in Petticoats," Francis Dana; "Manifest Destiny," Carl Schurz; "Lispensard's Meadows," Thomas A. Janvier; "Horace Chase," Constance Fenimore Woolson; "Riders of Syria," Colonel T. A. Dodge, U. S. A.; "Undergraduate Life at Oxford," Richard Harding Davis; "On Witchcraft Superstition in Norfolk," Charles Roper.

THE OCTOBER CENTURY contains: "Portrait of Frederick Law Olmsted," frontispiece; "Life Among German Tramps," Josiah Plynt; "Plague on a Pleasure-Boat," J. Stuart Stevenson; "The Cold Meteorite," William Reed Huntington; "Taking Napoleon to St. Helena," John R. Glover; "Life," Florence Earle Coates; "Wait Whitman in War-time," Wait Whitman; "Light in Shade," I. H. Callig; "The Cats of Henriette Ronner," Thomas A. Janvier; "Frederick Law Olmsted," Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer; "The Vanishing City," Richard Watson Gilder; "The Pratt Institute," James R. Campbell; "Balcony Stories," Grace King; "Street-Paving in America," William Fortune; "Béranger," C. Coquelin; "The Heir of the McHulishes," Bret Harte; "Leaves from the Autobiography of Salvini," Tommaso Salvini; "The Autumn Waste," Archibald Lampman; "Benefits Forgotten," Wolcott Balestier.

THE CONTENTS OF LIPPINCOTT'S for October are: "The Hepburn Line," Mrs. Mary J. Holmes; "Two Belligerent Southrons," Florence Waller; "Retrospect," Kathleen R. Wheeler; "Poor Yorick," Robert N. Stephens; "The Path of Gold," Carrie Blake Morgan; "An Hour at Sir Frederick Leighton's," Virginia Butler; "Pascagoula," Titus Munson Coan; "A Deed with a Capital D," Charles M. Skinner; "Necromancy Unveiled," A. Herrmann; "Confessions of an Assistant Magician," Addie Hermann; "The Pass's Grip," Rosewell Page; "Finite and Infinite," Lucile Rutland; "Running the Blockade," Emma Henry Ferguson; "A Tiger Trapped," Rosemary Baum; "By the Sea," Wilbur Larremore; "Fun in the Poets," W. H. Babcock; "Men of the Day," M. Crofton; "Once in a Purple Twilight," Music by Eugene Cowles.

INDEX OF PERIODICALS, SEPTEMBER, 1893.

Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index of Periodicals.

- At. M. E. R.** African M. E. Church Review. (Quarterly.)
A. R. Andover Review. (Bi-monthly.)
B. S. Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quarterly.)
B. W. The Biblical World.
B. Q. R. Baptist Quarterly Review.
Ch. Q. R. Church Quarterly Review.
C. M. Q. Canadian Methodist Quarterly.
C. R. Charities Review.
C. T. Christian Thought.
Ex. Expositor.
Ex. T. Expository Times.
G. W. Good Words.
H. R. Homiletic Review.
K. M. Katholische Missionen.
L. Q. Lutheran Quarterly.
M. R. Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)
M. H. Missionary Herald.
- Miss. R.** Missionary Review.
N. C. Q. New Christian Quarterly.
N. H. M. Newbery House Magazine.
N. W. The New World.
O. D. Our Day.
P. E. R. Protestant Episcopal Review.
P. M. Preachers' Magazine.
P. Q. Presbyterian Quarterly.
P. R. R. Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
R. Ch. Review of the Churches.
R. Q. R. Reformed Quarterly Review.
R. K. R. Religious Review of Reviews.
S. A. H. Sunday at Home.
S. M. Sunday Magazine.
T. Tr. The Treasury.
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CHRONICLE.

(Closes on the 20th of each month.)

Aug. 16. Ecclesiastical Peace Conference in Chicago.

Aug. 16-24. Session of the Missouri Cumberland Presbyterian Sabbath School Assembly, at Fertle Springs.

Aug. 15. International Temperance Congress, at The Hague.

Aug. 23-28. Seventh Day Baptist Convention, at Milton, Wis.

Aug. 28. Convention of the Jewish Congress, in Chicago.

Aug. 30. International Sunday-School Convention, in St. Louis.

Sept. 1-7. German Synod of the East of the Reformed Church in the United States in Buffalo, N. Y.

Sept. 2. Roman Catholic Education Day, at Chicago.

Sept. 4. Second World's Sunday-School Convention, at St. Louis, Mo.

Sept. 4-8. Meeting of the American Social Science Association, in Saratoga, N. Y.

Sept. 5-9. Catholic Congress at Chicago.

Sept. 6-7. Convention of the Catholic Young Men's National Union, at Chicago.

Sept. 10-13. Congregational Church Congress in Chicago.

Sept. 11-30. World's Parliament of Religions, at Chicago.

Sept. 14-17. Eighth Annual Convention of the (Episcopalian) Brotherhood of St. Andrew, in Detroit, Mich.

Sept. 15-21. General Missionary Convention of the Disciples of Christ (Christian Evangelist), at Chicago.

Sept. 16-23. International Congress of Unitarians, at Chicago.

The Rev. John A. Wilson, D.D., has been elected Professor of Ecclesiastical and Church History in Westminster (United Presbyterian) College; Rev. A. W. Reynolds, Ph.D., to the professorship of Languages in Crozer Theological Seminary; and the Rev. J. W. E. Bowen, D.D., has accepted the chair of Historical Theology in Gammon School of Theology, Atlanta, Ga.

The Rt. Rev. John Travers Lewis, LL.D., Bishop of Ontario, has been elected Metropolitan of Canada.

The Rev. Dr. Arthur Cranshaw Allston Hall, of Oxford, England, has been elected Bishop of Vermont. No little opposition is expected because the bishop-elect is a member of an order and has taken the vow of obedience to the foreign (English) head of that order.

OBITUARY.

Chester, Rt. Rev. William Bennett (Church of Ireland), D.D. (Trinity College, Dublin, 1833), at Killaloe, Ireland, Aug. 26, aged 78. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, graduating B.A., 1846, M.A., 1856, and D.D., 1863; he was ordained priest, 1846; became curate of Kilrush, 1846; vicar of Killead, 1847; of Killkee, 1849; rector of Ballymackey and chancellor of Killaloe, 1855; rector of Nenagh, 1859, and of Birr, 1875; archdeacon of Killaloe, 1880, and was consecrated bishop of Killaloe, Kilfenora, Clonfert, and Kilmacnagh, 1884.

Cunningham, Rev. John (Scotch Presbyterian), D.D. (Edinburgh, 1800), LL.D. (Glasgow, 1836), in St. Andrews, Scotland, Sept. 1, aged 74. He was educated at the University of Glasgow, completing his studies and being licensed as a preacher, 1845. His literary proclivities early manifested themselves, and he has long been a religious reader in Scotland. He was appointed Principal and Primarius Professor of Divinity in St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, 1836. He has written: "A Church History for Scotland," 2 volumes; "Day: A Pastoral for Children," "The Quakers, from their Origin," "The Theory of Knowing and being Known," "The Church in its Organization," (Crown Lectures, 1886), and has contributed voluminously to the *Edinburgh* and *Westminster Reviews* and to *Macmillan's Magazine*.

Dales, Rev. John Blakely (United Presbyterian), D.D. (Franklin College, O., 1853), at Chautauque, N. Y., August 21, aged 78. He was graduated from Union College, N. Y., 1835, and from the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Newburgh, 1839; became pastor of First Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, 1840, in connection with that holding the following positions: Editor of *Christian Instructor*, 1846-79; Professor of Church History and Pastoral Theology, Newburgh Theological Seminary, 1867-76; Moderator of the General Assembly, 1867; Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions since 1859; Stated Clerk of the United Presbyterian Synod of New York since 1863. He has written: "Roman Catholicism," "Introduction to Lectures on Odd Fellowship," "The Dangers and Duties of Young Men," "History of the Associate Reform Church and its Missions," and other productions of less note.

French, Rev. William Clark (Episcopalian), D.D. (Kenyon College, 1875), in Philadelphia, Aug. 18, aged 75. He was graduated from Kenyon College, 1841, and then studied for two years at Union Theological Seminary, New York City; he was ordained deacon in Granville, O., 1846, and the same year was

advanced to the priesthood in charge of St. Paul's Church, Marietta, O.; became rector of St. Peter's, Delaware, O., 1850; of St. John's, Worthington, 1852; of Christ Church, Ironton, 1855; and Christ Church, Oberlin, 1858; became editor of the *Standard of the Cross* in 1873, removing with that paper to Philadelphia in 1887. In May, 1893, he resigned his supervision of the journal on account of ill health. He was for forty-one years Secretary of the Diocesan Convention, and while at Philadelphia was associated with Dr. Stone as assistant minister of Grace Church.

Fuller, Rev. John Mee (Anglican), in Devonshire, England, Aug. 15, aged 58. He studied at St. John's College, Cambridge, graduating B.A., 1856, and M.A., 1863; was ordained deacon, 1860, and priest, 1861; became curate in Ealing, 1860; at South Audley Street, London, 1862, and Fulham, 1863; was made Editorial Secretary of the S. P. C. K., 1870; became vicar of Bexley, Kent, 1874; and in conjunction with this he has been since 1883 professor of ecclesiastical history in King's College, London. He wrote many articles in Smith and Wace's "Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Biography," and has written or edited "An Essay on the Authenticity of the Book of Daniel," "Harmony of the Gospels," "The Book of Daniel" (Speakers' Commentary), and "The Student's Commentary."

Grau, Rudolf Friedrich (German Lutheran), Ph.D. (Rostock, 1870), D.D. (Leipzig, 1875), at Königsberg, Aug. 7, aged 58. He studied at Leipzig, Erlangen, and Marburg, 1854-57; became *privat-docent* in theology at Marburg, 1860; professor-extraordinary, 1865; ordinary professor at Königsberg, 1868. He has been editor of the *Beitrag des Glaubens* since 1865, and has produced "Semiten und Indogermanen in ihrer Beziehung zur Religion und Wissenschaft," "Ueber den Glauben als die höchste Vernunft," "Entwicklungsgeschichte des neuteamentlichen Schriftthums," "Ursprünge und Ziele unserer Kulturentwicklung," "Bibelwerk für die Gemeinde," "Der Glaube die wahre Lebensphilosophie," "Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments," "Ueber Martin Luther's Glauben."

M'Mahon, Rt. Rev. Lawrence S. (Roman Catholic), D.D. (Rome, 1871), at Lakeville, Conn., Aug. 31, aged 58. He was educated at Boston and at Holy Cross College, Worcester; after the completion of his studies was stationed at the Cathedral in Boston; accompanied the Twenty-eighth Massachusetts Regiment to the field as chaplain in 1863; was made Vicar-General of the see of Providence in 1870, and was consecrated Bishop of Hartford, 1879.

CALENDAR.

Oct. 3-6. Anglican Church Congress, at Birmingham, England.

Oct. 5. Consecration of the Rev. William Lawrence, D.D., Bishop of Massachusetts, at Boston.

Twenty-fourth Convention of the General Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, at Fort Wayne, Ind.

Oct. 8-15. International Christian Conference, in the Memorial Art Palace, Chicago.

Oct. 9-12. Autumn Meeting of the English Congregational Union, in London.

Oct. 16-17. Fourth Annual Convention of the National Young People's Christian Union of the Universalist Church, in Washington.

Oct. 17. Beginning of the session of the Universalist General Convention, in Washington.

Oct. 19-20. Church Congress of the Church of Ireland, in Belfast.

Nov. 9-15. Meeting of the International Christian Workers' Association, in Atlanta, Ga.

Nov. 14-17. Fifteenth Church Congress in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, in New York City.

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